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Alphabetical List of Authors.
I have received several interesting communications on my article, published in our Journal for last July, on the Sects of the Buddhists. The Rev. J. E. Carpenter has given me additional figures in Yuan Thsang which had escaped my notice. These numbers bring up the totals given by the Chinese author of the adherents of the different schools, as summarized on p. 420, to 200,000 instead of 182,000. But they leave the conclusion, which was drawn from those numbers, as it stood.

Professor Bühler writes, that besides the references given on p. 410 to inscriptions mentioning one or other of the schools, there are a few other references known to him in inscriptions as yet unpublished. On a consequent application from me he has been kind enough to send a second letter in which the details are given, and it is here printed in full.

Mr. Bouverie-Pusey, who takes much interest in the question, has pointed out to me a possible explanation of Yuan Thsang's mistake in assigning the Sthavira school to the Mahāyānists. When his informants, as stated in the 'Vie de Hiouen Thsang,' p. 192, were questioned by him, they may have been willing to leave on his mind the impression that they belonged to the same school as he himself did.

Mr. Bouverie-Pusey also suggests that use might be made of Wassilief's translation of the Tibetan version of the tract assigned to Vasumitra—more especially as he has translated it in full with copious notes. I have accordingly read it through again to see what could be made out of
it, and am obliged to say that I still think Rockhill's summary of the Tibetan notices of the Buddhist schools is the more intelligible of the two. But the fact is that short tracts like those attributed to Vasumitra and Bhavya and Vinita Deva are really of very little use without a larger knowledge which would supersede them except as guides to the memory. Even the Kathā Vatthu, which is some centuries older, and nearer, therefore, to the time when these discussions raged: which is also most probably written either in the very language, or at least in a dialect closely allied to the dialects, in which they were conducted; and which besides, being more than twenty times as long, is able to devote more space to making the questions at issue clear,—is hard enough to understand. It is easy therefore to realize why it is that these translations of translations of earlier and shorter treatises should be so much more difficult to use to any profit. What we want is not short summaries of the opinions of all the various schools, but substantial works expounding the views of individual schools at length, and in their own words. When the magnificent edition of the standard book of the Lokuttara-vādins, which we owe to the self-denying scholarship and industry of M. Senart, shall be completed, all these works, the Kathā Vatthu itself not excepted, will be superseded on that point. We shall go to the Mahāvastu to find out what the Lokuttara-vādins thought.

And so let us hope that before the Pāli Text Society shall have been able to complete its important task of placing in the hands of scholars a complete edition of the Buddhist Piṭakas, together with the interpretation put upon them by the oldest and sole surviving school (which has also kept most closely to them)—by that time let us hope we shall be able to compare with that interpretation the divergent ones of other now extinct Hināyana schools in equally complete editions of their works too.

As I mentioned on p. 413 of the former article, the Mahāvastu is the only work we have available in a critical edition that purports to belong to any special school. It
is true that a much discussed passage\textsuperscript{1} of a Chinese author
(whose name is restored by Bunyiu Nanjio\textsuperscript{2} to Jñana-gupta,
and by Beal\textsuperscript{3} to Jñana-kuta \textit{sic}), the Lalita Vistara is
apparently stated to be a book of the Sabbatthivādins. But that book calls itself (see the last page of the Calcutta
edition) a Mahāyāna work! How is this to be reconciled?
The passage referred to occurs in the colophon to the \textit{Fo-pan-hin-tsi-chin}, of which work Beal’s book, strangely
entitled “The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha,” is a
kind of abstract. The Chinese title is restored by Mr.
Bunyiu Nanjio (\textit{loc. cit.}) to Buddha-pūrvacaryā-saṅgraha-
sūtra, and he adds below Abhinishkramaṇa-sūtra, which is
the only restoration used by Beal. The colophon says in
Beal’s version, “It may be asked: ‘By what title is this book
to be called?’ to which we reply the Mahāsaṅghikas call it
\textit{Tu-sse} (Mahāvastu). The Sarvastavadas (\textit{sic}) call it \textit{Tu-chong-
yen} (Lalita Vistara). The Kasyāpiyas (\textit{sic}) call it \textit{Fo-wong-
yin-un} (former history of Buddhism). The Dharmaguptas
call it, etc., etc.” And Wassilief’s translation (\textit{loc. cit.}) is
practically the same.

From this Wassilief draws the conclusion that “under
different names they understood the same book.” If that
be so, it is certainly not the Lalita Vistara, for the analysis
given by Beal is quite different from that work. But
Foucaux draws the conclusion that the passage refers to
different books, and regards it as a proof that they all
existed towards the second century after the death of the
Buddha (!).

Now the Chinese title which Wassilief (and following him
also Beal) restores here to Lalita Vistara is entirely different
from the Chinese titles so restored by Bunyiu Nanjio in his
Catalogues Nos. 159 and 160. It is therefore, to say the
least, most doubtful whether it is the Lalita Vistara at all

\textsuperscript{1} See Foucaux, “Lalita Vistara” (the Guimet edition), pp. vii, viii.
and Senart, “Mahāvastu,” vol. i, p. iii. M. Senart refers to “des autorités
chinoises,” but the two passages he gives in the note refer to the same authority.

\textsuperscript{2} Catalogue of Chinese Books, No. 680.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{loc. cit.} p. 1.
which is here referred to. Even if it were, it would be entirely unwarranted to conclude that because a Chinese writer of 587 A.D. thought it belonged to the Sabbatthivādins that it did certainly so belong; much less than because it did, it must have been written, as M. Foucaux thinks this passage proves, at the time when that school first arose (that is to say, in the second century after the Buddha’s death). Surely it is better to leave so uncertain, and so late, a statement in its own obscurity, and to trust rather to the published text of the Lalita Vistara itself, and regard it therefore as a Mahāyāna book.

We cannot, therefore, refer to any work emanating from any school differing from the Sthaviras, save only to the one book of the Lokuttara-vādins. Meanwhile—until we have such works—the three Tibetan tracts and the Pāli treatise are of use for showing us the kind of thing we ought to look for. I have spent some days in trying to piece together the various statements the Tibetans make as to the Sabbatthi-vādins, hoping that this would serve as a specimen of what might be reaped from them in the way of positive information. But the results are too unsatisfactory—contradictory, as it seems to me, on some points and simply unintelligible, even with the help of the Kathā Vatthu, on others—to be fit for publication.

But I have put together a table of their statements as to the names and interdependence of the Hinayāna schools, without attempting to harmonize their divergent and contradictory data. I have simply added in brackets the number of each corresponding name in the Theravāda list given in my last article.

As the matter seems to be of interest, I have added also a complete synopsis of the questions discussed in the Kathā Vatthu. This I had prepared for my own use only, as an assistance in writing the introduction to the second volume of my Milinda (in which some of the questions are discussed), and had not intended it for publication, except eventually as part of an edition of the whole text. It is drawn up from a MS. in my own collection, a very faulty
one, I am sorry to say. One or two points may already be noticed. Those questions dealt with in chapters one and two are discussed at so much length that the two chapters make up about one-third of the book. Incidently to the principal theses a number of other questions, subsidiary to the main issue, are put and settled. Including these, the number of questions put in the Kathā Vatthu is about a thousand. In one or two cases (II. 2 and XXII. 5) these questions are mentioned in the titles of the main thesis, and are included therefore in my synopsis. For the interpretation of the real meaning of the question put, which is often by no means certain from the words employed, much help has been derived from the commentary, as published by the late Prof. Minayeff for the Pāli Text Society.

**TABLE I.**

**THE HĪNA-ṆĀNA SECTS ACCORDING TO TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS.**

---

**Vasumitra.**

1. Thera-vādino (Hemavattikā) (1 and 19).
3. Sabbatthi-vādino (8).
4. Vajjiputtakā (2).
5. Dhammuttarikā (4).
7. Sammittiṣyā (7).
8. Channāgarikā (6).
9. Mahiṃsāsakā (3).
10. Dhammaguttikā (9).
11. Kassapikā (Sovassikā) (10).
12. Saṇkantikā (Suttavādino) (11 and 12).
13. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
15. Lokottaravādino.
17. Bahussutikā (16).
18. Paññatti-vādino (17).
20. Pubbaselikā (Uttaraselikā) (22).

**Bhavya.**

1. Hemavatikā=Therā (1 and 19).
2. Sabbatthivādino (8).
5. Muruntakā.
6. Vajjiputtakā (2).
7. Dhammuttarikā (4).
8. Bhaddayūnikā (5).
10. Avantikā.
11. Kurukulakā (Gokulikā) (14).
12. Mākiṇsāsakā (3).
13. Dhammaguttikā (9).
15. Kassapikā (10).
16. Uttarīyā.
17. Saṅkāntikā (11).

18. Mahūsaṅghikā (13).
20. Lokuttara-vādino.
22. Paññatti-vādino (17).
24. Pubbaselikā (22).
25. Aparaselikā (23).

**Bhavya’s 'others say.'**

1. Therā (1).
2. Sabbaththi-vadino (8).
5. Suttantikā (11).
3. Vajjiputtakā (2).
6. Dhammottariyā (4).
7. Bhaddāyaniyā (5).
8. Sammiyā (7).
11. Mahiṇḍasakā (3).
12. Kassapiyā (10).
13. Dhammaguttikā (9).
14. Tamiraśātiyā.
15. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
17. Uttara-selikā (23).
18. Rājagiriyā (20 and 24).
21. Saṅkūnti-vadino (?).
22. Gokulikā (14).

_Bhāvyā's 'again others say,'_

1. Thera = Hemavatā (1).
2. Sabbatthi-vadino.
3. Vajjiputtakā (2).
4. Sammiyā (7).
5. Dhammottariyā (4) = Mahāgiriyā.
6. Bhaddayaniyā (5).
7. Channāgarikā (6).
8. Vibhajja vadino.
9. Mahiṇḍasakā (3).
10. Dhammaguttikā (9).
11. Tamiraśātiyā.
12. Kassapiyā (10).
13. Mahāsaṅghikā (13).
15. Gokulikā (14).
17. Bahussutikā (17).
The questions put.

1 = I. 1. Puggalo upalabbhāti saccikathena paramatthenāti?

2 2. Paribhāyati Araha arahatā ti?

3 3. Natthi devesu brahma-caiyavāso ti?

4 4. Odhiso kilesaṃ jahatīti?

5 5. Jahati puthujjano kāmaraṇa-vyāpādan ti?

6 6. Sabbaṃ athithīti?

7 7. Atītaṃ khandhā ti?

8 8. Atītaṃ athithīti?

9 9. Sabbe dhammā satipaṭṭhānā ti?

10 10. Atītaṃ athithīti?

11 = II. 1. Athi Arahato asuci-sukka-visaṭṭhitī?

(Atthi Arahato parūpahāro ti?)

2 2. Athi Arahato aṇāṇan ti?

Atthi Arahato kaṇkhā ti?

Atthi Arahato parivitāraṇā ti?

3 3. Samāpannassa aththi vacībheda ti?

1 This question comes at the end of the other, and is included in it, but it has apparently nothing to do with the argument. The whole section is called (not after the principal subject, but after this subsidiary point) the Parūpahāra-kathā.
Katha Vatthu.

I. 1. Is there in the truest and highest sense a soul? No.
   Opponents Sammitiyā, Vajjiputtakā (Mil. I. 40–45, 48, 86, II. 85).
2. Can an Arahant fall from Arahantship? No.
   Contra Sammitiyā, Vajjiputtakā, Sabbatthi-vādinā and some of the Mahāsaṅghikā.
3. Can a god enter the Path or the Order? No.
   Contra Sammitiyā.
4. Can a converted man get rid of evil without going through the four stages of the Path?
   (Relying on Dhp. 239.)
   Contra Sammitiyā and others.
5. Can an unconverted man get rid of all lust and ill will? No.
   Contra Sammitiyā.
6. Does everything exist? No. (There is nothing that is not transient. Everything becomes.)
   Contra Sabbatthi-vādinā (hence their name).
7. Did the Skandhas exist in the past? No.
8. Did anything (as it now is) exist in the past? No.
   Contra "some did and some did not" say the Kassapikā.
9. Do all qualities rest on memory? No.
   Contra the four subdivisions of the Andhakā (Compare Mil. I. 122).
10. Have all things now existing existed the same in the past? No.
    Contra the Andhakā.

II. 1. Can an Arahant be guilty (unwittingly and through the action of the Māras) of indecency? No.
    Contra the Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (Comp. XXIII. 2).
2. Can the Arahants have ignorance, doubt and error? No (relying on M.V. I. 1, etc.).
   Contra the Pubbaseliyā (Mil. II. 98).
3. Does a converted man on attaining the first Jhāna burst out into the exclamation "All is sorrow"? No (relying on S. VI. 2–4 = Th. I. 256–7 = Divy. 300, 569 = Mil. II. 60).
   Contra the Pubbaseliyā (See XI. 4).
4. Dukkhāhāro maggaṇgap magga-pariyāpanno ti?

5. Ekañ cittañ divasañ tiṭṭhatiti?

6. Sabbe sañkhārā anodhikatvā kukkulā ti?

7. Anupubbābhisamayo ti?

8. Buddhassa bhagavato vohāro lokuttaro ti?

9. Dve nirodhā ti?

10. Atthi devesu sañvaro ti?

11. Tathāgata-balañ sāvaka-sādhūrañan ti?

12. Thānāthāhe yathābhūtañ nānañ Tathāgata-balañ ariyan ti.

13. Sarūgañ cittañ vimuccatiti?

14. Vimuttañ vimuccamānan ti?

15. Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa diṭṭhi-pariyutthānañ pahīnan ti?

16. Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa natthi saddhindriyān ti?

17. Maṃsa-cakkhuñ dhammupatthaddhañ dibba-cakkhuñ hotiti?

18. Maṃsa-sotañ dhammupatthaddhañ dibba-sotañ hotiti?

19. Yathākammupagañ nānañ dibba-cakkhuñ ti?

20. Atthi devesu sañvaro ti?
4. Is the perception of sorrow that follows on such an exclamation part and parcel of the Excellent Way? No. Contra Pubbaseliya.

5. Can one thought last a day (That is, is thought exempt from the law of impermanence)? No. Contra Andhakā.


7. Is insight attained to in a certain specified order? No (relying on Cullav. IX. 1–4).

8. Was the Buddha extra-ordinary as regards the ordinary affairs of Life? No. Contra Andhakā.


III. 1. Are the ten powers of the Tathāgata common also to his hearers? No. Contra Andhakā.

2. Are the nine last of them (as well as the first) part of the Excellent Way? No. Contra Andhakā.

3. Can one whose heart is lustful be set free? No. Contra Andhakā.

4. Can a man set free by Jhāna be afterwards set free by the Path? No (relying on D. 2. 97).

5. Does a man get rid, by the mere entry on the Path, of doubt and wrong views? No. Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.

6. Is a converted man at once in possession of the five moral organs (Indriyāni)? No. Contra Andhakā.

7. Can the eye of flesh, through strength of Dhamma, become the Heavenly Eye (which perceives the rebirths of others)? No. Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā (Mil. I. 179–185).

8. The same of the ear of flesh.

9. Is the Divine Eye nothing more than the knowledge of other people’s rebirths? No. (It sees the moral cause) (relying on Th. I. 996, 7).

10. Is there moral restraint among the gods (in the heavens above that of the thirty-three)? No.
11. Asaṅña-sattesu saṅña atthiti?

12. Nevasaṅña-nāsaṅnāyatane na vattabbaṇ saṅnā atthiti?

35 = IV. 1. Gihi 'ssa Arahā ti?

2. Sahā uppattiyā Arahā ti?

3. Arahato sabbe dhammā anāsavā ti?

4. Arahā catuhi phalehi samannāgato ti?

5. Arahā chahi upekhāhi samannāgato ti?

6. Bodhiyā buddho ti?

7. Lakkhaṇa-sammannāgato Bodhisatto ti?

8. Bodhisatto Kassapassa bhagavato pāvacane okkanta-niyāmo carita-brahmacariyo ti?

9. Arahanta-sacchikiriya patipanno puggalo tihi phalehi samannāgato ti?

10. Sabba-saṅnojana-paññānaṃ Arahattan ti?
11. Have the so-called Unconscious Gods consciousness? No.
   Contra Andhakā.
12. The same of the gods in the Nevasaññā-nāsaññā
    world.

IV. 1. Can a layman be an Arahat? No. (He can become, but cannot remain, one.)
    Contra Uttarāpathakā (see Mil. 2. 57–59, 96–98).
2. Is there any one who is born as an Arahat (in the Heavens of Pure Abode)? No.
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
3. Are all the qualities of an Arahat free from the Āsavas? No.
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
4. Is the Arahat gifted with the fruits of all four stages of the Path at once? No.
    Contra Uttarāpathakā (see IV. 9).
5. Has the Arahat six forms of equanimity (one for each of the five senses and one for the mind)? No, it is the same for all.
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
6. Does Bodhi (wisdom, insight) lead to Buddhahood? Not necessarily. There is a kind of Bodhi which leads to Arahatship.
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
7. Is every one endowed with the 32 marks a Bodisat? No (quoting D. 30).
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
8. Did the Bodisat (that is, Jotipāla, M. 81) adopt the method and conduct necessary for Buddhahood at the command of Kassapa the Buddha? No (quoting Mahāvagga, I. 6. 7, 8, and I. 6. 23–26).
    Contra Andhakā.
9. Does the realization of Arahatship include the fruits of the three lower stages of the Path? No.
    Contra Andhakā (compare IV. 4).
10. Is the breaking of all the Fetters at once the same thing as Arahatship? No (they must be broken gradually).
    Contra Andhakā.

1 That this is their view follows from the opening words of the Commentary on IV. 7.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

45 = V. 1. Vimutti-ñāṇaṭ vimuttan ti?

2. Sekhassa asekha-ñāṇaṭ atthiti?

3. Pathavi-kasīṇa-samāpatti-samāpannassa viparīte ñāṇan ti?

4. Aniyatassa niyāma-gamanāya atthi ñāṇan ti?

5. Sabbāḥ ñāṇaḥ patisambhidā ti?

6. Na vattabhāṅ sammuti-ñāṇaḥ saccārammaṇaḥ yeva na aṅgārammaṇan ti?

7. Ceto-pariyāye ñāṇaḥ attārammaṇena annārammaṇan ti?

8. Anāgate ñāṇaḥ atthiti?

9. Paccuppanne ñāṇaḥ atthiti?

10. Sāvakassa phale ñāṇaḥ atthiti?

55 = VI. 1. Niyāmo asañkhato ti?

2. Paticca-samuppādo asañkhato ti?

3. Cattāri saccāni asañkhathaniti?

4. Ākāsaṅcāyatananant aṣañkhathan ti?

5. Nirodha-samāpatti asañkhatā ti?
V. 1. Is a man who has the knowledge of emancipation an Arahat? No (there are emancipations the knowledge of which has not that result). Contra Andhakā.

2. Can an Asekha (one who is not yet an Arahat) have the knowledge of an Arahā? No. Contra Uttarāpathakā.

3. Can he who has successfully accomplished the Meditation on the Earth be said to have a false view? No. Contra Andhakā.

4. Is an unconverted man, when good, capable of entering the career of a Bodisat? No. Contra Uttarāpathakā.

5. Is every kind of knowledge (nāna) the same as analysis (Patisambhidā)? No. Contra Andhakā.

6. Are there two kinds of truth (sacca) or only one? Two. Contra Andhakā.

7. Is the knowledge of other people's thoughts to be attained by meditation? No. Contra Andhakā.

8. Is there such a thing as knowledge of the future? Of the immediate future yes, but not otherwise (quoting M.P.S. I. 28 = Mahāv. V. 28). Contra Andhakā.

9. Is there such a thing as knowledge of the present? No (the moment anything is known it is already past). Contra Andhakā.

10. Have disciples as well as Buddha the power of knowing who will be converted? No. Contra Andhakā.


60  6. Ākāso asañkhato ti?
61  7. Ākāso sanidassano ti?
62  8. Paṭhavi-dhātu sanidassano ti?
63 = VII. 1. Natthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi saṅga-hitā ti?
64  2. Natthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi sampayutta ti?
65  3. Natthi cetasiko dhammo ti?
66  4. Cetasiko dhammo dānan ti?
67  5. Paribhogamayaṃ puññāṣaṃvaḍḍhatīti?
68  6. Ito dinnena tattha yūpentīti?
69  7. Paṭhavi kamma-vipāko ti?
70  8. Jarāmarano vipāko ti?
71  9. Natthi ariya-dhamma-vipāko ti?
72  10. Vipāko vipākadhamma-dhammo ti?
73 = VIII. 1. Cha gatiyo ti?
74  2. Atthi antarā-bhavo ti?
   Contra Uttarāpathakā and Mahipāsakā
   (compare Mil. 2. 103, foll.).
   Contra Andhakā.
   Contra Andhakā.

VII. 1. Are there not some qualities included in other qualities? Yes.
   Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
2. Are there not some qualities united with other qualities? Yes.
   Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
3. Are there not mental qualities? Yes (quoting
   D. X.).
   Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
4. Is it only mental giving (charity) that is a real gift? No.
   Contra Rājagirikā and Siddhatthikā.
5. Does the merit which arises out of the enjoyment of a gift by the donors tend to increase? Yes (relying on S. I. 7. 5 and
   A. IV. 51).
   Contra Rājagirikā, Siddhatthika and Sammātiyā.
6. Do the dead benefit by gifts given in the world? No.
   Contra Rājagirika and Siddhatthikā.
7. Is the Earth a result of Karma? No.
   Contra Andhakā.
   Contra Andhakā.
9. Is there no result of the Excellent Way save the putting away of evil? Yes (there is the acquisition of moral qualities, positive
   good as well as negative).
   Contra Andhakā.
10. Does one result of Karma produce another? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

VIII. 1. Are there six future states? No, only five.
   Contra Andhakā and Uttarāpathakā.
2. Is there an Intermediate Realm (where beings await rebirth)? No.
   Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammātiyā.
3. Pañc' eva kāma-guṇā kāma-dhatū ti?
4. Pañc' ev' āyatanā kāmā ti?
5. Rūpino dhammā rūpa-dhātū ti?
6. Arūpino dhammā arūpa-dhātū ti?
7. Sahayatanako attabhāvo rūpa-dhātuyā ti?
8. Atthi rūpaṇ arūpesūti?
9. Kusalena cittena samuṭṭhitāṇ kāya-kammaṇ rūpaṇ kasalan ti?
10. Natthi rūpa-jīvitindriyan ti?
11. Kammahetu Araha arahattā parihāyatīti?

= IX. 1. Ānisaṇṭa-dassāvissa saññojanaṇ pahānan ti?
2. Amatārammaṇaṇ saññojanan ti?
3. Rūpaṇ sārammaṇan ti?
4. Anusayā anārammaṇā ti?
5. Nāṇaṇ anārammaṇan ti?
6. Atītārammaṇaṇ cittāṇ anārammaṇan ti?
3. Are the five constituents of lust also elements of lust? No.
   Contra Pubbaseliyā.
   Contra Pubbaseliyā.
5. Are those qualities which have form also elements of form? No.
   Contra Andhakā.
6. The same of qualities which have no form.
7. Is every being with the six senses dependent on the element of form? No.
   Contra Andhakā.
8. Have the beings in the Formless Worlds a form? No.
   Contra Andhakā.
9. Is a bodily act due to a virtuous thought necessarily beautiful in form? No.
   Contra Mahiṣāsaka and Sammitiyā.
10. Is there vitality in form? Yes.
    Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammitiyā (see Mil. I. 89).
11. Will an Arahat fall from Arahatship through the result of an evil deed, such as abuse of an Arahat, committed in a previous birth? No.
    Contra Pubbaseliyā and Sammitiyā (compare I. 2 and Mil. 2. 20–22).

IX. 1. Can a man, by insight into the advantages of Arahatship, but without insight into the dangers attendant on the Saṅkhāras, put away the Fetters? No.
    Contra Andhakā.
2. Is the meditation on the ambrosia (of Arahatship) a Fetter? No.
    Contra Pubbaseliyā.
3. Has form a basis? No.
    Contra Uttarāpathanā.
4. Are the seven evil inclinations (aniṣaya) without basis? No.
    Contra Andhakā and some Uttarāpathanā (see XI. 1).
5. Has knowledge no basis? It has.
    Contra Andhakā.
6. Is a thought which has its basis in past events therefore without a basis? No.
    Contra Uttarāpathanā.
7. Sabbañ cittañ vitakkānupatītā ti?

8. Sabbaso vitakkaayato vicarayato vitakka-vippāko saddo ti?

9. Na yathā vitakkassa vācā ti?

10. Na yathā vitakkassa kāyakamman ti?

11. Atītena samannāgato ti?

X. 1. Uppatte siye pañcakkhandhe aniruddhe kiriya-pañcakkhandho uppaţjatīti?

2. Magga-sāmañgissa rūpañ maggo ti?

3. Pañca-viññāna-sāmañgissa atthi magga-bhāvānā ti?

4. Pañca viññāna kusalā pi akusalā piti?

5. Pañca viññāna sābhoga ti?

6. Magga-sāmañgī dvīhi sīlehisamannāgato ti?

7. Sīlañ acetasikan ti?

8. Sīlañ na cittānuparivattatīti?

9. Samañdāna-hetu sīlañ vaṭṭhatīti?

10. Viññātti sīlan ti?

11. Aviññātti duṭṭhīti?

XI. 1. Anusayā avyākatā ahetukā citta-vippayuttā ti?
7. Is every thought followed by reasoning? No.
   Contra Uttaraññathakā.
   Contra Pubbaseliyā.
9. Does every speech correspond to a previous thought (train of reasoning)? Yes.
   Contra Pubbaseliyā.
10. The same of every act.
11. Is a man now in possession of what he once had, or eventually will have? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

X. 1. Can five Skandhas arise when the five already arisen have not ceased? No.
    Contra Andhakā.
2. Is the Path the outward form of him who walks therein? No.
    Contra Mahiññásakā Sammitiyā and Mahāsañghikā.
3. Is there attainment of the Path to him who has the five Viññānas? No (quoting D. 2. 64).
    Contra Mahāsañghikā (see XII. 1).
4. Are the five Viññānas both good and bad? No.
5. Are they accompanied by reflection? No.
6. Has he who has the Path two different moralities? No.
   Contra Mahāsañghikā (relying on 'Virtues the base,' etc., Mil. 1. 53).
   Contra Mahāsañghikā.
8. Is not morality consequent on thought? Yes.
9. Does that morality which is the result of acquirement tend to increase? No (relying on S. I. 5. 7 and A. 4. 47).
   Contra Mahāsañghikā.
10. Is Intimation (Viññatti) a moral action? No.
    Contra Mahāsañghikā.
11. Is not to practise Intimation a wrong action? No (relying on A. 4. 47).
    Contra Mahāsañghikā (see Mil. 2. 33–37).

XI. 1. a Are the seven evil inclinations (Anusaya) immoral (neither good nor bad)? No.
   β or do they arise without a cause? No.
   γ or are they independent of thought? No.
   Contra Mahāsañghikā and Sammitiyā (see IX. 4).
QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

2. Aññāṇe vigate nāṇa-vippayutte cittē vattamāṇe na vattabbaṇ ānāti?

3. Nānaṇa cittā-vippayuttan ti?

4. Idaṇ dukkhan ti vācaṇ bhāsato idaṇ dukkhan ti nānaṇa pavattatiti?

5. Iddhi-balena samannāgato kappaṇ tiṭṭheyyāti?

6. Citta-santati samādhīti?

7. Dhamma-ṭṭhitatā parinipphannā ti?

8. Anicecatā parinipphannā ti?

114=XII. 1. Kāyindriya-saṇṭvaro kamman ti?

2. Sabhaṇ kammanj savipākan ti?

3. Saddo vipāko ti?

4. Saḷāyatanāṇi vipākā ti?

5. Sattakkhattuparamo puggalo sattakkhattuparamatā niyato hotiti?

6. Na vattabbaṇ kolo puggalo kolaṇkolaṭā niyato ti?
   Na vattabbaṇ bijī puggalo ekabijata niyato ti?

7. Diṭṭhi-sampanno puggalo saṇcicca pāṇi jivita voropeyyāti?
2. Is he whose ignorance has been dispelled by the knowledge of the Path not to be called wise? Yes.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

3. Is knowledge independent of thought? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

4. Does the knowledge that 'all is sorrow' follow on an exclamation to that effect? No.
   Contra Andhakā (see II. 3 and IX. 8).

5. Can every one who has the power of Iddhi live for a Kalpa? No (relying on M.P.S. III. 54 and A. 4. 182).
   Contra Mahāyaṅghikā.

   Contra Sabbatthivādā and Uttarāpathakā.

7. Is the persistence of qualities (in S. 12. 20) produced?¹ No.
   Contra Andhakā.

8. Is the transitoriness of all things something that is, like the things themselves, produced? No.
   Contra Andhakā.

XII. 1. Is restraint of the bodily organs an act of Karma? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (misunderstanding D. 2. 64).

2. Has every Karma a result? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

3. Is speech a result (of Karma)? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

4. Are the six organs of sense a result (of Karma)? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

5. Is a converted man restrained (from evil) by the inherent nature of his condition? No.
   Contra Uttarāpathakā.

6. The same of the Kolaṅkolo and the Ekabijī.
   (These are the stages immediately after conversion. See A. 3. 86. 2.)

7. Would a person who holds wrong views also commit murder? No.
   Contra Uttarāpathakā.

¹ There is a difference of reading here. The Commentary has parinippahāna and parinippannā. My MS. of the text has parinabbānā (sic) and parissabhātā.
8. Diṭṭhi-sampannassa puggalassa paḥinā ḏuggatīti?

9. Na vattabbaṅ sattamakassa puggalassa paḥinā ḏuggatīti?

123 = XIII. 1. Kappaṭṭho kappaṅ tiṭṭheyyāti?

2. Kappaṭṭho kusalāñ cittaṅ na paṭilabhheyyāti.

3. Anantarā-payutto puggalo sammatta-niyāmo okkameyyāti?

4. Niyato niyāmanā okkamatīti?

5. Nivuto nīvaranāñ jahatīti?

6. Sammukhibhūto saññoyajanañ jahatīti?

7. Sampanno assādeti jhāna-nikanti jhānaram-manā ti?

8. Atthi asāta-rāgo ti?

9. Dhamma-taṅhā avyakatā ti?

10. Dhamma-taṅhā na dukkha-samudayo ti?

133 = XIV. 1. Akusala-mūlañ patisandahati kusala-mūlan ti?

2. Saḷāyatanāñ apubbaṅ acohimañ mātu kucchi-miṁj saṇṭhātīti?

1 The Commentary reads niyama throughout.

9. Has not a converted man escaped it?

XIII. 1. Does a Kappattho remain for the whole Kalpa in the same condition? No. Contra Rājagirikā.


3. Is it impossible for a man who has once committed a mortal sin to enter the Path? No. Contra Uttarāpathakā.

4. Can a Niyato enter the Path? No. Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā.¹

5. Can any one when still entangled by the obstacles be rid of them? No (quoting D. 2. 97). Con. Uttarāpathakā (by a play on the word).

6. Can a man bound by the Fetters be rid of them? No (relying on A. 4. 47, and D. 2. 97).

7. Can a man practising Jhāna be rightly said to enjoy it? and is his desire to attain it the same as making it the object of his thought? No. Contra Andhakā.

8. Is there such a thing as desire for the distasteful? No. Contra Uttarāpathakā (misunderstanding passages where the Arahat is said to find a pleasure even in pain).

9. Is craving after qualities not to be condemned as immoral? No, it should be (relying on M. V. I. 6. 20). Contra Pubbaseliyā.


2. Has a new being all its six senses at the moment of conception? No (relying on S. X. 1). Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (see XXII. 6).

¹ This is really a dispute on the meaning of Niyato.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

3. Cakkhu-vīṇaṇassa anantarā sota-vīṇaṇan uppajjatīti?

4. Ariya-rūpaḥ mahābhūtānaḥ upādayāti?

5. Añño kamarūgāṇusayo añño kamarūga-pariyuttoṭhānan ti?

6. Pariyuttoṭhānanā citta-vippayuttan ti?

7. Rūpa-ruṇgo rūpa-dhātuṇ anuseti rupa-dhātu-pariyāpanno ti?

8. Diṭṭhi-gataṇ avyākatan ti?

9. Ditthi-gataṇ aparīyāpannan ti?

142 = XV. 1. Paccayatā vavatthitā ti?

2. Avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā na vattabbaḥ saṅkhāra-paccayā pi avijjā ti?

3. Addhā parinipphanno ti?

4. Khano parinipphanno layo parinipphanno muhuttaṇ parinipphannan ti?

5. Cattaro āsavā anāsavā ti?

6. Lokuttarānaḥ dhammāṇaḥ jarā lokuttarā ti?

7. Saṅgā - vedayita - nirodha - samāpatti lokuttarā ti?
3. Does the sensation of sound arise simultaneously with the sensation of sight? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.

4. Is the outward form of an Arahant caused by the four elements? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.

5. Is inclination to lust a different thing from being under the power of lust? No.
Contra Andhakā.

6. Is the being possessed (by lust, etc.) something independent of the mind? No.
Contra Andhakā.

7. Does the desire for future life in the worlds of form follow on, (and is it contained in) the habit of dwelling in thought upon form? No.
Contra Andhakā (see XVI. 10).

8. Is the wrong view that the world is eternal rightly called avyākata (undefined)? No (relying on M. 63).
Contra Andhakā and Uttarāpathakā.

9. Is he who has attained to Jhāna free from wrong views? No.

XV. 1. Is the quality of being due to a cause a fixed one? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

2. Is it right to say that though Ignorance is the cause of the Sāṅkhāras, the Sāṅkhāras are not the cause also of Ignorance? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

3. Is time diffused? No (relying on A. 3. 67).
(See Mil. I. 77. 78.) (The question apparently means, is it the same time that is past, present and future?)

4. Are the moments, minutes, etc. (subdivisions of time) diffused? No.

5. Are the four Great Evils (āsavā) free from evil? No.
Contra Hetuvādā (on the ground that there being only four, there are none left over for them to be implicated with).

6. Are the decay and death of transcendental qualities themselves transcendental? No.
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

Contra Hetuvādā.
8. Saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti lokiyā ti?

9. Saññā - vedayita - nirodha - samāpanno kālaṅ kareyyāti?

10. Saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpatti asanna-sattūpiṅkā ti?

11. Aññāñ kammañ añño kammūpacayo ti?

153 = XVI. 1. Paro parassa cittaṅ niggaṅhāti?

2. Paro parassa cittaṅ paggaṅhatī?

3. Paro parassa sukkhaṅ anuppadetī?

4. Adhigayha manasi karotī?

5. Rūpaṅ hetūti?

6. Rūpaṅ sahetukan ti?

7. Rūpaṅ kusalan ti?

8. Rūpaṅ vipāko ti?

9. Atthi rūpaṅ rūpāvacaran ti?

10. Rūpa-rāgo rūpa-dhātu-pariyāpanno ti?

163=XVII. 1. Atthi Arahato puññūpacayo ti?

2. Natthi Arahato akāla-maccūti?

3. Sabbam idaṅ kammato ti?

4. Indriya-baddhaṅ yeva dukkhan ti?

5. Ñhapetvā ariya-maggāṅ avasesā sañkhārū dukkā ti?
8. Is the same an ordinary matter? No.
   Contra Hētuʋādā.
9. Will a person who has attained to it die in the ordinary way? No.
   Contra Rājagirika.
10. Does the attainment of it involve rebirth in the Realm of Unconsciousness? No.
    Contra Hētuʋādā.
11. Is Karma something different from the accumulation thereof? No.
    Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.

      Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
2. Can a man exert another’s mind? No.
   Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.
3. Can a man insure another’s bliss? No.
    Contra Hētuʋādā.
   Contra Pubbaselīyā and Aparaselīyā.
5. Is form a cause? No.
   Contra Uttarāpathakā.
   Contra same.
   Contra Mahāpañśasakā and Sammitiyā.
8. Is form a result (of Karma)? No.
   Contra Andhakā and Sammitiyā.
   Contra Andhakā.
10. Is the desire for life in the Realm of form included in the element of form? No.
    Contra Andhakā (see XIV. 7).

      Contra Andhakā.
2. Can an Arahath die before he has worked out the Karma of his previous actions? Yes.
   Contra Rājagirika and Siddhatthakā.
3. Is Karma itself the result of previous Karma? No.
   Contra Rājagirika and Siddhatthakā.
4. Is all pain connected with the organs of sense? No.
   Contra Hētuʋādā.
5. Is the Excellent Way to be excepted from the saying, ‘All Saṅkhāras involve sorrow’? No.
    Contra Hētuʋādā.
6. Na vattabban saṅgho dakkhinañ patiggāṅhātīti?

7. Na vattabban saṅgho dakkhinañ visodhetīti?

8. Na vattabban saṅgho bhuujati pivati khādati sāyatīti?

9. Na vattabban saṅghassa dinnañ mahapphalan ti?

10. Na vattabban Buddhassa dinnañ mahapphalan ti?

11. Dāyako va dānañ visujjhati no patiggāhako ti?

14. XVIII.1. Na vattabban Buddho bhagavā manussaloke atṭhasīti?

2. Na vattabban Buddhena bhagavata dhammo desito ti?

3. Natthi Buddhassa bhagavato karunā ti?

4. Buddhassa bhagavato uccāra-passāvo ativiya añne gandha-jāte adhigañhātīti?

5. Ekanaariya-maggenacattāri sāmaññaphalāni sacchi-karotīti?

6. Jhānā jhāna-samañgi ti?

7. Atthi jhānantarikā ti?

8. Samāpanno saddañ suñatīti?
6. Can it be rightly said that the Sangha receives no gift? No (relying on A. 34 and A. 52).
   Contra Mahāsūṇāsā-vādā and Vetulyakā.
7. Or that the Sangha purifies a gift? Yes.
   Contra the same.
8. Or that the Sangha has food given? Yes (relying on Mahavagga, VI. 35. 6).
   Contra the same.
9. Or that a gift to the Sangha is of great avail? Yes (relying on S. XI. 2. 6—Vin. V. 34. 23–27).
   Contra the same.
10. Or that a gift to the Buddha is of great avail? Yes.
    Contra the same.
11. Is a gift purified by the giver, not the receiver? No (relying on A. 4. 78).
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.

   XVIII. 1. Was not the Buddha really born in the world of men? Yes.
    Contra Vetulyakā (He remained in the Tusita heaven and sent only a phantom of himself to the world!)
2. Did not the Buddha himself preach the Dhamma? Yes.
    Contra Vetulyakā (Ānanda preached it!)
    Contra Uttarāpathakā.
    Contra some Andhakā and the Uttarāpathā.
5. Did the Buddha realize the fruits of all the stages of the Path at once? No.
    Contra the same.
6. Does each (of the four) Jhānas arise out of the previous one? No.
    Contra Mahiñjūsakā and some Andhakā.
7. Is there an intermediate Jhāna or a breach in Jhāna (between the first and second)? No.
    Contra Sammitiyā and some Andhakā.
8. Can he who has attained to the first Jhāna hear sounds? No.
    Contra Pubbaseliyā.
 QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

182 9. Cakkhuṇā rūpaṃ passatīti?

183=XIX. 1. Atīte kilese jahatīti?

184 2. Suññatā sañkhārakkhandha-pariyāpannā ti?

185 3. Sāmaṇṇa-phalaṃ asaṅkhathān ti?

186 4. Patti asaṅkhata ti?

187 5. Sabba-dhamma-tiṭṭhatā asaṅkhata ti?

188 6. Nibbāna-dhātu kusala ti?

189 7. Atthi puthujjanassa accanta-niyāmatā ti?

190 8. Natthi lokiyaṃ saddhindriyan ti?

191=XX. 1. Aśaṅcecca mātaraṃ jīvitā voropitvā ananta riko hotīti?

192 2. Natthi puthujjanassa nāṇan ti?

193 3. Natthi nirayesu niraya-pālā ti?

194 4. Atthi devesu tiracchāna-gatā ti?

195 5. Pañcaṅgiko maggo ti?

196 6. Dvādasa-vatthukaṃ nāṇaṃ lokuttaran ti?
9. Does the eye see forms? No (it is the mind that sees them through the eye).
Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

XIX. 1. Is there no such thing as the putting away of evil dispositions but only of past evil? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.

2. Is Suññatā (Emptiness) predicable of the Skandhas? If emptiness of soul be meant, yes. If emptiness of the three fires be meant (in which sense Emptiness is an epithet of Nirvāṇa), no.
Contra the Andhakā.

3. Is the fruit of Samaṇṇaship unmade? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā.

Contra Pubbaseliyā.

5. Is the state of qualities unmade? No.
Contra Uttarāpathakā.

Contra Andhakā.

Contra some Uttarāpathakā.

8. Is there a faith (etc., the question is asked of each of the Moral Organs) which is of the world? Yes.
Contra Hetuvādā and Mahiṁsāsakā.

XX. 1. Is an involuntary offence a Deadly Sin? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā.

2. Has an unconverted man no knowledge? He may have.
Contra Hetuvādā.

3. Are there no warders in Purgatory? There are.
Contra Andhakā.

4. Are there animals in heaven? No (animals go to heaven, but become gods. Whether they like to use animal forms or not makes no difference).
Contra Andhakā.

5. Is the Excellent Way five-fold? No, eight-fold.
Contra Mahiṁsāsakā.

6. Is the twelve-fold knowledge (of the Four Truths—see my 'Buddhist Suttas,' pp. 150-152) extraordinary? No.
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

197=XXI. 1. Säsanaṅ nava-katan ti?

198 2. Puthujano tedhātukehi dhammehi avivitto ti?

199 3. Atthi kiñci saññojanaṅ apahāya Arahattappattiti?

200 4. Atthi ādhippāya-iddhi Buddhānaṅ vā sāvakānaṅ vā ti?

201 5. Atthi Buddhānaṅ Buddhhehi hīnātirekatā ti?

202 6. Sabbā disā Buddhā ti?

203 7. Sabbe dhammā niyatā ti?

204 8. Sabbe kammāni niyatūnīti?

205=XXII. 1. Atthi kiñci saññojanaṅ appahāya parinibbānānaṅ ti?

206 2. Arahā kusala-citto parinibbāyutīti?

207 3. Arahā ānaṅje ūhilo parinibbāyatīti?

208 4. Atthi gabbha-seyyāya dhammābhisamayo ti?

209 5. Atthi gabbha-seyyāya Arahattappattiti?

210 Atthi supina-gatassa dhammābhisamayo ti?

211 Atthi supina-gatassa Arahattappattiti?

212 6. Sabbanā supina-gatassa cittaṅ avyākatan ti?

213 7. Natthi kāci āsevena-paccayatā ti?
XXI. 1. Was the doctrine altered, or made afresh, at the Councils? No.
    Contra some Uttarāpathakā.

2. Cannot the unconverted man separate himself at the same time from the qualities belonging to the three Dhātus? Yes.
    Contra the same.

3. Can Arahatship be attained without breaking the ten Fetters? No.
    Contra Mahāsaṅghikā (see 22. 1).

4. Have the Buddhas or their disciples intentional Iddhi? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

5. Do some Buddhas surpass others? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

6. Are Buddhas born in all quarters of the Universe? No.
    Contra Mahāsaṅghikā.

    Contra some Uttarāpathakā.

    Contra the same.

XXII. 1. When an Arahat dies, is there any Fetter he has not broken? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

2. Has an Arahat at the moment of his death such good thoughts as will produce a result in Karma? No.
    Contra Andhakā.

3. Is the Arahat at the moment of his death in the fourth stage of the Vimokhas? No.
    Contra some Andhakā.

    Contra some Uttarāpathakā (compare XIV. 2).

5. (a) Can a child in the womb become an Arahat? (b) Can a man be converted in a dream?
    (γ) Can a man become an Arahat in a dream? No.
    Contra the same.

6. Are all the thoughts of a dreamer indifferent (neither good nor bad)? No.
    Contra the same.

7. Does habit never become a cause? It does (Mil. 1. 90).
    Contra the same.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSED IN THE

8. Eka-citta-kkhaṇīkā sabbe dhammā ti?

1. Ekādhippayo methuno dhammo patisevitabbo ti?

2. Arahanta-vaṇṇena amanussa methunāj dhammaṇāj patisevantīti?

3. Bodhisatto issariya-kāma-karikā-hetu vini-pātaṇāj gacchatīti?

4. Atthi narāgo raga-patirūpako ti?

5. Rūpaṇ ṛ aparinipphannan¹ ti?

¹ See the note above on p. 23.

Note.—Professor Bühler's letter, referred to on page 1, must appear in the next issue.
8. Are all qualities only momentary in thought? No (relying on M. I. 190).
Contra Pubbaseliyā and Aparaseliyā (comp. XI. 6).

XXIII. 1. Is sexual intercourse allowable on the ground that it is right to be of one mind? No.
Contra Andhakā and Vetulyakā.
2. Can beings not human have sexual intercourse under the outward form of Arahats? No.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā (compare II. 1).
3. Can a Bodisat by reason of desire for sovranity be reborn in realms of woe, or believe in heresy, or practise asceticism, or follow a wrong teacher? No.
Contra Andhakā.
4. Is there such a thing as an absence of lust that is lust, or an absence of ill will that is ill will, or an absence of folly that is folly? No.
Contra Andhakā.
5. Is form not diffused? It is.
Contra some Uttarāpathakā and Hetuvādā (see XI. 7, 8, and XV. 3. 4).

It is a far cry from Gotama the Buddha to Mr. William Morris; but it will be the object of these pages to establish the succession, not apostolic but literary, linking together the Victorian poet and the Indian sage of the fifth century B.C. Like the author of "The Earthly Paradise," Gotama had an ear for

The gentle music of the bygone years,
Long past to us with all their hopes and fears.

But, unlike Mr. Morris, it was with a distinctly ethical purpose, and not to fill "an empty day," that Gotama re-told those traditional stories of ancient India which are preserved in the Pāli Jātakas. One of the stories of the Jātaka-book (the story of Illīśa\(^1\)) has been "adapted" by Jewish and by Moslem theologians; it has pointed the moral of the mediæval monk, and adorned the tale of the troubadour; and in these latter days it has furnished a theme both to an American and to an English poet.

The argument of Mr. Morris's poem of the "Proud King" in "The Earthly Paradise" tells how "A certain king, blinded by pride, thought that he was more than man, if not equal to God; but such a judgment fell on him that none knew him for king, and he suffered many things, till in the end humbling himself he regained his kingdom and honour." The incidents of Mr. Morris's poem will be familiar to all; but for the sake of clearness in tracing the story back through the several forms it has assumed in different ages, I may be pardoned for adding that, while the Proud King was bathing, his form had been assumed by an angel,—"an image of the

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\(^1\) No. 78 in Fanæboll's edition of the Pāli text, vol. i. (Trübner, 1877.)
king, in rich apparel, crown and signet-ring,"—who was recognized by everybody as their lord, Jovinian. Denied by courtiers, servants, and his queen, the real king is driven with blows from his own palace, and does not regain his kingdom and honour until in his deep humiliation he prays to God—

Look down, of folly I have had my fill,
And am but now as first Thou madest me,
Weak yielding clay to take impress of Thee.

Then, with a parting admonition as to the omnipotence of God, the angel vanishes, and the humbled Jovinian is again hailed as king.

This story of "The Proud King," like the old French Moralité "L'orgueil et présomption de l'empereur Jovinian," is taken direct from a thirteenth-century story-book, the "Gesta Romanorum."¹ This treasury of old stories was compiled by a monk, or monks, in usum predicatorum; and it is important to note that it was in their hands that the story was first made to inculcate the virtue of humility and to serve as a warning against the deadly sin of pride. In the kindred Old English Romance² entitled "Robert of Cysille" (the original of Longfellow's poem "Count Robert of Sicily"), this lesson is even more emphatically taught. For here the proud king's tribulation springs from his sneering (in church!) at the words in the Magnificat, "He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek." Doubtless it was the Gesta that suggested to Chaucer his lines in the Somnoure's Tale:

Methinkith they ben like Jovynian,
Fat as a whal, and walken as a swan.

Tracing the story further back, we find in the Qur'ān³ this verse: "And we did try Solomon and we threw upon his

² See Ellis's "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances" (London, 1848).
throne a form; then he turned repentant." According to the interwoven commentary of the Koran and to other Arab commentators, this verse refers to the following legend. A wife of Solomon having practised idolatry in his palace, God punished the king by allowing a demon, Şakhr (or Şakhar) by name, to steal the signet-ring on which Solomon's kingdom depended. By virtue of this stolen ring Şakhr became possessed of the kingdom and sat on the throne in the borrowed form of Solomon. The dethroned king meantime, being unrecognized by any of his subjects, wandered about begging his bread, until after forty days—which was the period during which the idolatry had been practised in his palace—the demon Şakhr flew away, throwing the ring into the sea. The ring being miraculously found by Solomon inside a fish, he recovered his kingdom, and threw Şakhr with a great stone tied round his neck into the Lake of Tiberias. In later times Şakhr has emerged from the Lake as the bottle-imp, caught by the fisherman at the beginning of the Arabian Nights, and has attained more modern fame in the hands of Le Sage as "Le Diable Boiteux." In this latter form the demon is known as Asmodeus, a name which carries us back—unlike the Şakhr of the Moslems—to the Jewish Talmud. In the Babylonian recension of this work, which was completed about 500 A.D., Solomon,¹ unrecognized even in Jerusalem after the loss of his ring, is mocked by his own porter and driven with blows from his own door, like the proud king Jovinian. After many bitter experiences the outcast and despairing king throws himself to earth, and in a passion of tears implores the mercy of God whom he has so long forgotten. Soon after he finds his ring inside a fish, and is recognized again by the Sanhedrin (a body, by the way, which probably did not exist in Solomon's days), who advise him to beard the usurper in his hall, advice which the Sanhedrin have the less hesitation in giving when they reflect that the pseudo-king always kept his feet concealed in his robes,

and so was probably a demon. At the sight of the mystic ring Asmodeus shrieks aloud and vanishes, while Solomon again sits upon his magic throne.

Of this "Talmudic-Koranic fiction" the Gesta Romanorum story (and therefore Mr. Morris's poem of the "Proud King") is "the manifest descendant," in the words of the late Sir Richard Burton. With greater caution, and perhaps more certainty, it may be maintained that the traditions are akin, springing from one stock. The interesting fact to the student of comparative folk-lore is the evidence which the Jewish, Moslem, and Christian versions together afford of the evolution of stories. As in biology, so in folk-lore, heredity is tempered by variation adapted to new environment. The Jewish Rabbis, who edited the Talmudic version (which the monotheist Moslems borrowed directly or indirectly), had ever before their eyes the sin of idolatry,—the historic weakness of the Chosen People. So the sin which the Jewish story punishes is idolatry,—whereas with the followers of the lowly Nazarene the deadly sin is pride:—"deposit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles."

So far as can be determined by comparing the two versions, the Koranic story does not appear to be directly borrowed from the existing Talmudic legend.1 Both agree, it is true, in their main features, including the identification of Solomon as the king punished for idolatry; but much greater probability attaches to the view that the two are merely parallel or sister versions. And though names are not in themselves strong evidence, this view is supported by the difference in name of the demon who assumes the form of Solomon. As has been

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1 Sale refers to En Jacob, part 2 (haggadie Tales from the Talmud), and to Yalkut in lib. Reg. p. 182, which merely refers to the Talmud. Another Talmudic version, given in the (earlier) Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, runs as follows: God said unto Solomon, "Why should my crown be on thy head? Come down from off my throne!" And therewithal, as Rabbi Jose ben Chanina relates, there came down an Angel in the form of Solomon, who bade the king come down from the throne and seated himself thereon. Solomon wandered about through synagogues and schools repeating the words (Eccle. i. 1), "I Koheleth was king over Israel in Jerusalem. "A king," they answered him, "lives in his palace, and doth thou say I Koheleth am king?" They beat him with a cane, and set a plate of beans before him. Then said he (Eccle. ii. 10), "This is my portion and reward for all my pains." This Jerusalem version omits all account of the restoration of Solomon to his throne.
seen, the demon is called *Asmodeus* in the Talmud and *Ṣakhr* in Koranic legend. Leaving out of consideration the interesting question of the origin of "Asmodeus," it is to be observed that the name "Ṣakhr" is in itself indicative of Indian origin. Ṣakhr is simply the god Ćakra of the older Indian theology, the archangel Sakka of Pāli. And in the Pāli Jātakas occurs the story of Illīsa, who is punished for sin and brought to repentance by the archangel Sakka assuming his form. Illīsa's sin, in accordance with the view of folk-lore evolution above laid down, is the sin most deadly in the eyes of a Buddhist. It is not pride as in the Christian versions, nor idolatry as in the Talmud; it is the refusal to give alms,—a disposition necessarily abhorrent to the hearts of mendicant Buddhist friars, with whom almsgiving is ranked as the chief of virtues.

Stripped of non-essentials, the Illīsa-jātaka may be summarized as follows:—Illīsa, the Lord High Treasurer of Benaress, though a millionaire, was a miser; he had pulled down the family almonry, driven the poor from his gates, and hoarded his wealth so that it was "as a pool haunted by ogres." A niggardly act of his attracts the notice of his father, who at death had been reborn for his charity, etc., as the archangel Sakka. Sakka comes down from heaven, assumes the form of his miserly son, and proceeds to distribute the latter's darling riches. Denied by his friends, servants, children, and wife, and cudgelled in his endeavours to assert his identity, Illīsa is only restored to his former estate by the archangel, who says that it was as a punishment for miserliness that Illīsa's form had been usurped, and that unless he repents after this warning he will incur the final punishment of death.

The chain of sequence from the Jātaka to Mr. Morris is still far from complete, and it may be hoped that scholars with a larger knowledge than I can lay claim to, of the several literatures in which the story appears, may be willing to amplify and extend this sketch. Of peculiar interest is the appearance in Arabic writings of the archangel Sakka as Ṣakhr al Jinnī. Reduced by Buddhism from his former
dominion as the god Čakra (or Iudra) to be simply an archangel having sovereignty over the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven, Sakka has been further degraded by monotheism to the rank of a devil!

The following, in chronological order, are the several forms of the Illīṣa-jātaka:—

I. Illīṣa-jātaka.

Only the Gāthās or verses of the Jātakas form part of the Buddhist Canon as settled about 400 B.C.; but tradition says that the Āṭṭhakathā, or commentary, on the Jātaka verses was brought by Mahinda to Ceylon in its present state in 250 B.C., there handed down in Sinhalese till 450 A.D., when it was re-translated into Pāli. The story of Illīṣa is therefore part of the commentary only; but the original Canon contains the Gāthā (translated infrā) reciting the physical characteristics of Illīṣa, and stating the impossibility of deciding which of two claimants was the real Illīṣa. The confusion as to identity is therefore as old as the Buddhist Piṭakas, and had reference to an individual named Illīṣa. There is no reason to suppose that the story, of which this Gāthā was the catchword, was not substantially the same in the year 400 B.C. as the Jātaka story in Prof. Fausböll's text (cf. e.g. the Mahā-Sudassana-Jātaka with the earlier Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta and the Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta, as showing the tendency of later Buddhist writers merely to amplify, not to alter the substance of, earlier compositions). I will, however, hazard the speculations (1) that the earliest Buddhist form was not so elaborate as that of the present Jātaka book, and (2) that Buddhism borrowed the tale, with Sakka, from pre-Buddhist folk-lore, now lost. (See Rhŷs Davids' "Buddhist Birth-Stories" (Trübner, 1881) for an elaborate discussion of the age, history, and place in literature, of the Jātaka book.)

II. The Talmud.

(i) The Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, begun by Rabbi Jochanan in 260 A.D. and finished some 50 years later at
Tiberias, contains an account of the usurpation of Solomon’s throne by an Angel, with a meagre reference to his wandering unrecognized among his people, and to his being beaten and fed on humble fare. This Jerusalem story is rather an incidental reference to, than a complete version of, the Jewish legend of Solomon’s dethronement.

(ii) The Babylonian recension of the Gemara was finished by Rabbi Asha’s sons in the year 498 A.D., according to Etheridge’s “Hebrew Literature” (1856). The story is related of King Solomon—the centre round which crystallized many legends and tales—and of the devil named Asmodeus. I am informed by the learned Talmudic scholars, Dr. Friedländer and Dr. Gaster, that, contrary to what might be inferred from the specific references in the note of Sale to the 38th chapter of the Koran, no such “devil” as “Ṣakhr” is to be found in the Talmud.

III. The Qur‘ān.

In the 38th chapter of this book, which was edited shortly after Mahomet’s death in 632 A.D., there is an allusion to the Talmudic legend.

IV. Commentators on the Qur‘ān.

The interest attaching to the commentators’ story is that here the Sakka of the Jātaka re-appears, in what is practically the Babylonian Talmudic version. I am indebted to Mr. Kay for the information that the Commentary of Zamakhshari, after telling the story about Solomon and Ṣakhr, goes on to say that the most learned commentators regard the story as altogether unworthy of credit, and that in fact it is only an old wife’s tale invented by the Jews.

Bearing in mind the survival of Sakka in the Moslem version, I venture to think that it was only orthodox Judaism which had substituted Asmodeus in the adapted Indian story, and that the unorthodox Jews of Arabia (to whom Mahomet was indebted for no inconsiderable part of his knowledge of Judaism) had preserved in a more original form the old Indian story of which the Illīsa-jātaka is the earliest known version.
V. The Gesta Romanorum.

According to Herrtage's Introduction to his edition of the Early English version of this well-known book, the date of its compilation is about 1300. Thence onward the story has suffered little or no change down to the present day. We are practically in the dark as to the sources from which this book was compiled. But it may well be that the Gesta story of King Jovinian was derived from the Talmud legend of Solomon through the mediation of converted Jews, such as John of Capua, the translator of the Directorium vita humana.

As the Illīṣa-jātaka (so far as I am aware) has not yet been translated into English, I append a version of it, in the hope that it may be of interest not only in the historical connection in which I have adduced it, but also for its own quaint humour and the graphic incidents with which the central idea had been embroidered in India more than two thousand years ago.

**Illīṣa-jātaka.**

Once on a time when Brahmadatta was king in Benares, he had a Lord High Treasurer who was a millionaire. Now this man was a churlish fellow, who hated his fellow-men; he was lame and crookbacked, and had a cast in his eye. Moreover, he was an unconverted infidel, and a miser. He never gave of his store to others nor had any joy of it himself, so that his house was like a pool haunted by ogres, whereat none may drink or slake their thirst. Yet for seven generations back his ancestors had been bountiful, giving freely of their best to the needy; but when this man succeeded to the office of Lord High Treasurer, he broke through the traditions of his house. He burned the almonry to the ground, and driving away the poor with blows from his door, hoarded his wealth.

Now the Lord High Treasurer's father, who for his charity and other good works had been reborn as the archangel Sakka, chanced to be meditating on the blessings his charitableness
had brought him, and was bending over from heaven to look down on earth, when he saw his son behaving with great meanness. For the Lord High Treasurer, being thirsty, but not wanting to have to share his liquor with any one, had sent a slave with a few halfpence to the tavern to buy a whole jar of spirits for him. This the miser made the slave carry on ahead to the river side, where there was a dense thicket. Here he had the jar set down, ordering the slave to wait at a distance. Then he filled his cup and fell to drinking in solitary happiness. Indignant at this sight, Sakka cried, "I will go to my son and teach him that all deeds bear their fruits; I will work my son's conversion and make him worthy of rebirth hereafter in the world of angels." So he came down to earth and once more trod the ways of men, putting on the semblance of his son, the Lord High Treasurer Illīsa, with his son's lameness and humpback and squint. In this guise Sakka entered the city and made his way to the king's palace, where he bade his coming be announced to the king. Ordering him to be admitted, the king asked the object of so unexpected a visit. "Sire," said the pretended Treasurer, "I have a whole million of money stored away in my house. Deign to have it transferred to the royal exchequer."

"But, we are richer even than your lordship, and have no need to take your riches from you."

"If your majesty declines, I will give it away as likes me best."

"Do so by all means, if you wish," said the king.

"Very good, sire; I will," said the pretended Illīsa, and with due obeisance departed from the royal presence to the Treasurer's house. All the servants thought it was their real master; and he gave orders to the porter that if any other person looking like himself should appear and claim to be the master of the house, the porter should cudgel such a one and throw him out. Then he seated himself in state in an inner chamber of the house, and, sending for the Lord High Treasurer's wife, announced his intention to be bountiful and to lavish his wealth in charity. Thought
wife, children, and servants with one accord: "This is indeed a novel mood for him to be in. It must be the spirits he has been drinking which have made him so good-natured and generous to-day." So he sent for the crier and bade him proclaim through the city that every one who wanted gold and silver or jewels was to come up to Illisa's house. Accordingly a large crowd speedily besieged the gate, all carrying baskets and sacks. Then said Sakka, "Fling open the doors of my treasure-chambers, and let each one here take what he will and go his way; it is my free gift to you." Without a moment's delay the crowd seized on the treasure, and piled up heaps of riches and filled sacks and vessels with the rich booty; and away they went, laden with their spoils. Now among them was a certain countryman who, thoughtfully yoking Illisa's oxen to Illisa's cart, loaded it with valuables. As the fellow travelled along the high road on his way from the city, he drew near the very thicket where the real Lord Treasurer was lying perdu, and sang his praises in these words: "Heaven grant you may live to be a hundred, my good lord Illisa! What you've done for me will keep me without doing another stroke of work all my life long. Whose were these oxen?—yours. Whose was this cart?—yours. Whose the valuables in the cart?—yours too. Never was father or mother so generous as you have been." These words filled the Lord High Treasurer with fear and trembling. "Why, the fellow is mentioning my name," said he to himself. "Can the king have been distributing my wealth to the people?" At the bare thought he bounded from the bush, and, recognizing his own oxen and cart, seized the oxen by the cord, crying, "Stop, fellow; these oxen and this cart belong to me." Down leaped the man from the cart, angrily exclaiming, "You rascal! Illisa, the Lord High Treasurer, is giving away his wealth. Who, pray, are you?" And he sprang at the Treasurer and struck him on the back like a falling thunderbolt, and went off with the cart. Illisa picked himself up, trembling in every limb, wiped off the mud, and hurrying after his
cart, seized hold of the rein again. Again the countryman got down, and seizing Illisa by the hair, beat him about the head for some time; then taking him by the throat, he flung him heavily upon his face on the road, and drove off. Sobered by this rough usage, and filled with the direst forebodings, Illisa hurried off home. There, seeing folk making off with his darling treasures, he fell to laying hands on here a man and there a man, shrieking, "Hi! what's this? Is the king despoiling me?" And every man he laid hands on knocked him down. Bruised and smarting, he sought to take refuge in his own house, when the porters stopped him with, "Holloa, you rascal! Where might you be going?" And first thrashing him soundly with bamboos, they took their master by the throat and threw him out of doors. "There is none but the king left to see me righted," groaned Illisa, and betook himself to the palace. "Why, oh why, sire," he cried, "have you plundered me like this?"

"Nay, it was not I, my Lord Treasurer," said the king. "Did you not yourself come and declare your intention of giving your wealth away, if I would not accept it? And did you not then send the crier round and carry out your threat?"

"Oh sire, indeed it was not I that came to you on such an errand. Your majesty knows how near and close I am, and how I never in my life gave away, if I could help it, so much as a drop of oil or a blade of grass. May it please your majesty to send for him who has given my substance away, and to question him on the matter."

Then the king sent for Sakka. And so exactly alike were the two that neither the king nor his court could tell which was the real Lord High Treasurer. Said the miser Illisa, "Who, and what, sire, is this person? I am your majesty's Treasurer."

"Well, really I can't say which is the real Illisa," said the king. "Is there anybody who can distinguish them for certain?"

"Yes, sire, my wife."
So the wife was sent for and asked which of the two was her husband. And she said Sakka was her husband and went to his side. Then in turn Illisa's children and servants were brought in and asked the same question; and all with one accord declared Sakka was the real Lord High Treasurer. Here it flashed across Illisa's mind that he had a wart on his head, the existence of which was known only to himself and to his barber. So, as a last resource, he asked that his barber might be sent for. Accordingly, the barber was sent for and asked if he had any private means of knowing the real from the false Illisa. "I could tell, sire," said he, "if I might examine their heads."

"Then look at both their heads," said the king.

On the instant Sakka caused a wart to rise on his head, so that, after examining the two, the barber reported that, as both alike had got warts on their heads, he couldn't for the life of him say which was the real man. Hearing his last hope thus fail him, the Lord High Treasurer fell into a tremble; and such was his anguish at the now inevitable loss of his beloved riches, that down he fell in a swoon. Thereupon Sakka put forth his supernatural powers, and, rising in the air, addressed the king thence in these words: "Not Illisa am I, O king, but the great Sakka." Then those around dashed water on the temples of the prostrate Illisa, who, recovering, rose to his feet and bowed to the ground before Sakka the Archangel. Then said Sakka, "Illisa, mine was the wealth, not thine. I am thy father; and in my lifetime I was bountiful toward the poor and rejoiced in doing good; wherefore, I am advanced to this high estate and am Sakka, the Archangel. But thou, walking not in my footsteps, art a niggard and a miser; thou hast burned my almonry to the ground, driven the poor from the gate, and hoarded the riches thou didst inherit from me. Thou hast no enjoyment thereof thyself, nor has any other human being; but thy store is become like a pool haunted by ogres whereat no man may slake his thirst. Albeit, if thou wilt rebuild mine almonry and show bounty to the poor, it shall be accounted to thee for righteousness. But, if thou wilt not rebuild mine
almonry and show bounty, then will I strip thee of even that which remains to thee, and cleave thy head with the thunderbolt of Indra, and thou shalt die."

At this threat Illisa, fearing for his life, cried out, "Henceforth I vow to excel in good works, and chiefly in charity to the poor." And Sakka accepted his promise, and after establishing his son in the Commandments and preaching the Truth to him from mid-air, departed to his own abode. And Illisa proved diligent in almsgiving and other good works, and so assured his rebirth hereafter in heaven.

Having recently received from Mandalay through the kindness of an uncle, several interesting and important Buddhist MSS. in Pāli, Burmese and Shan, I venture to lay before the Society a Collection of Kammavācās, some of which, though known to European scholars, have hitherto remained inedited.

The first Manuscript is a very handsome copy of the Kammavācaṁ in Burmese Ritual, or ‘tamarind-seed’ letters painted with a thick black resinous gum on 16 leaves of royal discarded pasohs, each leaf containing 6 lines each side.

It begins with the Upasampadā or Buddhist Ordination Service, which is perhaps the best known of all the Kammavācās, having been edited by Spiegel in 1841, by Dickson in 1881, and by Frankfurter in 1883. Then follow eight others, namely:

2. Kāthinadussaṁ uppannaṁ, ‘the Bestowment of the Kāthina Robe.’
3. Ticevarena avippavāsa, ‘the Investiture of a Bhikkhu with the three Robes.’
4. Simā-sammannita samāna-samvāsā ekuposathā, ‘the fixing of a Boundary for the Performance of the Uposathā.’
5. Thera-Sammuti, ‘the Election of an Elder.’
6. Nāma-Sammuti, ‘naming a Bhikkhu.’
7. Vihāra-kappiyabhūmi-Sammuti, ‘the Dedication of a Vihāra.’
8. Kuṭivatthu-Sammuti, ‘fixing a Site for a Bhikkhu’s Residence.’
The first seven are given by Dr. Frankfurter in his *Handbook of Pāli*, but whilst in his MS. the Bestowment of the Kathina Robe comes fourth in the series, in mine it occupies the second place. So far as I know, the eighth and ninth Kammavačās have never been published. They are as follows:—

VIII.


Suṅātu me bhante saṁgho. Ayaṁ itthannāmo bhikkhu samyācikāya kuṭi kattukāmo assūmikāṃ attuddesaṃ. So saṁghaṃ kuṭivatthuṃ olokanam yācāti. Saṁgho itthannāmañ ca itthannāmañ ca bhikkhū sammattii itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivatthuṃ oloketuṃ. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa ca itthannāmassa ca bhikkhūnañ ca sammutii itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivatthuṃ oloketuṃ so tuṇhaṃ, yassa nakkhamati, so bhāseyya.

Sammanṁiṣa saṁghena itthannāmo ca itthannāmo ca bhikkhū itthannāmassa bhikkhuno kuṭivatthuṃ oloketuṃ. Khamati saṁghassa tasmā tuṇhi evam etam dhārayāmīti.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu, at his own instance, is about to build a house, not by the direction of others, for himself to live in. So he asks the Saṅgha to inspect the site. If it seem meet to the Saṅgha, let it appoint such and such Bhikkhus to inspect the site of the house with the said Bhikkhu. This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu, at his own instance, and not by the direction of others, is about to build a house to live in. So he asks the Saṅgha to inspect the site. The Saṅgha appoints such and such Bhikkhus to inspect the site for the house with the said Bhikkhu.
Whosoever is in favour of appointing such and such of the Bhikkhus to inspect the site with the said Bhikkhu, let him be silent; whosoever does not approve, let him speak.

Such and such Bhikkhus have been elected by the Samgha to inspect the site of the house with the said Bhikkhu. By its silence the Samgha approves; thus I understand it.

In connexion with this Act of the Buddhist Chapter it is well to remember the following instructions given in the Pātimokkha (iv. 6):

Saṃyācikāya pana bhikkhunī kuṭiṃ kārayamānena assāmikāṃ attuddesaṃ pamaṇīkā kārebba. Tatr’ idam pamaṇaṃ, dīghasos dvādasa vidatthiyo sugatavidatthiyā, tiriyaṃ sattantarū, bhikkhū abhinettabbā vatthudesanāya, tehi bhiikkūhi vatthuṃ desetabbam anārambhām aparikkamanām. Sārambhe ce bhikkhu vatthusmiṃ aparikkamane saṃyācikāya kuṭiṃ kareyya, bhikkhū vā anabhineyya vatthudesanāya, pamaṇaṃ vā atikkameyya, saṃghādiseso.

If any Bhikkhu, at his own instance, and not by the direction of others, should get a house built for himself to live in, he must have it built of the following dimensions. The length twelve spans of the span of Buddha, the breadth inside seven such spans. He must assemble the priests to lay out the site. The site must be laid out by them so as to do no damage [i.e. so as not to destroy white ants’ nests or the abodes of other living things], and so as to have a clear space round it sufficient for a cart drawn by a yoke of oxen to pass. If any Bhikkhu, at his own instance, gets a house built on a site where life will be destroyed, and which has not sufficient space around, or if he fails to assemble the Bhikkhus to lay out the site, or if he exceed the limits (named above), he is guilty of an offence involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood.

IX.

Ahaṃ bhante nissayamutta-sammutim icchāmi. So ḍham bhante samgham nissayamutta-sammutim yācūmiti. [Duti-yam pi, tatiyam pi yācītabbo.]
Suṇatu me bhante saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallāṁ saṅgho itthannāmaṁ bhikkhum nissayamutta-sammutiṁ sammanneyya. Ėsa ēṇatti.

Suṇāṭṭi me bhante saṅgho. Saṅgho itthannāmaṁ bhikkhum nissayamutta-sammutiṁ sammannati. Yassāyasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno nissayamutta-sammuti so tuṇhassa, yassa na kkhamati so bhāsyya.

Sammataṁ saṅghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno nissaya-mutta-sammuti. Khamati saṅghassa tasmaṁ tuṇhi, evam etam dhārayāmiṁti.

Being desirous, Venerable Sirs, of your consent to a release from Nissaya, I hereby ask the Saṅgha, formally, for such release. [This should be asked a second and a third time.]

Venerable Sirs, may the Brotherhood hear me! If it seem meet to the Saṅgha, let it consent to the said Bhikkhu’s being released from Nissaya. This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! The Saṅgha consents to the said Bhikkhu’s release from Nissaya. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whosoever does not approve, let him speak.

Release has been granted to the said Bhikkhu by the Saṅgha. By its silence the Saṅgha approves; thus I understand.

The second MS. consists of 58 Talipat leaves of 5 lines in characters which are midway between Burmese and Cambodian. Like the first it begins with the Upasampadā. Then comes what may be called the Act of the Chapter with regard to Bhikkhus who have committed offences involving temporary separation from the Fraternity. We have, in fact, to deal with those questions of Probation, Penance and Rehabilitation which are discussed in the first three Khandhakas of the Cullavagga.
Suddhantaparivāsa.

Aham bhante sambahulā samghādīsesā āpattiyō āpaṭjīm. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyantante vematiko, rattipariyantente vematiko. So 'ham bhante saṃgham tāsaṃ āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yācāmi.

Sunātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādīsesā āpattiyō āpaṭjī. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyantante vematiko, rattipariyantente vematiko. So saṃgham tāsaṃ āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam yācāti. Yadi saṃghassā pattakallam saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsaṃ āpattinam suddhantaparivāsam dadeyya.

Esā āatti.


Sunātu me bhante saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu

Aham bhante sambahulā saṁghādisesā āpattiyō āpajjim. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattiparyante vematiko. So 'ham bhante saṁgham tāsām āpattīnām suddhantaparivāsām yācim, tassa me saṁgho tāsām āpattīnām suddhantaparivāsām adāsi. So 'ham bhante parivāsāsim evadīyām' aham bhante evadīyatiti mam saṁgho dhāretu. Vattām nikkhippāmi. Pariyāsam nikkhippāmi.

Pariyāsam samataṁ niṭṭhitam.

**Probation of Complete Purification.**

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many Saṁghādisesa offences, but I am not aware of the degree of the offences and am unaware of the duration of the times. I do not remember the degree of the offences, nor do I remember the duration of the times. I am uncertain as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times. So I ask the Venerable Assembly for a probation of complete purification on account of these offences.

Let the Venerable Fraternity hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, but he is not aware of the degree of the offences and is unaware of the duration of the times. He does not remember either the one or
the other, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences. If it seem meet to the Saṃgha, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences.

This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, may the Saṃgha hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous Saṃghādisesa offences, but he knows neither the degrees of the offences nor the duration of the times. He neither remembers the degree nor the duration of the times of such offences, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha to impose upon him a probation of Complete Purification in respect of these offences. The Saṃgha accordingly imposes upon this Bhikkhu such probation. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent. I say the same thing twice, nay, thrice.

Let the venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṃghādisesa offences, but he knows neither the degree of the offences nor the duration of the times. Of such offences he cannot call to mind either the degree or the duration of the times, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of such offences. Accordingly the Saṃgha imposes upon him such probation. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whoso does not approve, let him speak! I say the same thing thrice.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of several offences involving temporary separation from the Saṃgha, but he is ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. He does not recollect either, and is, indeed, uncertain as to both. So he asks the Saṃgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences. And the Saṃgha accordingly imposes such probation upon this Bhikkhu. Whosoever is in favour of granting to this Bhikkhu a probation of complete purification on account
of these offences, let him be silent; whoever does not approve, let him speak! A probation of Complete Purification has been imposed by the Sāmaṅgha upon this Bhikkhu on account of these offences. By its silence the Sāmaṅgha approves; thus I understand it. I appreciate the probation, yea, I appreciate it in its fulness!

Venerable Sirs, I have committed numerous Sāmaṅghadīsesa offences, but I am ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. I recollect neither, and am, indeed, uncertain as to both. So I asked the Sāmaṅgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences, and the venerable Assembly granted me such probation. Having been thus put under probation, let the Sāmaṅgha understand that I will carry it through to the end. I keep the probation, yea, I keep it.

The complete Probation is ended.

Chārattam Mānattam.

Aham bhante sambahulā sāmaṅghadīsesa āpattiyo āpajjim. Āpattipariyantam na jānāmi, rattipariyantam na jānāmi. Āpattipariyantam na sarāmi, rattipariyantam na sarāmi. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So 'ham bhante sāmaṅghaṃ tāsaṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāciṃ, tassa me sāmaṅgo tāsaṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivuttaparivāso aham bhante sambahulā sāmaṅghadīsesa āpattiyo āpajjim. Apatīcchannāyo. So 'ham bhante sāmaṅghaṃ tāsaṃ sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānañ ca, apatīcchannānañ ca, chārattam mānattam yācāmi.

Sunātu me bhante sāmaṅgo. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā sāmaṅghadīsesa āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So sāmaṅghaṃ tāsaṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Sāmaṅgo itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsaṃ āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivuttaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā sāmaṅghadīsesa
āpattiyo āpajji. Apatidchannahāyo. So samgham tāsasā
sambahulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca, apaticchannā- 
nañña ca, chārattama mānattama yācāti. Yadi samghassā patta-
kallam, samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsasā sambahul-
laṁ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca, apaticchannānañña ca, 
chārattama mānattama daudyya.
Esā ēyya.
Suṇātu me bhante samgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhuno 
sambahulā samghādīsesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam 
nā jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na 
sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, 
rattipariyante vematiko. So samgham tāsasā āpattināṃ 
suddhantaparipāsasam yācī. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno 
tāsasā āpattināṃ suddhantaparipāsasam adāsi. So parivuttha-
parivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhuno sambahulā samghādīsesā 
āpattiyo āpajji. Apatidchannahāyo. So samgham tāsasā sam-
bahulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca, apaticchannānañña 
ca, chārattama mānattama yācīti. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno 
tāsasā sambahulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña 
ca, apaticchannānañña ca, chārattama mānattama deti. Yassā-
yasmato khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsasā sam-
bahulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca, apaticchannānañña 
ca, chārattama mānattassa dānaṃ, so tuṇhassa, yassā na 
kkhamati, so bhūseyya. Tatiyam pi etam atttham vadāmi.
Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhuno 
sambahulā samghādīsesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam 
nā jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na 
sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, 
rattipariyante vematiko. So samgham tāsasā āpattināṃ 
suddhantaparipāsasam yācī. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno 
tāsasā āpattināṃ suddhantaparipāsasam adāsi. So parivuttha-
parivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhuno sambahulā samghādīsesa 
āpattiyo āpajji. Apatidchannahāyo. So samgham tāsasā sambah-
ulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca apaticchannānañña ca, 
chārattama mānattama yācī. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno 
tāsasā sambahulānaṃ āpattināṃ paṭicchannānañña ca, apaticcha-
nānañña ca, chārattama mānattama deti. Yassāyasmato 
khamati itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsasā sambahulānaṃ
āpattinaṃ paṭiechannānañña ca, apaṭiechannānañña ca, chārattam mānattassa dūnaṃ, so tuṇhassa, yassa na kkhamati, so bhāseyya. Dinnam saṅghena itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tasam sambalūnena āpattinaṃ paṭiechannānañña ca, apaṭiechannānañña ca, chārattam mānattam. Khamati saṃghassa tasma tuṇhi, evam etam dhārayāmi.


The Mānatta Discipline.

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many saṃghādisesa offences, but I am ignorant alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. I can recollect neither, and am, indeed, uncertain as to both. On account of these offences I asked the Samgha for a probation of Complete Purification, and the Samgha gave it me. After completing this probation I committed numerous unconcealed saṃghādisesa offences, so I ask the Samgha, on account of these many offences, to impose upon me the Mānatta penalty.

Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu committed many saṃghādisesa offences, but being ignorant, uncertain, and unmindful alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, he asked the Samgha, on account of such offences, to impose upon him a probation
of Complete Purification. The Saṅgha accordingly imposed upon him such probation. Since completing this probation this Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṅghādīsesā offences which he has not hidden. So he asks the Saṅgha, on account of the many offences, both hidden and unhiden, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty. If the Saṅgha is ready, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu, on account of the said hidden and unhiden offences, the said penance.

This is the motion.

Venerable Sirs, may the Brotherhood hear me!

A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṅghādīsesā offences, but he is unaware of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times. He recollects neither, and is, in fact, uncertain as to both. He asked and obtained from the Saṅgha a probation of complete purification on account of these offences. Since completing this probation he has committed numerous like offences which he has not concealed, so he asks the Saṅgha, in respect of such numerous offences, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty. The Brotherhood accordingly gives him such penalty. Whoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; whosoever does not approve, let him speak. I say it thrice.

Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Saṅghādīsesā offences; but being ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, he asked of the Saṅgha, and duly obtained from it, a probation of Complete Purification. Since completing this probation the said Bhikkhu has been guilty of many open offences, involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood. On account of these many open and hidden offences he asked the Saṅgha for the Mānatta penalty. The Saṅgha accordingly gives the said Bhikkhu the said penalty. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; on the contrary, let him speak.

The Mānatta penalty has been imposed upon the said Bhikkhu by the Saṅgha on account of these numerous offences, concealed and unconcealed. By its silence the Saṅgha approves; thus I understand it.
Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of many Samghādisesā offences; but being ignorant, unmindful and uncertain alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, I asked the Saṅgha for a probation of Complete Purification on account of these offences, and my request was granted. After undergoing that probation I committed numerous open Samghādisesā offences; so I asked the Saṅgha, on account of the said many offences, open and hidden, for the Mānatta penalty. My request was granted. Let, therefore, the Saṅgha understand, that I will fully undergo the said penance.

I keep it, yea, I keep it!

Abbhāna Kammaracā.


Suṇātu me bhante Saṃgho. Ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantam na jānāti, rattipariyantam na jānāti. Āpattipariyantam na sarati, rattipariyantam na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So saṃghaṃ tāsaṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ yāci. Saṃgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsaṃ āpattinaṃ suddhantaparivāsaṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayam itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Apaṭicchannāyo. So saṃghaṃ tāsaṃ sam-
bahulānaṃ āpattīnāṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattāṁ mānattāṁ yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhu tāsām sambahulānaṃ āpattīnāṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca chārattāṁ mānattāṁ cinṇāmānatto samgha abbhānaṃ yacati. Yadi samghassa pattakallam samgha itthannāmaṃ bhikkhuṃ abbheyya.

Esā śāntti.


Suṇātu me bhante samgho. Ayāṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādisesa āpattīyo āpajji. Āpattipariyantām na jānāti, rattipariyantām na jānāti. Āpattipariyantām na sarati, rattipariyantām na sarati. Āpattipariyante vematiko, rattipariyante vematiko. So samgham tāsām āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsāṃ yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhu tāsām āpattīnaṃ suddhantaparivāsāṃ adāsi. So parivutthaparivāso ayāṃ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādisesa āpattīyo āpajji. Aṇṭicchannāyo. So samgham tāsām sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattām mānattām yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhu tāsām sambahulānaṃ āpattīnaṃ paṭicchannānaṃ ca, apaṭicchannānaṃ ca, chārattām mānattām adāsi. So cinṇāmānatto samgham abbhānaṃ yacati. Samgho itthannā-
Abbāna-kammāma samataṁ paripuññanā nīṭṭhitam.

The Act of Rehabilitation.

Venerable Sirs; having been guilty of many offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, and having been ignorant, unmindful and uncertain alike of the degree of the offences and of the duration of the times, I asked the Samgha for a probation of complete purification on account of such offences, and my request was granted. After undergoing this probation, Venerable Sirs, I committed many open Samghādisesā offences; so I asked the Samgha to impose upon me, on account of these numerous open and hidden offences, the Mānatta penalty, and my request was granted. Having been subjected to that discipline, I now ask for rehabilitation.
Let the venerable assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of numerous Samghādisesa offences, and having been ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, asked the Saṅgha for a probation of complete purification, and his request was granted. After undergoing such probation the said Bhikkhu committed many open Saṅghādisesa offences, so he asked the Saṅgha on account of the numerous open and hidden offences to put him under the Mānatta discipline. His request was granted, and now, having accomplished that penance, he asks the Saṅgha for rehabilitation. If it seem meet to the Saṅgha, let it rehabilitate the said Bhikkhu.

This is the proposal.

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of many Samghādisesa offences, and having been ignorant, unmindful, and uncertain alike as to the degree of the offences and as to the duration of the times, asked the Saṅgha for a probation of complete purification, and his request was granted. Since undergoing that probation the said Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Samghādisesa offences, some of which he has hidden, others he has not hidden. For this cause he asked the Saṅgha for the Mānatta discipline, and his request was granted. Having now accomplished that discipline, he asks the Saṅgha for rehabilitation. The Saṅgha accordingly rehabilitates the said Bhikkhu. Whosoever approves of the proposal, let him be silent; whoso is not in favour of it, let him speak. I say the same thing twice.

(Repeated) . . . . I say the same thing for the third time.

(Repeated down to "speak"). The said Bhikkhu is rehabilitated by the Saṅgha. By its silence the Saṅgha approves; thus I understand it.

Venerable Sirs, I am pure. Let the Saṅgha believe me to be pure and my character purified!

The complete purificatory Act of Rehabilitation is ended.
Ten lacquered Talipat leaves, five lines each side, in Burmese characters, constitute the third MS. It deals with probation, penance and rehabilitation, specifying the number of days the offences have been concealed.

Samodhānapanīvāsa.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa!


Esā ūatti.


Khamati samghassa tasma tuṇhī; evam etam dhārayāmiti.

Sunātu me bhante samgho. Ayaṁ itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādisesā āpattiyo āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyo ekāhāpaticechannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyo dasāhāpaticechannāyo. So samghaṁ tāsaṁ āpattināṁ yā āpattiyo dasāha-

Eśā ṇatti.


Suṇātu me bhante samgho. Ayām itthannāmo bhikkhu sambahulā samghādīsesā āpattiyō āpajji. Sambahulā āpattiyō ekāhapaṭīcchannāyo. Sambahulā āpattiyō dasāhapaṭīcchannāyo. So samghanām tāsam āpattinnām yā āpattiyō dasāhapaṭīcchannāyo tāsam agghena samodhānaparivāsam yāci. Samgho itthannāmassa bhikkhuno tāsam āpattinnām yā
Eśā nātti.
Duṭiyam pi etam attham vadāmi. Tatiyam pi etam attham vadāmi. Abbhito saṃghaṇa itthannāmo bhikkhu: khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṇhī; evam etam dhārayāmīti.
Nibbānaṃ pāpuṇhi!
Praise be to the blessed One, the holy One, to him who has arrived at the knowledge of all Truth!

Venerable Sirs, let the Brotherhood hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Samgha, some of which he has concealed for one day and others for ten days. So he asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has concealed for ten days. If it seem meet to the Samgha, let it impose upon him an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Samghādisesa offences. Several he has hidden for one day, several for ten days; and he asks the Samgha for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days. The Brotherhood imposes upon this Bhikkhu an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he has hidden for ten days. Whosoever is in favour of granting an inclusive probation to this Bhikkhu on account of the offences which have been hidden for ten days, let him be silent; on the contrary, let him speak! I say it twice. I say it thrice.

On account of the offences which he has concealed for ten days, the Samgha has imposed upon the said Bhikkhu an inclusive probation. By its silence the Samgha approves. Thus I understand it.

Reverend Sirs, may the Samgha hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has been guilty of many Samghādisesa offences, some of which he has hidden for one day and others for ten days. On account of those concealed for ten days he asked
the Samgha for an inclusive probation, and the Samgha imposed upon him such probation. Since undergoing this probation he has committed numerous offences, involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood, which he has not concealed. He therefore asks the Samgha for the Mānatta penalty in respect of the offences which he has hidden and has not hidden. If the Samgha is ready, let it impose upon the said Bhikkhu, in respect of the many offences hidden and not hidden, the Mānatta penalty.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu has committed numerous Samghādisesa offences, and has concealed many for one day, many for ten days. He asked the Brotherhood for an inclusive probation on account of the offences which he had concealed for ten days, and the Samgha accordingly imposed upon him such probation. After completing this probation the said Bhikkhu was guilty of many Samghādisesa offences which he did not conceal, and he now asks the Samgha for the Mānatta discipline in respect of the many open and hidden offences. The Samgha accordingly imposes upon the said Bhikkhu on account of those numerous hidden and unconcealed offences the Mānatta penalty. Whosoever is in favour of the motion, let him be silent; on the contrary, let him speak! I say the same thing twice.

In respect of the numerous offences, concealed and unconcealed, the Samgha has imposed upon this Bhikkhu the Mānatta penalty. By its silence the Samgha approves. Thus I understand.

Reverend Sirs, let the Assembly hear me! A certain Bhikkhu having been guilty of numerous Samghādisesa offences, many of which he hid for one day, many for ten days, asked the Samgha, on account of the offences which he concealed for ten days, for an inclusive probation, and his request was granted. After undergoing that probation the said Bhikkhu committed numerous Samghādisesa offences which he did not hide; so he asked the Samgha, on account of the many offences hidden and unhiden, for the Mānatta discipline, and his request was granted. Having fulfilled
that penance, he now asks the Samgha for rehabilitation. If the Samgha is ready, let it rehabilitate the said Bhikkhu.

This is the motion.

Let the Venerable Assembly hear me! Having been guilty of many Saṃghādīsesa offences, several of which he concealed for one day and several for ten days, a certain Bhikkhu asked the Samgha for an inclusive probation, and the Assembly granted such probation in respect of the offences he had hidden for ten days. After undergoing that probation he was guilty of many Saṃghādīsesa offences which he did not hide; so he asked the Samgha, on account of the many open and hidden offences, to impose upon him the Mānatta penalty, and his request was granted. Having completed that penance, he now asks the Samgha for rehabilitation. The Samgha accordingly rehabilitates the said Bhikkhu.

Whosoever is in favour of rehabilitating the said Bhikkhu, let him be silent; on the contrary, let him speak! I say the same thing twice, nay, thrice.

The said Bhikkhu is rehabilitated by the Samgha. By its silence the Samgha approves; thus I understand.

I appreciate the probation, yea, I appreciate it. [To be repeated a second and a third time.] I keep the probation, yea, I keep it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. I appreciate the penance, yea, I appreciate it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. I keep the penance, yea, I keep it. To be repeated twice, nay, thrice. By this Act the evil nature departs and the good survives; having thus received (rehabilitation), attain nothing better than Nirvāṇa!

A noteworthy fact about this Manuscript is the sudden appearance of a Burmese word in the Pāli text. Sunkriṃvat seems to be equivalent to vattabbo.

With the exception of the Bhikkhu's first confession, the next MS. is almost identical with the preceding. It is written on eleven leaves of lacquered royal pasoohs, in letters of the tamarind-seed form.
Samodhānaparīcāsa.

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa!


(Then follows the Kammavāca as in the preceding MS.)

Venerable Sirs, I have been guilty of numerous offences involving temporary separation from the Brotherhood. Many I have hidden for one day, many for two days, several for three days, several for four days, many for five days, many for six days, several for seven days, several for eight days, many for nine days and many for ten days. So I ask, reverend Sirs, the Saṃgha to impose upon me, on account of the offences which I have hidden for ten days, an Inclusive Probation.

To be asked three times.

In the first two Kammavācās the question is only put once (ṇattidutiya), but in those of Probation and Penance it is always put thrice (ṇatticatutthā). The latter form is also used in those Acts of the Chapter which deal with the minor disciplinary proceedings, namely:—

(a) Tajjaniya Kamma (Act of Rebuke).
(b) Nissaya Kamma (Act of Subordination).
(c) Pabbājaniya Kamma (Act of Banishment).
(d) Paṭisāraṇiya Kamma (Act of Reconciliation).
(e) Ukkhepaniya Kammas (Acts of Suspension).
By the publication of the above Kammavācās may I venture to hope that, the wish expressed by the learned Translators of the Vinaya Texts,¹ Dr. Rhys Davids and Dr. Oldenberg, has been, to some extent at all events, fulfilled?

Prefatory Remarks.

This translation has been made from a Burmese copy printed at the Hanthawati Press, Rangoon, but there is nothing to show whence the text was taken. I have also made use of a manuscript taken from the Mandalay Library, and now at the India Office. The gāthā, which in many places seem to be imperfect, are not given in the shape of gāthā in the Mandalay copy. In some cases the Burmese translation was redundant, and in others defective, so in translating them, though not a Pāli scholar, I have done my best to stick to the Pāli text, receiving some valuable assistance from Prof. Rhys Davids. The Jātaka is No. 547 in the Ceylon List, and what is called one of the Greater Jātaka, probably composed at a late date, as it refers to the Paṇḍara Jātaka, No. 521 [vol. v. p. 75, of Fausbøll], which I have translated in a note from another Burmese source.

The object of this very remarkable Jātaka is to set forth the general wickedness of Brahmins and the arguments in their favour given by Kāṇārittha, who in a former birth had been a sacrificial Brahman, which arguments are refuted at length by the Bodhisat Bhūridatta. There are two points to which I would draw special attention, which may throw light on the date or period at which it was composed.

1st. In the twenty-first stanza of the first discourse (F. 157) there is a reference to certain practices in the country of Kamboja, which apparently has no connexion with what goes before.

2nd. The appellation of the snake-charmer—Alampayano. A derivative of this word, viz. Alampay, is now used in Burmese to denote a person who is skilled in catching snakes (vide Judson's Dictionary), and it may be argued
that this word was taken from the name of this snake-charmer celebrated in Jātaka-lore. I think, however, that there is evidence to show that it was not the man's proper name, but the name of the trade, for I find that the words used by the snake-charmer himself in relating the story of the Garuḍa are, Ālamāṇaṁamantaṁāma "the charms of a snake-charmer."

The word, therefore, I take it, has its derivation from Ālam implying full, sufficient, and pāya drinking or having drunk. It may also be noted that the same word occurs in the Sudhammacari Stories, which I have given in Folk Lore Journal, vol. vii. part iv. p. 311, and that the Princess Sudhamma-cari is said to have been the daughter of Madda, a Rājā of Kamboja.

It is much to be regretted that books which appear to be published by the "Text-book Committee of Rangoon" are not more carefully edited. They are full of errors.

P.S.—Since the above was written Professor Fausböll has had the very great kindness to favour me with a copy of his transcript of the Pāli verses of this Jātaka. It would have been impossible without his aid, so graciously given, to restore the right reading of many of them.

**Bhūridatta Jātaka.**

(From the Burmese.)

**Chapter I. (Nagara.)**

One day, when the most excellent Buddha was residing in the Jētavana Monastery, he came into the hall, and, sitting down, looked round at the Rahans assembled there. Seeing amongst them some laymen who were keeping the fast-day, he took them as the subject of his discourse, and said, "O devout laymen, ye do well in keeping the fast; but, inasmuch as ye have me to give you instruction, you must not think overmuch of your devoutness, for in past times there have been others who, though they had no teacher, relinquished great wealth in order to keep the fast."
At their request he then related the following birth-story:
In times long past, when Brahmadatta reigned in Bārāṇasi, he appointed his eldest son to be Uparāja; but, seeing that he had accumulated much wealth and many adherents, he feared that he might become a source of danger to the throne, and said, "Dear son, I pray you depart into some other country, until I shall have passed away, when you can return and assume the royal estate, which is your inheritance." The Prince, obedient to his father's commands, left his country as a solitary wanderer, and took up his abode in a hut in a valley near the river Yamunā, where he assumed the garb of an ascetic, living on the fruits which he found in the forest. At that time a certain Nāga lady,¹ who had lost her husband, came up from Nāga land, and, seeing the Prince's footprints on the river shore, followed them till she came to the hut. The Prince being absent, in search of fruit, she entered, and, seeing his couch of dead leaves and other utensils, reasoned thus with herself: "This hut belongs to a hermit: I will try him in order to find out whether he be a real ascetic, or only some person who is pretending to be one. If he be a real ascetic he will have no carnal desires and refuse to sleep on a couch that is adorned. If, however, he does recline on it, he will not be a real hermit, and will be willing to become my husband and dwell with me in this forest." She then went down to Nāga land, and, bringing thence some fairy flowers, spread them on the couch and withdrew.

In the cool of the evening the Prince came back to his hut, and, seeing the flowers, exclaimed, "Who on earth can have done this?" He then made his supper and fell asleep upon the bed with sensations of delight. In the morning he got up, and, having swept out his cell, went again in search of fruits. When he was gone, the Nagini came again, and, seeing that the flowers were faded and crushed, said, "Evidently this is no hermit, but a man of ordinary passions." She then removed the old flowers and strewn the

¹ The Pāli is matopatikā nāgamāṇavikā.
couch with fresh ones. The second night the Prince was again very much astonished, but slept on the couch. In the morning he went out and concealed himself in the bushes near his hut to watch, and, on seeing the lovely Nagini, came out full of love for her, and asked her who she was. The lady replied, "My lord, I am a Nagini, and my husband is dead. Whence come you, my lord?" The Prince told her that he was the son of the Rājā of Bārāṇāsi, and proposed that they should dwell together. The Nagini at once agreed, and caused a splendid fairy palace to spring up, in which they dwelt with all manner of delights. In due course the Nagini bore a son, whom they named Sāgara, because he was born near the sea; and when he was able to run, she had a daughter, whom they called Samuddaja for the same reason.

Not many years after this a hunter of Bārāṇāsi came that way, and, recognizing the Prince, told him all that was going on. He told the Prince he would tell the Rājā all about him, but, on reaching Bārāṇasi, found that the Rājā was dead. On the seventh day after his decease the funeral took place, and then the nobles consulted, saying, "Sirs, a country that is kingless cannot ward off the thorns of strife, and as we know not where our Prince is, we are powerless. We had better make ready the consecrated car and send it forth in search of a king." Whilst they were thus deliberating, the hunter returned and reported his discovery. As soon as the nobles heard the news, they rewarded the hunter, and proceeded with a great retinue as the hunter directed them. On reaching the Prince's dwelling, they told the Prince that he must return with them and take up the reins of government. Upon this the Prince went to his wife and said, "Lady, my father has departed this life for that of the Devas, and the nobles have come to ask me to assume the royal estate: let us both go and reign in Bārāṇasi, which is twelve yojana in extent; you, my queen, will be the chief of 16,000 ladies." But

1 Consecrated chariot (phussaratho), in which have been placed the four great elements (mahābhūtā), viz. earth, air, fire, water.
she answered, "My lord Rājā, I cannot, for I am endowed with a poison (or flame) which shows itself on the slightest feeling of irritation, and though I feel strongly that I ought to live with my husband, yet if I were to accompany him and anything were to arouse my anger, those who were the cause would be reduced to fine ashes: for this reason I cannot go with you." Next morning she entreated him as follows: "My dear lord, since I cannot accompany you, and these children of ours, though Nāgas, are still to a certain extent human, be kind to them, if you really love me. Being of a race that lives in the waters, they are very tender, and cannot bear the rays of the sun; cause therefore, I pray you, that they make vessels to hold water, in which they may be conveyed, and when they arrive at Bārānasi have a tank made for them to sport in." Having thus spoken, she passed round him by the right hand and, after saluting him and embracing both the children, departed weeping to serpent-land.

So the Rājā, heavy at heart and with brimming eyes, went forth from their palace to where the nobles were waiting for him, and when they had poured over him the water of consecration, he directed them to prepare the vessels in which to carry his children. When the vessels had been prepared, he directed that they should be placed on wheels and filled with water. In course of time they got to Bārānasi, which was decorated for the occasion, and remained for seven days in a great pavilion surrounded by singers and dancers, whilst the nobles drank sweet liquors.¹ The Rājā then ordered a lotus tank² to be made for the children to play in.

One day, when they were letting the water into the tank, a tortoise got in by accident, and being unable to get out concealed himself there. When the Prince and Princess were swimming about, one day, it put its head above the water and looked at them. The children, seeing the tortoise, fled in terror to their father, and told him there was a

¹ Māhāpanam, great enjoyment, or big drink.
² Pokkharapi.
demon in the tank. The King summoned his attendants, and ordered that the tortoise should be caught. When it was found and brought, and the children declared that it was the demon that had frightened them, he ordered that it should be punished.

One nobleman suggested that it ought to be pounded in a mortar, another said that it ought to be boiled and eaten, another that it should be roasted; but one noble who was afraid of water, suggested that it should be thrown into a whirlpool in the river Yamunā. On hearing this, the tortoise put out its head and said, "O Rājā, what have I done? It would be a terrible punishment to throw me into a whirlpool, and I am ready to undergo any punishment rather than that."

The King, being very angry, at once ordered that the tortoise should be thrown into the whirlpool, and when the sentence had been executed, the tortoise was sucked down by the current to serpent-land.

Just then a son of Dhatarāṭha, the Nāga king, was sporting in the whirlpool, and seeing the tortoise, ordered it to be seized; whereupon the tortoise, who saw himself in a worse plight, cried out, "Friends, why do you, who are the servants of Dhatarāṭha, treat me so roughly? I am an ambassador from the Rājā of Bārāṇasi, named Cittacūla, and he has sent me to inform your lord Dhatarāṭha that he wishes to give him his daughter in marriage. Take me before your Rājā." When the Nāga youths heard this, they took him before the Rājā. But the Rājā was displeased and said, "The Rājā of Bārāṇasi ought not to have sent such an ugly fellow as this as his ambassador."

The tortoise called out, "O Rājā of the Nāgas, why do you say this? Ought an ambassador to be as tall as a palm tree? Ambassadors, whether they be tall or short, are estimated after the manner in which they perform their duties. O Rājā, my master the King of Bārāṇasi has many ambassadors: on land he employs men, and in the air

1 Dūto, an emissary.
2 Tūlo, Corypha.
birds; I am Cittacūla the tortoise, no common tortoise, but a nobleman and bosom friend of the Rājā; do not revile me."

Then the King of the Nāgas inquired on what business he had been sent, and the tortoise answered, "My lord, our master has made friends with all the kings who are on the face of the earth, but has not yet made an alliance with Dhataraṭṭha, the King of the Nāgas; he is, however, willing to give you his daughter Samuddajā in marriage, and ordered me to come to your majesty and inform you. Do not delay, O Rājā, but send some messengers with me to arrange the day for the wedding."

Dhataraṭṭha, being pleased at this speech, summoned some of the Nāga youths, and directed them to go to Bārāṇasi and arrange the wedding. So they went with the tortoise; but just before they got to Bārāṇasi, the tortoise, seeing a pool of water handy, slipped into it and hid himself under pretence of gathering lilies as a present. After waiting some time for the tortoise, they went on, and taking human form went into the presence of the Rājā.

The King asked them why they had come and they answered, "Your Majesty, we have been sent by Dhataraṭṭha, the King of the Nāgas, and we trust that your Majesty is in good health." The Rājā then asked them what special business they had been sent on, and they said:

1. Yaṁ kañci ratanam atthi Dhataraṭṭha-nivesane, Sabbani te upāyantu; Dhitaram dehi Rājino.
   "Whatever treasure there is in Dhataraṭṭha's palace,
   Let all by thee be acquired; thy daughter give to the Rājā."

On the King hearing this, he was enraged, and answered:

2. Na no vivūho nāgehi katapubbo kudācanam
   Tāṁ vivāham asaṁyuttam,1 katham amhe karomase.

1 Asaṁyuttam, according to B.M.S., means a bestial union.
"Not we a wedding with serpents contracted ever aforesight, 
That wedding, that improper union, how can we (human) perform it?"

Hearing this, the Nāga youths thought, "Of a truth this Rājā belongs not to a race that is suitable to match with our King Dhatarāṭtha, and yet he sent his ambassador Cittacūla to say he would give his daughter: we must display our power, and frighten this King of Bārāṇasi, who has insulted our Rājā." So they said:

3. Jivitaṁ nūna mocattam raṭṭham vā manujādhīpa
Na hi nāge kuptamhi ciram jivanti tādisā.
"Surely now, both life and kingdom are rejected by thee, Rājā,
Should the serpent-king be angry, such as thou art
would not live long."

4. Yo tvam deva manussosī iddhimantam aniddhimā
Varuṇassā niyam puttam Yamunam atimāṇnāsi.
"Thou, who art of men a ruler, him almighty, thou
so puny,
Varuṇa's own son, Yamunā, do'st thou purposely
insult then?"

The Rājā of Bārāṇasi exclaimed:

5. Nātimaṇnāmi rājānam Dhatarāṭthaṃ yasassinām
Dhatarāṭṭho hi nāgānam bahūnam api issaro.
"Indeed I despise not your king Dhatarāṭtha the
famous,
Dhatarāṭṭho, forsooth, of Nāga-hordes many the ruler."

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1 The B.M.S. reads cattam.
2 Though iddhima is given by Childers as supernaturally powerful, it is not so in Burmese translation.
3 Yamunām, the Burmese translates as beneath Yamunā, and not as a patronymic.
6. Ahi mahānubhāvo pi na me dhitaram arahō
Khattiyā ca Videhānam abhijatā Samuddajā.

"A serpent, though he be mighty, is not of my
daughter worthy;
A princess she of Videhas, high-born lady Samuddajā."

On hearing this, the young Nāgas were very wroth and
said, "Though we could now slay the King of Bārāṇasī,
with the breath of our nostrils, since we are under our
master's order to arrange a marriage and not commit
destruction, it will not be right for us to do so; so we will
go and report the matter to our Lord." They therefore
returned to serpent-land, and on arrival there the Serpent
King questioned them, saying, "Dear sirs, how is it?
Have you brought the Princess Samuddajā?" The enraged
messengers answered, "O Rājā, you sent us to the King
of Bārāṇasī without knowing the truth of the matter; if
you are angry and desire to slay us, do it here in serpent-
land. The Rājā of Bārāṇasī was puffed up with pride and
reviled thee." Thereupon the Serpent King cried:

7. Kambalassatarā utṭhentu sabbe nāge nivedaya
Bārāṇasim pavajjantu mā ca kiñci vihethayun.

"Let the Kambals ¹ and Assatars rise, the serpent hordes
(quickly) inform,
Bārāṇasī let them invade, but let them not hurt any one."

When all the serpent tribes had assembled, they said, "O
Rājā, if we are to go to Bārāṇasī and slay no one, what
are we to do?" And the Rājā answered:

8. Nīvesanesu sobbhesu rathiyā caccaresa ca,
Rukkhaggesu ca lambantu vitatā toraṇesu ca.

"Into the houses, the gardens, into the streets and the
markets,
Upon the trees, too, entwining, spreading yourselves
in the gateways."

¹ The Kambalo (a woollen cloth) and Assataro (mules) were Nāgā tribes.
9. Aham pi sabbesetena mahatā sumaham puram
Parikkhipissam bhogehi Kāsinam janayam bhayam ti.
"I too, white-shining all over, enormous, to this
spreading city,
On all sides enwreapt by my coils, to Kāsi-men I will
cause terror."

10. Tassa tam vacanam sutva uragā 'nekavaṇṇino
Būrānasim pavajimsu na ca kaṇci vihethayun ti.
"The instant they heard his order, those serpents of
various hue,
Būrānasī city pervade, but never a one do they injure."

11. Nivesanesu sobhesu rathiya caccaresu ca
Rukkhagesu ca lambipsu vitatā toraṇesu ca.
"Into the houses, the gardens, into the streets and the
markets,
Upon the trees too they twisted, spreading themselves
on the gates too."

12. Te su desvāna lambantā puthu kandimsu nāriyo
Nāge sonḍikate¹ disvā passasante muhum muhum.
"On these, when they saw them entwining, great was
the wailing of women;
The snakes' hoods distended beholding, their hissings
repeated in rage."

13. Būrānasim pavyadhita āturā samapajjatha
Bahā paggayha pakkandum dhitaram dehi Rājino.
"In Būrānasi then, the people sore stricken with terror
and dread,
Cried with their hands clasped in prayer, 'Thy daughter
give to the Rājā.'" ²

¹ Sonḍikate is translated in B.M. having their hoods expanded.
² The above verses (10 to 13) are not given in the Rangoon edition, but are
from Professor Fausböll's MS., and also in the Mandalay MS.
Thus they spread themselves all over the city of Būrāṇasi in the houses, the streets, and water-tanks, at midnight.

And the four young Nāgas who had acted as ambassadors, twining their bodies round the legs of the couch on which the King was sleeping, spread out their hoods and showed their fangs and hissed loud enough to split his head. Dhatarattha the Nāga King, too, overshadowed the whole city. Those who woke up in the night and stretched out their hands or feet felt nothing but hissing serpents, and shrieked out “Alas! the serpents, the serpents.” Some struck lights, and looking out saw the serpents writhing and twining themselves all over the gates and battlements and with one voice shrieked and wailed. So the whole city was in confusion, and when the day dawned, all the people, from the King downwards, were in a state of terror and cried out, “O great Lord of the Nāgas, why do you thus torment us?” The serpents answered, “Your king sent an ambassador to our king promising his daughter in marriage, and afterwards treated our ambassadors with contumely, acting deceitfully and treating our king as though he were nought but a brute beast; verily if your king gives not his daughter to our king, we will destroy this city and all its inhabitants.”

On hearing this, the people answered, “O great Nāgas, be not afraid, but open a road for us to go to the palace and we will entreat our king.” So the Nāgas allowed them to pass, and the people assembled at the door of the palace and wept with a great lamentation. The Queen, too, with all the ladies of the palace, cried out, “O Rājā, give your daughter Samuddajā to the King of the Nāgas.” The four young Nāgas round the King’s couch cried out, “Give, give!”

So the King of Būrāṇasi was stricken with terror and shrieked out thrice, “I will give my daughter Samuddajā to Dhatarattha the king of the Nāgas.”

When he had uttered these words, all the Nāgas retired

1 This is the rough translation of verses 10 to 13.
to a distance of three leagues from Bārāṇasi and dwelt in a city which they had built for the purpose; they also sent suitable presents for the Princess. The Rājā of Bārāṇasi received the presents and informed the messengers that he would send his daughter in due state. He then sent for Samuddajā and taking her to an upper chamber in a turret of the palace, opened the window, and said, "My darling daughter, look at that beautiful city. I am going to give you in marriage to the Rājā of that city, where you will be a queen. It is not far from here, and when you call to mind your parents, it will be easy to return and see them." Having thus spoken persuasively, he caused her to wash her head, and when she had been decked in jewels and rich garments, he sent her in a carriage with a retinue of nobles. The nobles of the Nāgas also came out to meet her with great honour. They then entered the Nāga city and presented her to the King, who sent them back to Bārāṇasi with rich presents. The King of the Nāgas placed the Princess in a splendid palace on a magnificent couch surrounded by Nāga damsels in human form, where she soon fell into a deep sleep.

Then Dhataratthā, accompanied by all his hosts, departed thence to serpent-land, and when the Princess woke up and saw all the Nāga palaces and gardens, which were like those in the land of the Devas, she inquired of her attendants, saying, "This country is very splendid and not like my own native land, whose country is it?" and they answered "Lady, it is the city of your lord and husband, Dhataratthā, the King of the Nāgas; it is not suitable for those who have not acquired merit. Since you have acquired merit, you have obtained this fairy dwelling-place and wealth." King Dhataratthā issued a proclamation to be made by beat of drum throughout all serpent-land, saying, "Let no one dare show himself to Queen Samuddajā in serpent form." So the Princess dwelt happily with Rājā Dhataraṭṭha, unaware that she was not in the country of men.

1 Paṭicchannayoggam, covered conveyance.
Chapter II. (Uposatha.)

Now in due course Queen Samuddajā bore a son to Dhataraṭṭha, and as he was very beautiful, he was called Sudassana. Again, she bore another, who was named Datta. He was the Bodhisat. After this she bore Subhoga, and then a fourth, who was called Ariṭṭha. Up to that time Queen Samuddajā did not know that she was in serpent-land; but one day some one said to the little Ariṭṭha, “Your mother is not a Nāga, but a human being;” so he determined to put her to the test, and one day when at her breast he changed himself into serpent form and coiled his tail round his mother’s instep. When the Queen saw this, she was terrified, and, shrieking, struck him to the earth with her hand, and one of her finger nails happening to injure his eye, he became blind in that eye, and the blood ran out. Dhataraṭṭha, hearing the Queen cry out, asked what was the matter, and hearing what Prince Ariṭṭha had done, threatened to have him slain. But Queen Samuddajā said, “O Rāja, one of his eyes is put out, do not punish him further, be merciful I pray you.” So the Rāja, out of love for his Queen, pardoned him. From that day Queen Samuddajā knew that she was in serpent-land, and her son Ariṭṭha was called Kānāriṭṭha.1

Now when the Prince was grown up, their father divided his country into five parts, and gave them each a division with a proper retinue. He kept one division for himself. Sudassana, Subhoga and Kānāriṭṭha used to come once a month to see their father, but Datta came every fortnight, and if there was any difficult question, he would solve it.2 When he went with his father to Virūpakka,3 he also solved any difficult questions that were asked. One day Virūpakka went with all the Nāga hosts to Tāvātimsa to do homage to Sakko, and a difficult question was mooted. When no one was able to solve it, the Bodhisat Datta

1 Kāṇo, one-eyed.
2 The Burmese always use the Sanskrit form praṇā for the Pali word pañho.
3 Virūpakka, the King of all Nāgas and Regent of the West.
explained it, at which Sakko was delighted, and said, "Dear son, Datta, you are as full of wisdom as the earth is thick, from henceforth you shall be called Bhūri-datta."  

From that day he remained in attendance on Sakko. Seeing Sakko in his palace, called Vojayanta, surrounded by beautiful fairies dressed in goodly apparel and covered with jewels, he was desirous of becoming a Deva, and thought, "What advantage is there in being a raw-flesh eating Nāga? I will return to serpent-land and keep the fast-days." So he returned to serpent-land, and said, "Dear father and mother, I intend to keep the fast-days." They answered, "Dear son, do as you wish, but, if you keep them outside serpent-land, on the surface of the earth, there will be danger." The Bodhisat answered, "Good, I will keep them in a quiet garden in serpent-land."

However, whilst thus engaged, the young Nāga girls surrounded him, playing on various instruments, and disturbed him; so he said, "I cannot keep the fast properly here, I will go to the country of men;" but, fearing that his parents might prevent him, he called his wives and said, "Ladies, I intend to go to the country of men and coiling myself round an ant hill at the foot of a banyan tree on the banks of the Yamunā, keep a fourfold fast: on the morning of the following day come with all your retinue and musicians, and conduct me back to serpent-land." Having thus instructed them, he went and coiled himself on the top of an ant hill and reflected thus, "If any one desires to take my skin, my sinews, my bone or my blood, let him do so." Then, making himself rigid like the log of a harrow, he kept the fast. When Āruṇa sent forth his rays, the Nāga women came as directed and conducted him back to Nāga-land, and in this manner he fasted many times.

1 Bhūri in Pali means both earth and wisdom.
2 The Burmese form of Sakko is Sikrā. The Sanskrit form Sakra, adapted to Burmese by changing a to i, which makes it thi-kyā, i.e. "He who knows and hears."
3 I find the Pali word is manduka bhakkhena frog-eating. The mistake has occurred through the similarity of the Burmese words pha a frog, and thi flesh. So, green and raw being the same word, green-frog became raw-flesh.
Chapter III. (Nagarapavesana.)

Now at that time there dwelt in a village near the gate of Bārāṇasi a Brahman (named Nesāda), who, with his son Somadatta, used to get his living by killing deer. One day this Brahman, not being able to find even a lizard, said, "Dear son Somadatta, if we go home empty-handed, your mother will scold." Just then they came close to the place where the Bodhisat was fasting and went down to the Yamunā to drink. On coming up they saw the track of a deer, so the Brahman said to his son, "Somadatta, I see the footprints of a deer, stand still for a little and I will shoot it. Then taking his bow and arrows, he remained on the watch at the foot of a tree. The deer came down to drink and the Brahman shot at it, but it made off, leaving traces of its blood. The two hunters followed it up, and when they found it, the sun was just setting, and they arrived at the banyan tree where the Bodhisat was fasting. They agreed that they would go no further that night, and, having hid away the carcase of the deer, climbed into the tree. In the morning the Brahman woke up, and just then the Nāga ladies had come to escort Bhūridatta back to serpent-land. Hearing the sound of their music, he tried to waken his son Somadatta, but being unable, he let him sleep and went alone, and going up to the Bodhisat said:

14. Pupphābhīhārassa vanassa majjhē
   Ko lohitakkhā vihalantaranso
   Kā kambukāyūradharā suvatthā
   Titthaṁti nariyo dasa vandamānā.

"In the midst of a forest full of flowers fit for offerings,
Who is this red-eyed, mighty, broad-chested one?
Who these gold-bedecked, well-adorned ones,
These women, thy slaves, who stand in obeisance?"

1 The Pāli stanzas, if any, are wanting in the Rangoon edition, but are given split up in the Burmese MS.; as under by Professor Fausböll.
15. Ko tvam brāhabāhu vanassa majjhe
    Virocasi ghatāsitto va aggi
    Mahā-Sakko aṁñataro 'si yakkho
    Udāhu nāgo 'si mahānubhāvo ti.

    "Who art thou, strong-armed one, in midst of this forest?
    Beauteous (I ween art thou) as butter-fed fire.
    Art Sakko or some other Yakkho?
    Or art thou a Nāga of great might?"

The Bodhisat answered:

16. Nāgo ham asmi iddhimā tejasī durabhikkamā
    Ḍasseyyum tejasī kuddho phitām janapadam api.

    "A Nāga I am, of great power, in glory surpassing,
    Should I bite with my poison in wrath, e'en prosperous townships (would be destroyed)."

17. Samuddajā ti me mātā Dhataratţho ca me pitā
    Sudassana kaniţţho 'smi Bhūridattāti maṁ vidu.

    "Samuddajā is my mother, Dhataratţha too my father,
    Suddassana my younger brother, Bhūridatta 'tis they call me."

After he had said this, he reflected, "This Brahman is a cruel old fellow; if he were to point me out to a snake-charmer, I should incur great danger. I will therefore carry him off to serpent-land and endow him with great wealth, and so be able to continue my fasts in security." He therefore said to the Brahman, "Come with me to serpent-land and see all its delights. I will give you great wealth." The Brahman answered, "My lord, I am not alone, but my son is up in the tree: if he may come too, I will go." After saying, "Call your son," the Bodhisat said:

1 Yakkho, a superhuman being.
2 The Burmese MS. supplies bhasmā bhaveyya would become ashes. Tejo flame, power, is also translated poison.
18. Yam gambhiram sadāvaṭṭam rahadam bhasam avehkhasi
Esa dibbo māmāvāso aneka-sata-poriso.¹

"This profound and ever-boiling pool, so dread, behold
(I pray you),
'Tis my supernatural dwelling, deeper than a hundred
fathoms."

19. Mayūra koṅcā bhirudam nilodam vana-majjhato
Yamunam pavisa mābhito khemam vakavantam sivam.

"Peacock and heron rejoicing, dark water in midst of
the wood,
Yamunā plunge into without fear, 'tis a realm of bliss
and delight."

He then bore away both father and son to serpent-land,
and on arriving there they changed their human appearance
to that of fairies. The Bodhisat gave them much riches
and five hundred fairy wives. So the two Brahmans enjoyed
great wealth and the Bodhisat was able to keep his fasts.
Every half-moon he came to see his father and mother
and preach the law; then he went to the Brahmans and
inquired after their health and wishes.

One day the old Brahman, after about a year had passed,
felt unhappy, and wishing to return to the country of men,
began to feel as if serpent-land were hell, and all the
beautiful ornamented palaces like prisons, and the lovely
Nāga girls like devils; so he determined to go and talk to
Somadatta. On getting there he said, "Dear son, are you
happy here?" Somadatta replied, "Dear father, why
should I not be happy? are you not happy too?" His
father answered, "Dear son, it is long since I have seen
your mother, brothers, and sisters, I am unhappy, let us
go away." At first Somadatta refused; but as his father
besought him, he at last consented. The old Brahman
thought, "If I tell Bhūridatta that I am unhappy, he will

¹ Poriso, lit. a man, whose height represents a fathom.
only heap more wealth on me. I must pretend to praise his wealth and splendour, and ask him why he relinquishes them to go and fast on earth. If he says that he fasts in order to go to Deva-land, I will say that we too must go back in order to get permission from our relatives to become ascetics: if I put it in this way, he will not be able to refuse, but will give me permission to return to earth." Shortly after this Bhūridatta came, and the old Brahman said:

"Bhūridatta, in thy kingdom, this land complete in every way."  

21. Samā samantā parito bahuta tagara mahī
Indagopaka sañchannā sobhati harituttamā.

"Where, ever through the live long year, this land of many tagra trees,
With golden fireflies o’erspread, is bright with new sprung grass."

22. Rammāni vana-cetyāni rammā hamsūpakiyitā
Opuppha padumā tiṭṭhanti pokkharāṇño sunimmitā.

"Delightful are its sacred places; pleasant is it with the sound of wild fowl.
Covered with lotus buds, in it abundant water tanks well fashioned lie."

23. Aṭṭhamsa-sukatā thambā sabbe veluriyāmayā
Sahassa-thambā pāsādā pūrā kaññāhi jotare.

"With well-wrought eight-faced posts, all made of precious stone.
Thy thousand-pillared palace stands, full of fair virgins, dazzling bright."

1 Verse 20 of Fausböll's gatha is not in the Mandalay MS. and does not seem, to fit in anywhere, but is replaced by the half stanza:

"Bhūridatta tava bhavane ayam mahi samā samanta parito."
24. Vimaṇam upapannösi dibhapuññehi attano
Asambūdham sivam rammam accanta-sukha-samhitam.

"Thou hast a fairy palace, acquired by thy merit;
So boundless, auspicious, agreeable, all else exceeding
in bliss."

25. Maññe Sahassanettassa vimaṇam nābhikamkhasi
Iddhi hi tāsam vipulā Sakkassēva jūtimato ti.

"Methinks thou canst not want even the palace of the
King of Gods,
For thy wondrous power is even great as his."

On hearing these stanzas Bhūridatta said,

26. Manasāpi na pattabbo ānubhāvo jūtimato
Pancārayam ānānam va indānam vasavattinam.¹

"Friend Brahman, do not say this; my wealth is far less
than that of Sakko; it is like comparing a mustard seed
with Mount (Sinneru) Meru, my wealth being the mustard
seed. We are but servants of Sakko, and ought not to be
put in comparison with him."

27. Tam vimaṇam abhijjhāya amaranānam sukkhesinam
Uposatham upavasanto semi vammika-muddhaneti.

"Wishing to obtain that palace everlasting, ever peaceful,
On the fast day, doing penance, I lie coiled upon an ant
hill."

Hearing this the Brahman, thinking with joy that he
would get his desire, answered:

28. Aham ca migam esāno saputto pāvasim vanam
Tam mam matam vā jivam vā nābhivedanti nātakā.

"I too in pursuit of a deer with my son came into this
wood,
He and I, dead or alive, our nearest relatives know not."

¹ The Mandalay MS. gives a different reading of last line, viz.:
Paricāriyamānānam indānam vasavattinam yassassāpi amhākam yaso na agghati.
29. Āmantaye Bhūridattam Kāsi-puttam yasassinam Tayā no samanuññātā api passamu ānātak).

"I let thee know, Bhūridatta, O noble scion of Kāsi,
If thou wilt give us permission, once more we shall see our kinsfolk."

To this the Bodhisat replied:

30. Eso vata me chando yam va sesi mam antike Na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mūnuse.

"Yea, 'tis indeed my desire that you should dwell in my presence;
For not forsooth are such pleasures with ease obtained by all mortals."

31. Sace tvam iechaye vatthūṃ mama kāmehi pūjito Mayā tvam samanuññato sothim passūhi ānātak.

"But if thou desirest not to dwell with my delights duly honoured,
To thee I give free permission in safety to see thy kinsfolk."

The Bodhisat then presented the Brahman with a ruby wishing ring that would grant all his desires, and said:

32. Dhāray' imam maṇim dibbam pasu putte ca vindati Arogo sukhito hoti gaacchevādāya brāhmanā.

"He who bears this fairy ruby flocks and herds and sons possesses,
Free from sickness, happy is he; taking it, depart, O Brāhman."

The Brahman replied:

33. Kusalam paṭinandāmi Bhūridatta vaco tava Pabbajissāmi jinno 'smi na kāme abhipatthaye.
"Health and thanks to thee I offer, Bhūridatta, for thy kindness;
I intend to be a hermit, old I am and nought desire I." 1

The Bodhisat then said: "O Brahman, since you are determined to be an ascetic, so be it; but if at any time through inability to carry out your vows, you relinquish that life, come to me, without fear, and I will give you great wealth."

"Bhūridatta, Prince of Nāgas," said the Brahman, "your words are very pleasant: in the hour of need I will certainly come to you for help."

The Bodhisat then summoned some Nāga youths and directed them to conduct the Brahman and his son back to the country of men; so they took them close to the city of Bārānasī and left them. The Brahman then said to his son, "Dear Somadat, this is the spot where I killed the deer, and here I slew a wild boar;" and thus conversing about the old familiar haunts, they came to a pool of water, in which they proceeded to bathe; and as soon as they went into the water, their fairy garments disappeared, and their old garments came in place of them, and their bows and arrows. Then Somadatta wept and said, "Father, to what misery we have returned after so much magnificence!" But the old Brahman replied, "Son, be not afraid, deer are not scarce in the forest, and we can still get our livelihood by killing them." Thus conversing they arrived at their home.

When Somadatta's mother heard that her husband and son had arrived, she ran out to meet them, and, bringing them into the house, set food and drink before them. When he had eaten and drunk, he fell asleep, and then she said to her son, "Dear Somadat, you and your father have been absent for a long time, what city have you been residing in?" He said, "Dearest mother, Bhūridatta, the King of the Serpents, carried us both off to his country, but, though

1 34, 35, 36, and 37, are not given as gāthā in the Burmese version.
we enjoyed great wealth and pleasure there, we were unhappy and have come back." "If that is true," said the Brahmaness, "have you brought any precious stones with you?" "No," said Somadat, "we have brought none." "Didn't the Serpent King give you a single thing?" asked the mother. "He offered my father a ruby ring, mother, but he would not take it; and I heard him tell the Serpent King that as soon as he got back to earth, he would turn hermit." "Ah!" said the Brahmaness, "he has forsaken his wife and family all these long years, and I have had all the trouble of feeding the household, whilst he has been enjoying himself, and now he wants to become a hermit!" So in a furious passion she began to belabour her husband with the stirring stick, saying, "Heh! Brahman, what do you mean by coming back from Bhūridatta's country after refusing the wishing ring? You are going to be a hermit, are you? Very well, get out of my house sharp, will you!"

The Brahman cried out, "Madam, do not get into such a passion; deer are not scarce in the forest. I will practise my calling as a hunter, and support you and your family." He then went off with his son into the forest.

Now at that time a Garuḷa was perched on the top of a silk cotton tree in a forest on the shore of the southern ocean, flapping its wings, by which means it divided the waters and seized a Nāga that was below. In those days the Garuḷas did not know the proper way of seizing a Nāga, and used to seize them by the head; but afterwards, through the advice of a hermit, which is related in the Paṇḍara Jātaka,¹ they learnt to seize

¹ The Paṇḍara Jātaka is to be found in Jātaka, vol. v. p. 75, and the Burmese version from the Maniratanapon is attached to this as a note.

In the country of Bārāṇasi, when Brahmadat was king, 500 sailors were wrecked in the sea, and, by the force of the wind, one of them was carried to Karampira harbour. On account of his emaciated body, people said, "This ascetic is a person of small requirements," so they kept him. Thinking that he was now well off, and to keep up his character, when they offered him garments he declined them. The people, thinking it was impossible to find a more abstemious man, had a great regard for him and built him a cell, and he was known far and wide as the "Naked one of Karampira" (Karampira acelaka). A prince of the Nāgas and a prince of the Garuḷas used to come and worship him, and one
them by the tail. This Garuḍa, however, not knowing the right way, seized this Nāga by the head, and carried it off wriggling to the Himavanta forest. There was also at that time in the country of Kūsi an ascetic Brahman, who dwelt occasionally in a cell in the Himavanta, near which there was a great banyan tree, and as this hermit was sitting at the foot of the tree, the Garuḍa flew past with the Nāga. The Nāga twisted its tail round the branches of the banyan tree, but the strength of the Garuḍa was such that it carried off the tree with the Nāga, without being aware that it had done so. The Garuḍa, perched in a tree, devoured the Nāga's entrails, and threw the body into the sea, whereupon the banyan tree fell with a crash. The Garuḍa looked round to see what it was, and thought, "Why, this must have been the banyan tree, that grew by the hermit's cell. I must go and find out whether he is angry with me for what has been done." So he flew down to the hermit's cell, and, having taken up a reverent attitude, said, "O hermit, what is this level spot!" The hermit answered, "O Garuḍa, my supporter, a Garuḍa came flying by here with a Nāga, and as he passed the Nāga twisted its tail in the banyan tree and it was carried away." "Is the Garuḍa to be blamed, O hermit?" "No, Garuḍa, the Nāga did it in self-defence, and is not to be blamed." "Reverend Sir, I am that Garuḍa, and I am much gratified at the manner in which you have replied to my questions; I know a charm that will keep day, when so engaged, the Garuḍa said, "We Garuḍas when catching Nāgas are often destroyed by drowning, there must be some secret cause for this; when the Nāga comes, ask him the reason and let me know." The ascetic agreed, and when the Nāga came, he questioned him; and the Nāga said, "If I were to tell this, all the future generations of Nāgas would be destroyed; but if you will promise not to reveal it, I will tell you." The ascetic promised, saying, "If I do, may my head be split in seven!" The Nāga then said, "When the Garuḍas are going to swoop, we make ourselves a thousand cubits long and swallow a great rock and then show fight with our heads, so when the Garuḍas seize our heads they cannot lift us and get drowned; but if the Garuḍas seized us by the tail and held us upside down, we should vomit the rock." The hermit, however, did not keep his promise, but told the Garuḍa. The Garuḍa, therefore, went and seized the Nāga, and whilst he was being carried off, he told the Garuḍa how he had been deceived. The Garuḍa took pity on him, and telling him that it is always best to keep secrets, let him go. The Nāga then wished that the punishment of oath-breaking should befall the hermit, and immediately his head split into seven pieces and he went to Avici.
off all serpents, and will impart it to you for your kindness.” The hermit answered, “I have no need for snake-charms, go in peace.” But the Garuľa insisted and taught him the charm.

There was also at this time a poor Brahman in Bāraṇaśī who was sore pressed by his creditors, so he went out into the forest, saying, “It is better that I should die there than continuing to live in this wretched manner.” In due course he came to this hermit’s cell, and served the hermit in many ways, and in return the hermit imparted to him the snake-charm, which had been taught him by the Garuľa, and also gave him some of the medicine which had been given him. The poor Brahman, having now got a means of livelihood, stayed a day or two longer, and then saying he had got the rheumatism, and wanted to get medicine for it, took his departure. After a short time he arrived at the banks of the Yamunā, and went along the road repeating his charm. Just then a thousand of Bhūridatta’s female attendants came, bringing with them the great wishing ruby, and, whilst they dispersed in the water, placed it on a sand-bank, to give forth its light during the watches of the night. At dawn they put on their ornaments, and, surrounding the great ruby, displayed their splendour. As the Brahman came up, the Nāgas heard him reciting his charm, and, thinking he was a Garuľa, fled, leaving the ruby, on seeing which the Brahman was delighted and carried it off.

Just then the Brahman, Nesāda, and his son, Somadatta, came out of the forest, and, seeing the Brahman carrying the ruby, he said, “Dear Somadat, is not this the ruby that the Prince Bhūridat offered us?” “Yes, father, it is the very same.” “Then (said Nesāda) we will get it by stratagem, for he does not know its value.” Somadatta answered, “Father, when Prince Bhūridatta offered it to you, you refused it; why do you want it now? Perhaps the Brahman will be too sharp for you. Do not speak to him, but keep still.” But Nesāda answered, “That may be, but just see how we shall both try to get round one another.”
He then said to the snake-charmer:

38. Maṇim paggayha mangalam sādhu vittam manoramam Selam byaṃjana-sampannam ko imam maṇim ajjhagāti.

"Thou who bearest this blest jewel, this good, heart-delighting treasure,
Stone so perfect in appearance, tell me where you found this jewel."

To which the snake-charmer replied:

39. Lohitakkhitahassāhi samantā parivārayam
Ajja kālam pakham gaccham ajjhagāham maṇim imam.

"By a thousand red-eyed damsels guarded well on every quarter,
This day, on the path I travelled, met I with this precious jewel."

Then said Nesāda, "O snake-charmer, the nature of rubies is such that if one looks after and honours them, they bring great luck to their owners; but if they are not well looked after, they bring harm. You are not the sort of person to carry about a ruby, sell it me for a hundred pieces of gold. I know how to treat it." (Nesāda had not a hundred pieces of gold, but he thought that if he once got it into his possession, he would soon get the hundred pieces.)

40. Supaciṇṇo ayam selo accito mahito sadā
Sudhārito sunikkhito sabbattha-m-abhisādhaye.

"Well looked after this stone, constantly honoured and revered, will accomplish every desire."

41. Upacāra-vipannassa nikkhaye dhāranāya va
Alam selo vināsāya pariciṇṇo ayoniso.

"To the possessor who neglects it, it will bring destruction."
42. Na imam akuṣalo dibbam maṇiṃ dhūretum āraho
Patipajja satam nikkhham dehi mam ratanam mamam.

"Thou unfortunate one art not worthy to carry this fairy
stone, take a hundred gold pieces and give me the ruby."

The snake-charmer, however, answered:

43. Na ca myāyam maṇi keyyo kehi vā ratanehi vā
Selo byañjana-sampanno neva keyyo maṇi mama.

"My bright ruby's not for barter, with earth's treasures
nor for jewels;
'Tis a stone of wondrous virtue; no, it can't be bought,
my ruby."

Nesāda.

44. No ce tayā maṇi keyyo kehi evā ratanehi vā
Athā kena maṇi keyyo tam me akkhāhi pucchito.

"Since, this ruby's not for barter, for aught else nor
e'en for jewels;
Then for what wilt trade this ruby? Name a price to
me who ask you."

Alampāyano.

45. Yo me samesa mahānagāṃ tejasim duratikkamam
Tassa dajjam imam selam jalanta-r-iva tejasā.

"Who shows me the King of Nāgas, with his glory
all excelling
To that one I'll give this jewel, with its rays so brightly
shining."

Nesāda.

46. Ko nu brāhmaṇa vānṇena Supanno patatam varo
Nāgam jīgimsam anveti anveti anvemas bhakkam attano.

1 Nikkhham = 5 suṇāgas = 25 dharanas = 250 phalas.
2 Supanno, the King of Garulas.
3 The Mandalay MS. reads pakkhatam varo more excellent than all winged ones.
“Who art thou, in guise of Brahman? art Supanno King of winged ones? Dos’t thou seek the longed-for Nāgas?”

Alampāyano.

47. Nāham dijādhipo¹ homi na diṭṭho Garuļo mayā Āsivisena² atto ti vejja mam brāhmaṇam vidu.

“No, I am not of birds the ruler; never have I seen Garuļo.”
Snake-poison doctor, Brahman, they call me.

Nevāda.

48. Kim me tuyham balam attthi kim sippam vijjate tava Kismim va tvam parathaddho uragam na pasāyasi.

“What, I pray, is this thy power? what this art but known to thee?
On what is it thou reliest that thou fearest not the serpent?”

Alampāyano.

49. Araṇṇakassı isino cirarattam tapassıno Supanno kāsi³ yakkhaśivisa-vijjam anuttaram.

“To a hermit in the forest, who for long time practised penance,
Supanno, who rules o’er Kāsi} taught this serpent-poison queller.”

50. Tam bhāvitam aṇṇataram samantam pabbatantare Sakkaccam tam upaṭṭhāsi rattim divam atandito.

¹ Dvija twice born. A Brahman; a bird, which is born twice, first as an egg, and then from the egg.
² The Mandalay MS. reads āsivisena vittovivecako the dissipator of snakes poison, which the Rangoon copy translates: “No Brahman, I am no Garuļa; in fact, I have never seen one, but am merely a poor snake-charmer who can allay the power of serpents.”
³ The Mandalay MS. reads "Kosiyassa isino,” and inserts akkhā taught.
“That well-practised, perfect, hermit, dwelling all among the mountains, Reverently I fed and tended, night and day, without remission.”

51. So tadā pariciṇṇo me vatṭam vā brahmañcariyam vā Dibbam pātukarim mantam kāmavā bhagavā mamam. “He, thus served and honoured by me, both as servant and disciple, This celestial charm imparted, which is wealth and pleasure to me.”

52. Tyāham mante paratthaddho nā ham bhāyāmi Nāginam Acariyo visa-ghātānām Alampāyano mam vidu. “I then, trusting in these mantras, have no dread or fear of Nāgas, Of all antidotes the master, Alampāyano my name is.”

Nesāda then said to his son:

53. Gaṃhāmase maṇim tāta Somadatta vijānahi Mā kiccena sirim pattam kāmasā vijabāmase. “Let us take that ruby, dear son; Somadatta, understand me, The with-difficulty-found good, let us willing not relinquish.”

Somadatta.

54. Sakam nivesanam pattam yo tam Brāhmaṇa pūjaye Evam kalyāṇa-kārissa kim mohā dubbhim icchasi. “To you who arrived at his dwelling, O Brāhman, he gave nought but honour 'Gainst one who has thus been so gracious, why foolish wish to transgress?”

55. Sace tvam dhana-kāmosi Bhūridattam padissati Tam eva gantvā yacassu bahum dassati te dhanam.
"E’en though thou desirest riches, respectfully treat
Bhūridatta,
To him then, going, thy wishes relate, and he’ll give
thee great wealth."

_Nesāda._

56. Hatthagatam pattagatam nikkhittam khāditum varam
Mā no sandiṭṭhiko attho Somadatta upacchagā.
“The food that has come to your hand or your cup ’tis
better to eat,
The good that is laid at our feet, Somadatta, let us not
lose.”

_Somadatta._

57. Paccati niraye ghore mahissam avadiyati
Mittadūbhi hitaccāgi jivare cápi sussare.
“He boileth in a fearful hell, the earth also swallows
him,
The false friend loseth all his gains, e’en though he
save his life he wastes.”

58. Sace hi dhanakāmo ’si Bhūridatto padassasi
Maññe attakatam vesam na ciram vedayissasiti.
“If in truth thou long’st for riches, go and reverence
Bhūridatta;
Well I know our evil doings will e’er long bring retri-
bution.”

_Nesāda._

59. Mahāyaññam yajitvāna evam sujjhanti brāhmaṇā
Mahāyaññam yajissāma evam mokkhāma pūpakā.
“By performing sacrifices Brahmans cleanse themselves
from evil,
We a sacrifice will make and thus blot out our many
misdeeds.”

1 The above is Fausböll’s reading, but the Mandalay MS. has Mahi yāma pi
virati, _the earth and Yāma swallow._

2 60 and 61 not given as gāthā, but as above.
Then said Somadatta, “I will flee from thee, for I cannot remain with one who can do such evil deeds.” So with a mighty cry he called on the Devas to witness that he could no longer remain with so base a father, and fled into the Himavanta forest, where he became a hermit and attained so much merit that he at last migrated to the Brahma heavens.

Nesūda, thinking that his son had gone home, and that the snake-charmer was heavy of heart, said, “Friend snake-charmer, do not be unhappy, I will show you Bhūridatta the Nāga Prince.” He then took him to where Bhūridatta was fasting, and when they got there, and saw him on the top of the ant hill, he stopped and said, pointing at him:

62. Gañhah 'etam mahānāgam āhar 'etam maṇim mama Indagopaka-vaññabhā yassa lohitako siro.

“Take thou then this mighty serpent, bring to me thy precious jewel,
Like fire-flies sparkingly brilliant is his head with its glowing eyes.”

63. Kappāso pi curass eva eso kāyassa dissati Vammikaggagato seti tam tvam gañhāhi brāhmaṇa.1

“Like well-carded cotton, I ween, his body is seen there,
On an ant hill’s summit he sleeps, him do thou seize then, O Brahman.”

Hearing this, Bhūridatta opened his eyes, and beholding Nesūda, thought, “That man wishes to do me a mischief whilst I am fasting. I took both him and his son to Nāgaland, and when they wished to depart, I offered them precious stones, but he would not take them, and now he has come with this snake-charmer. If I were to show my wrath to this Brahman, who is so treacherous to his friends, my

1 The Mandalay MS. has eso kāyo paddissati his body is to be seen; Faure, eso kayassa dissati.
fasting would be of no avail. It is better to pursue this
course of religious duties than to be irritated. If this serpent-
charmer wishes to cut me in twain, let him do so: if he
desires to cook me, he may do so; or toast me on a spit,
he may do so: I will not be angry. If I were to look
at those two, in my wrath, they would melt like cakes of
honey; but I will not, and if they smite me, yet will I
not be enraged.” Then, closing his eyes in fixed determi-
ation, he withdrew his head into his coils and lay motionless.

Then said Nesāda again, “Snake-charmer, seize this
serpent and give me the ruby.” Whereupon the snake-
charmer in delight threw him the ruby, saying, “Take it,
brother.” But the ruby slipped through his fingers and
falling to the earth, disappeared, going back to serpent-land.
When Nesāda saw that the ruby was gone and his son
too, and that he had also lost his friend Bhūridatta, he
said, “Alas! I have greatly erred in not listening to the
advice of my son,” and he wept bitterly.

64. Ath’ osadhehi dibbehi japam manta-padāni ca
Evam tam asakhi satthham katvā parittam attano.1

The snake-charmer then, having smeared himself all over
with ointment to protect him, and having recited his charm,
approached the Bodhisat, and seizing him by the tail,
grasped him firmly by the head. He then opened his
mouth, and having put drugs into it, spat into it.

The Bodhisat, however, for fear that he might lose the
merit of his religious duties, remained unangered and with
closed eyes.

Then the snake-charmer held him by the tail, and shaking
his head downwards, caused him to vomit, and then laying
him at full length, kneaded him like a piece of leather.

1 The Mandalay MS. does not give S. 64, but reads:
 dibbosadhehi attano sariram makkhetva
htokam khāditva attano kāyām paribbhojitvā
dibba mautam jappanto bodhisattam upasānakamitvā
nāngute gahetva kādāhyitvā sisam dalaṁ
ghananto assa mukham vivaritvā osadhām
khāditvā mukhe khejam pakkhipi.
Then again taking him by the tail he banged him up and down, like one who washes clothes. Still, though the Bodhisat underwent all this misery, he showed no anger. The snake-charmer having thus taken all the strength out of him, and woven a basket of canes, put him into it. As the body of the Nāga Prince was larger than the basket, the snake-charmer pressed him into it with his heel, and having thus forced him into it, carried him off to the neighbouring village, where he summoned the people to see a performance. When the people were assembled, he cried out, “Come forth, prince of serpents.” The Bodhisat, thinking that it would be better to come out and dance, so that the Brahman might get a considerable amount of money, and then release him, came forth and did all that the snake-charmer ordered him to do. When the people saw him go through this performance, there was not a dry eye amongst them, and they threw their gold and silver ornaments to the Brahman: and in that village alone he got property worth a thousand pieces.

Now it happened that when the snake-charmer caught Bhūridatta, he had determined to let him go again, after he had accumulated a thousand pieces of silver; but being a covetous man, he broke this good intention, and having made a handsome decorated cage and purchased a comfortable carriage, he went from town to town, surrounded by many followers, and at last arrived at the city of Bārāṇasi. He fed Bhūridatta on parched corn and honey, and caught frogs for him, but the Bodhisat refused to eat, seeing that he would not be released; however, the snake-charmer made him dance in all the quarters of the city. On the 15th day of the month, which was a holiday, he obtained permission to give a performance before the Rājā, and tiers of seats were erected on the plain before the palace.

Now on the day that Bhūridatta was caught, his mother, Samuddajā, dreamt that “A man, with red eyes, cut off her right arm with a sword and carried it away streaming with blood.” She sprang up in terror, feeling for her arm,
but finding it was there, knew that it was only a dream. Then she thought this evil dream must portend some great calamity to her or her husband, and said, "Verily, I am in great fear for my son Bhūridatta, for all the others are in Nāga-land, but he has gone to fast in the country of men: I fear that he has been seized by a snake-charmer, or a Garula." On the 15th day after this dream she thought, "It is more than half a month since Bhūridatta came here; I feel certain some evil has befallen him." So she began to weep, and her heart dried up with grief. She was always gazing on the road expecting to see him come. After a month had expired her eldest son, Sudassana, came to see her, but on account of her grief she said nothing to him. So Sudassana, seeing how different his reception was, said:

65. Mamam disvāna āyantam sabbe kāma-samiddhinam
    Indriyāni ahaṭṭhāni sāvam jātam mukham tava.
    "Me though thou seest approaching, and though thou hast other delights,
    Thy senses are not overjoyed; overcast and dark is thy face."

66. Padmam yathā hatthagatam pāninā pasi madditam
    Sāvam jātam mukham tuyhan mamam disvāna edisam.
    "The lotus flower plucked by one’s hand lies crushed and withered and faded;
    Dark is thy face (O my mother), though thou seest me in this wise."

As his mother still remained silent, he said again:

67. Kaccim ne te nābhīsaye kaccī te n’atthi vidanā
    Yan te sāmam mukkham tuyham mamam disvāna āgatam.

Then his mother answered:

68. Supinam tāta addakkhim ito masam adho gatam
    Dakkhiṇam viya me bāhum chetvā rudhira-makkhitām
    Purisādāya pakkāmi mama rodantiyā sati.
69. Yato ham supinam addakkhim Sudassana vijānahi
Tato divā vā rattim vā sukham me na palabhāti.

"Let us then go to the home of my dear son Bhūridatta,
and see how it fares with thy brother, who is keeping the
fast." So they set out together with a large retinue.¹

Now when Bhūridatta’s wives were unable to find him
at his place on the ant hill, they were not alarmed, but
thought he had probably gone to see his mother, and being
on the way to inquire, they met her on the road, and told
her that he had been absent for more than half a moon,
and thought he had gone to her. When they found this
was not the case, they fell at her feet weeping. His mother
joining in their lamentations, went with them up into his
palace, saying:

75. Sakuni hata-puttā va suṇām disvā kulāvakam
Ciram dukkhaṇa jhāyissam Bhūridattam apassati.

“As a bird bereft of its young, when it sees its empty
dwelling,
Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not
beholding.”²

77. Kurari hatachāpā va suṇām disva kulāvakan
Ciram dukkhaṇa jhāyissam Bhūridattam apassati.

“Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not
beholding.
Like the eagle reft of its young, when it sees its empty
dwelling.”

78. Sā nunā cakkavākiva pattalassmin anūdake
Ciram dukkhaṇa jhāyissam Bhūridatta apassati.

“As the ruddy-feathered wild goose in the marsh
devoid of water,
Long time shall I burn with sorrow, Bhūridatta not
beholding.”

¹ Stanzas 70, 71, 72, 73, and 74 are not given as such in the Rangoon edition,
but partially translated as above.
² S. 76 is not given in the Rangoon edition.
79. Kammarāṇam yathā ukkā anto jhāyati no bahi
Evam jhāyāmi sokena Bhūridattam apassati.

"Inwardly the blacksmith's furnace smoulders, outward
signs it shows not;
So does inward grief consume me when I see not
Bhūridatta."

80. Sālā vā sampamathitā mahutena pamaddittā
Senti putā ca dare ca Bhūridatta-nivesene.

"As the Sal trees when wind-smitten, crushed and
broken, strew the forest;
Prone his children, prone his women, in the house of
Bhūridatta."¹

As Bhoga and Ariṣṭha, the younger brethren, were coming
to pay their respects to their parents, they heard the sound
of the wailing, and came to Bhūridatta's palace to comfort
their mother, saying, "Mother, be comforted; no mortal
can escape the law of death and destruction."

Their mother replied, "Dear sons, I know that all that
exists is destroyed, but, nevertheless, I am terribly disturbed
at not seeing Bhūridatta. Dear Sudassana, if I see not
my son Bhūridatta, I shall die this very night."

The Princes answered, "Dear mother, be not afraid, we
will go into the forest, the mountains, the caves, the villages,
towns, cities, and everywhere in search of Bhūridatta. You
shall see him within seven days."

Sudassana said, "If we search together, the search will
be long; we will separate and search in different directions.
One of us will go to the Deva-land, one to Himavanta, and
one to the country of men." As Kāṇāriṣṭha was fierce, he
thought it best not to send him amongst men, for he might
reduce everything to ashes; so he said, "Brother Ariṣṭha,
do you go to Deva-land, and as the Devas are desirous of
hearing the law, without fail bring him thence."

¹ Stanzas 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 of Fausböll are omitted in the Burmese.
He then directed Subhoga to go to Himavanta, saying that he himself would go to the land of men. Then he thought, "If I go as a youth, men will think nought of me; but if I go as a hermit, they will respect me, for the children of men love hermits." Thereupon he took the form of a hermit and took leave of his mother.

Now Bhūridatta had a cousin who was very fond of him, named Ajamukhi. She loved him better than all her other cousins, and seeing Sudassana about to depart, she said, "Cousin, I am very sad, let me accompany you in your search for Bhūridatta!" He answered, "Child, I am going disguised as a hermit, and it will not do for a woman to go with me." Then she said, "I will take the form of a frog and go in your hair-knot." On his agreeing to this Ajamukhi took the form of a frog, and stowed herself away in Sudassana's top-knot.

Sudassana then caused Bhūridatta's wives to show him the ant hill, and when he saw traces of blood, and the spot where the snake-charmer had woven the cage of cane and bamboo, he said, "Without doubt my brother has been taken by a snake-charmer, who is ill-treating him." So in great sorrow he tracked the bloodstains and footprints until he came to the village where the first performance was held. On questioning the villagers, as to whether any snake-charmer had been there, he was told that one had been there about a month previously. On asking if he had taken any money, they said, "O yes, he is quite a rich man, for he got about a thousand pieces of silver here." So they went on making inquiries until they came to the King's palace. Just at this moment the snake-charmer, who had bathed and dressed himself, had taken up his cage and gone to the gate of the palace, and the people of the city were assembled to see the performance. The snake-charmer spread out a magnificent carpet, placed his cage open upon it, and playing on his drum, cried out, "Come forth, great

1 Mother's sister's daughter.
2 The Burmese MSS. have ajjamukhi, but the name should be accimukhi.
Nāga.” Sudassana, standing in the crowd, saw the serpent-prince raise his head and gaze at the crowd. Now there are two occasions on which Nāgas are wont to gaze; first, when they are in fear of Garuḷas: second, when they see a friend.

The Bodhisat, seeing his brother in the crowd disguised as a hermit, came out of the cage with his eyes streaming with tears, and went straight towards his brother. The people stood aside with fear, but Sudassana kept his place. The serpent, laying his head on Sudassana’s instep, wept. Sudassana also wept. Then Bhūridatta returned to his cage.¹ The snake-charmer, fearing that the snake had bitten the hermit, came towards him, saying in verse:

\[ \text{Alampāyano.} \]

87. Hatthā pamutto urago pade te nipati bhusam
Kiccī tam āsina mā bhāyi sukhiito bhāva.

“The snake released from my hand, dear hermit,² has rested on your foot. Did it bite you? be not afraid; be happy.”

\[ \text{Sudassana.} \]

88. Neva mayham ayam Nāgo alam dukkhāya kāyaci
Tāvatatthi ahiggahā maya bhiyyo no vijjatīti.

Sudassana answered, “Fear not, snake-charmer, thy serpent could do me no harm; nowhere is there a snake-charmer more powerful than I am.”

89. Ko nu brāhmaṇa vaṇṇena datto parisam āgamā
Avhayanti suyuddhena susūtu parisā mamam.

\[ \text{Snake-charmer.} \] “Who, I pray, is this, who in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa has entered this assembly and thus taunts me? Fool that he is. Listen to me, O assembly.”

¹ This part, having been put into print before I received Professor Fausböll’s gatha, must stand.
² Tātā tāpasa dear hermit; Burmese translates elder brother hermit.
90. Tvam mam nāgena ālamba¹ aham maṇḍūka-chāpiyā
Hotu no abbhutam tattha āsahassehi pancaḥiti.

*Sudassana.* “Snake-charmer, set thy serpent against me,
and I will back my little frog; let there be thereon a
wager of 5000 pieces.”

91. Aham pi vasumā addho tvam daliddho ‘si mānava
Ko nu te paṭībhog’ atthi upajūtañ ca te siyā.

*Snake Charmer.* “Youth, I am rich, but thou art poor;
how shall I get my money from thee? If I lay this wager,
who can you give as surety? What the stakes?”

92. Upajūtañ ca me assa paṭībhogo ca tādiso.
Assa no abbhutam tattha āsahassehi pañcaḥiti.

*Sudassana.* “The stakes too I have and my surety is of
this sort. Let our stakes be therefore five thousand pieces
of silver.”

93. Suṇāhi me mahārāja vacanam bhaddam atthu te
Pañcanam me sahassānam patibhogohi kettimāti.

Then stepping fearlessly into the king’s palace, Sudassana
said. “O mighty Rājā, may thy kingdom and wealth in-
crease. Listen to me. I am in want of 5000 pieces of silver,
and wish thee to stand surety for me.”

94. Pettikam vā iṇam hoti sayam vā hoti sayamkatam
Kim tvam evam bahum mayham dhanam yācasī brāhmaṇa.

“As a paternal debt, or one of your own making, why dost
thou thus demand of me so much wealth, O Brahman?”

95. Alambūno hi nāgena mamam abhijigimsati
Aham maṇḍūka-chāpiyā ācassayissāmi brāhmaṇam.

¹ Prof. Faussboll gives ālamba for alampāyana. If this be correct, the
derivation would probably be from ājambaro a *little drum,* which may have had
a root ādām; or a word for this kind of drum in the Hill tracts of Aracan
is ātām, and snake-charming originated, no doubt, amongst the aboriginal
inhabitants of India.
“Alambano with his serpent desires to fight me. I, with my little frog, will bite (fight) the Brahman.”

96. Tam tvam daṭṭhun mahārājā ajja raṭṭhā vivaddhana
   Khatta sangha-paribbajho niyyāhi abhidassananti.

   “Do thou in order to see, mahārājā, protector of the kingdom, now with thy assembled nobles surrounded, come forth to the fight.”

Now, when the snake-charmer saw the Rājā coming with the hermit, he thought, “Of a truth this is no ordinary hermit, he is in all probability the Rājā’s teacher.” So he came up to Sudassana, and said:

97. Neva tam atimaṭṭhāmi sippavādena mānava
   Atimatt’ as-sippena uragam nāpacayasi.

   “O youth, I desired not to show you any disrespect when I boasted my skill: however, be careful how you offend my serpent in your pride.”

98. Mayam pi nāṭimānānana sippavādena brāhmaṇa
   Avisena ca nāgena bhusam vaṭicayase janam.

   Sudassana replied, “Snake-charmer, I show disrespect to no one with my art; but you are deceiving people by showing off a harmless snake.”

99. Evan c’etam janam jañīna yathā jānāmi tam aham.
   Na tvam labhasi Ālamba satthamaṭṭhim¹ kuto dhanam.

   “Even thus too, I will make it known to all men, and you, Ālamba, will not get a handful of chaff, where then thy wealth?”

At this the snake-charmer was enraged and said:

100. Kharājito² jatim rummi³ datto parisam āgato
    So tvam evam gatam nāyam aviso atimaṭṭhāmi.

¹ The Mandalay MS. has bhūsamutthim.
² The Mandalay MS. has Khurājino and says some read Kharājino, the first word meaning a cloth dyed with black wood and hoofs, and the latter rough black dyed.
³ For rummi the Mandalay MS. has dummi undugged eyes.
101. Āsajja kohonam jaññāsi punnam uggassa tejassa
   Manīne tvam bhasmarāsim va khippam eso karissati.

   “Hermit, clothed in dark garments, with thy knot of
   hair, who hast come into this assembly and insulted my
   serpent, do but approach him, full of virulent poison, and
   he will consume thee like chaff.”

102. Siya visam siluttassa didāubhassā silābhuno
   N'eva lohitasisassa visum nāgassa vijjatiti.

   Sudassana answered in jest,1 “It is true that rat snakes,
   slow worms, and green snakes are poisonous, but not so the
   red-headed Nāga.”

103. Sutam me tam arahatam saññatānam tapassinam
   Idha dānam datvāna saggam gacchanti dāyakā
   Jivanto dehi dānani yadi te atthi dātave:

104. Ayam Nāgo mahiddhiko tejasī duratikkamo
   Tena tam dāṃsayissāmi so tam bhasam karissati.

   The Snake Charmer. “Hermit, I have heard that people
   have gone to Svagga by appeasing hermits with offerings.
   Therefore, if you have aught to give in alms, give it whilst
   you have got life. My serpent is mighty, and I will make
   him bite you and reduce you to ashes: before you die from
   his bite, make an offering, so that you may go to Svagga.”

   Sudassana.

105. Mayā p' etam sutam samma saññatānam tapassinam
   Idha dānam datvāna saggam gacchanti dāyakā
   Tvam eva dehi jivanto yadi te atthi dātave.

   “I too have heard, friend, that men in this world have
   gone to Svagga through giving alms to pure hermits. If
   aught you have to give, give now whilst you yet live.”

1 Or, with a view to raising a laugh.
“Give alms. For Ajamukhī is also very poisonous, and I will cause her to bite thee and reduce thee to ashes.”

“Shes the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, the King of Nāgas; she is my sister and the daughter of my aunt. Her fangs are full of poison and very sharp, and she shall straightways bite thee.”

Then he cried, “Ajamukhi, come forth from my top-knot, and stand in my hand.” Then, opening his hand, he stood in the midst of the assembly, and Ajamukhi, uttering three cries, leapt on to his shoulder, and dropped three drops of poison into his hand, and then went back into the knot of hair. Then Sudassana shouted with a loud voice and said, “Now shall the kingdom of Bārāṇasi be destroyed.” His shout went through the whole kingdom of Bārāṇasi, even to the distance of twelve yujana.

When the King heard it he said, “O hermit, why wilt thou destroy the kingdom of Bārāṇasi?”

“O King,” answered Sudassana, “I see nowhere that this poison may be poured.”

King. “The earth is very wide, Hermit, throw it elsewhere.”

1 Above Accimukhi is said to be Vemātikā born of a different mother, which the Burmese has translated daughter of an aunt; really she was his half-sister.
“And know’st thou not, Brahmadatta, that were I to throw it upwards, for seven years this sky would drop neither rain nor dew?”

110. Udakam ce nisīncissam Brāhmaṇadatta vijānahī Yāvatā udakajā pānā mareyyum maccha-kacchapaṃ.

“And know’st not, Brāhmaṇadatta, that were I to throw it into the water, every water-creature would die, both fish and turtles?”

King. “Then, Hermit, I know not where you are to throw the poison, but please find some place, or my kingdom will be destroyed.”

Sudass. “Dig me here three pits in a line.”

When the pits were dug, Sudassana filled one with drugs, the middle one he ordered to be filled with cow dung, and into the third he put some fairy medicines. Then he cast the three drops of poison into the first hole, and instantly flame and smoke burst forth, which caught the cow dung in the middle pit, and then passing to the third pit was extinguished there.

The snake-charmer was standing near the holes, and the flames taking hold of him, his skin peeled off, so that he became a white leper, on which, in his terror, he cried out thrice, “I release the Nāga King.”

On hearing this, Bhūridatta came forth from his basket, showing his jewelled body, resplendent, like Sakka himself. Sudassana and Ajamukhi also showed themselves in their true forms.

Then said Sudassana, “Rājā, do you not know us? Know you not whose children we are? Have you forgotten that Samuddajā, the daughter of the Rājā of Kāsi, was given in marriage to Dhattiṛathā, the King of Nāgas?” “Yes,” said the Rājā, “she was my sister.” “O Rājā, we are her children and you are our uncle.”

The King then embraced Sudassana and Bhūridatta, and,
having taken them into the palace, made them presents, and said, "Dear Bhūridatta, since you are so powerful, how came you to get into the clutches of this snake-charmer?"

Bhūridatta then told him the whole story.

Then Sudassana said, "Dear uncle, our mother is in great distress at not hearing any tidings of Bhūridatta; we cannot stay, but must depart."

The King replied, "Very good, go quickly, but I, too, should like to see my sister. How can it be managed?"

Then Sudassana asked after his grandfather, and the Rājā told him that he was so terrified that the day after he had given Samuddajā in marriage, he had relinquished his kingdom and become a hermit. Sudassana then told the Rājā that if he would appoint a day, they would bring their mother to meet him at their grandfather's hermitage. The Rājā then conducted them on their journey, and they returned to serpent-land.

CHAPTER IV. (Micchādiṭṭhikathā.)

When Bhūridatta returned, the whole country was convulsed with weeping, and he, being much distressed by a month's confinement in the snake-charmer's basket, retired to sleep in his palace. Innumerable numbers of Nāgas came to see him, but he was unable to converse with them on account of his weakness. Kāṇāriṭṭha, who went to Devaland, and returned home before him, placed a guard at the palace door to prevent the people going to see Bhūridatta.

Subhoga, having searched the whole of the Himavanta, was returning by the Yamunā. Now the Brahman Nesāda, when he saw the snake-charmer become a leper, thought that, as he had coveted the ruby and taken part in the affair, some terrible calamity would overtake him; so he determined to go to the Yamunā and bathe himself. He therefore went down to the bathing-place and entered the

1 Micchādiṭṭhi Kathā, heretical discourse.
2 Payāga tiṭṭhe, now Allahabad.
water. Just at that moment Subhoga arrived there too, and, hearing Nesāda make his confession, said, “This is the wretch who, through covetousness for my brother's ruby, not content with the great wealth that he had offered him, pointed him out to the snake-charmer. I will slay the villain.” So coiling his tail round the Brahman, he dragged him under the water. Being tired, he allowed the Brahman's head to come up, and then dragged him down again. At last the Brahman got his head up, and was able to say:

111. Lokyam śincantam udakam payätāsmim patiṭṭhitam Ko mam ajjhohari bhūto ogalham Yamunam nadim.

“What demon is this who swallows up me, who have descended into the river Yamunā and am standing at the bathing-place washing away with water my earthliness?”

Subhoga answered:

112. Yadesa lokādhīpati yasses ārānasim pakina hari samanto Tassāham putto uragusabhhassa Subhogo ti mam brāhmaṇa vidantiti.

“Wretched Brahman! I'm Subhoga, Son of Nāga Dhattarattīha, Him whose hood Benares city Overshadows, do'st not know me?”

Nesāda thought, “Verily this is Bhūridatta's brother; if I cannot do something to preserve my life, he will undoubtedly slay me. I will try and soften his heart by praising the well-known splendour and tenderness of his parents.” Then he said,

113. Sace hi patto uragusabhham Kāsissa raṅño aamarādhipassa Mahāsakkho aṇṇataro pitā te maccesu mātā pana te atulyā Na tādiṣo arhati brāhmanaṇassa dāsam pi ohāritum mahānubbāvo.
"If you are indeed the son of the Nāga King immortal, who rules over Kāsi, thy father is all-powerful, and thy mother the greatest lady upon earth; being then of such high descent, you ought not to drown a poor slave of a Brahman."

Subhoga answered: "Hah! cursed Brahman, thinkest thou canst deceive me?"

114. Rukkham nissāya vijjhiththo eneyam pūtum āgatam.
So viddho duram asarū sarū vegena sekhavā.

115. Tam tesam patitam addakkhi araṇāsasim brahavane
Samam 1 sakācam ādāya sayam nigrodh' upajami.

116. Suvasāhya danghaṭṭham pingiyam santhakā yuttam
Kohita bnūridam rammam dhuvam haritasaddalam.

117. Tattha teso pāturahu iddhīyā yasasā jalam
Mahūnubhūvo bhāta me kaṇhī parivārito.

118. So tena pariciṇṇo tvam sabbakāmehi tappito
Adubhassa tuvam dubbi tante veram iddhāgatam.

119. Khippam givam pasārehi nate dassāmi jivitam
Bhātu parisaram veram chedayissami te sīram.

"You climbed into a tree to shoot a deer whilst it was drinking these waters, but not bringing it down, you had to follow its bloodstains. When you recovered it, you brought it in the dewy evening to a peepul tree, in whose branches cuckoos, cranes, parrots, and other birds disported, singing sweetly. At that peepul tree you saw my powerful elder brother, surrounded by his ladies in all their splendour. He took you with him to fairy-land, and did he not endow you with great wealth? You have sinned against my brother, who was your benefactor, and

1 The Mandalay MSS. read sa mamsa kacam taking with you flesh and carrying stick.
to whom you owed a debt of gratitude. Now the result of your evil deed has come upon you. Ha! Brahman, I will slay you, for the evil that you did to my brother. Stretch out your neck, for I will forthwith snap off your head. I will not give thee thy life."

Then said Nesa\-da in a terrible fright:

120. Ajjh\-yako y\-cayogo \-hutaggi ca Br\-\=ha\-\=m\-\=o
Et\-\=ehi ti\-hi \-\=h\-\=a\-\=ne\-\=hi av\-\=ajjh\-\=o hoti Br\-\=h\-\=ma\-\=n\-\=a.

"Veda-reading beggar hermits, fire worshippers are Br\-\=h\-\=mans,
I who practise these three duties, ought not to be slain,
O Br\-\=h\-\=man."

Subhoga replied:

121. Yampuram Dhattaratthassa og\-\=iliham Yamunam nadim.
Jotati sabbasso va\-\=n\-\=nam girin \-\=h\-\=a\-\=cca Yamunam.

122. Tattha te purisavyaggha sodariya mama bh\-\=uta\-\=ro
Yath\-\=a te tatha vakkhante tath\-\=a hessati Br\-\=h\-\=ma\-\=na.

"The city of Dhattara\-\=th\-\=a sunk 'neath Yamuna\-\-as river,
Shines always with splendour, the mountains and
Yamuna touching.
There to thee those excellent persons, my brothers, my
very own brothers,
As they shall there give decree, so shall it be done to
thee, Br\-\=h\-\=man."

Thus saying, he pushed and drew the Brahman Nesa\-da
downwards, till he got to the gate of Bhuridatta's palace.
When K\-\=an\-\=ari\-\=\=th\-\=a saw Subhoga, he came towards him and
said, "Brother, do not hurt this man, he is a Brahman, and
a descendant of Brahma; if the Lord Brahma were to know
that you had injured him, he would be very angry, and say,
'Are these \-\=Na\-\-ga\-\-s to ill-treat my children?' He might
even destroy this country. In this cycle Brahmans are
noble and their power great. You, perhaps, know not the power of Brahmans."

He then said to Subhoga and the other Nāgas, "Come here, and I will explain to you the qualities of sacrificial Brahmans."

123. Anittāra ittara-sampayuttā yaññā ca vedā ca Subhoga loke
Tadaggarayham hi vinindamāno jahāti vittaṅca sataṅca dhammam.

"The good and the base together are mingled, sacrifice and veda, Subhoga, in this world.
Therefore, revile not, for he who revileth casteth away the law of knowledge and truth."

124. Ajjhenaṃ Ariyā pathavim Janindā
Vessā kasim paricariyam ca Suddā
Upāgu paccekam yathā padesam
Katehu ete Vasinā ti āhu.

"For teaching Ariyās,¹ for the world men-rulers,
Vessas for tilth, and servants of all the Suddas,
Each one severally in his own station
Was created and placed, they say, (by Brāhma)."

"Knowest thou not, O Subhoga, that their ancestor, the all-powerful Brahma, ordained thus?"

125. Dātā Vidātā Varuṇa Kuvero
Somo Yamo Candima y'api Suriyo
Etehi yaññam puthuso yajitvā
Ajjhāyakānam atha sabbakame.

"O brother, the Devas Dātā, Vidātā, Varuna, Kuvera, Yāma, Suriya, and Candimā have arrived at their present state through having made offerings to Brahmans."

¹ Ariyā stands for Brāhman, and janindā for the Kshattriyās.
126. Vikāsitā cāpasatāni panca
  Yo Ajjuno balavo Bhīmaseno
  Sahassabāhu asamo pathaviyā
  So pi tadā adahi Jātavedan ti.
  
  "There was a king named Ajjuna (Arjuna), who was such
  a terrible warrior (bhīmaseno) that he could draw a bow
  equal in strength to 500 bows, as if he had a thousand arms,
  but he made offerings to fire (jātavedam)."

127. Yo brāhmane bhojasi digharattam
  Annena pānena yathānubhāvam
  Pasanna-citto anneno damāno
  Subhoga dev’t aṇṇataro ahosi.
  
  "Subhoga, there was once a king in Bārāṇasi made an
  offering of rice to the Brahmans, and he is now a powerful
  Deva."

128. Mahāsaham Devam anomavaṃṇina
  Yo sappinā asakkhi jetim aggim
  So yaṇṇatan tam varato gajitvā
  Dibbam gatim Mucalind’ ajjhagaṇchiti.¹
  
  "There was a king named Mucalinda, who was very
  hideous, but he made offerings to the fire god with clarified
  butter, and he is now in Deva-land. One day, in the city
  of Bārāṇasi, he sent for the Brahmans and asked them the
  road to Deva-land, and they answered, ‘O King, you must
  do honour to the Brahmans and their god.’ ‘Who is your
  god, O Brahmans,’ he enquired; and they answered, ‘He
  is the spirit of fire; satisfy him with butter made from
  cows’ milk.’ Mucalinda did as he was commanded.”

129. Mahānubhāvo vassasahassajivi
  Yo pabbaji dassaneyo ulāro
  Hitvā aparīyanta ratham sassenam
  Rājā Dijipo pi jagāma saggam.

¹ This gatha is not in the Mandalay MS.
"The excellent (ulāro) King Dudipo too, who was handsome, lived to a thousand years, and of great power, relinquishing his kingdom and army, became a hermit and went to Sagga."

130. Yo sāgarantam Sāgaro vijītvā
Vūpam subham soṇamayam ulāram
Ussesi Vessānaram ādabāvo
Subhoga devaṇātaro ahosi.

"There was a king named Sāgara, who subdued the countries on the further side of the Ocean, and making a sacrifice of pure gold to the fire-god, established his worship. For that good deed he is now a Deva."

131. Yassānubhavana Subhoga Gaūgā
Pavattathā dadhi samā samuddam
Sa lomapādo paricaryam aggim
Ango sahassakkha pur’ ajjhagañchiti.¹

"Again, a king named Anga, through whose glory and power the river Ganges came into existence, and the ocean of curds and milk was produced. This king, on the soles of whose feet there was long hair, inquired how he was to get to Svagga, they told him that he might go into the Himavanta, and sacrifice to the Brahmans and fire. He went there, taking with him many oxen and buffaloes, and when the Brahmans had eaten, he asked what was to be done with what was left, and they told him to throw it away. In the spot where he threw it, there sprang up a river which was the Gangā."

132. Mahiddhiko devavaro yassassī
Senāpati ti divi Vāsavassa
Sa soma² yāgena malam vihantvā
Subhoga divaṇātaro ahosi.

¹ The Mandalay M.S. follows the Pāli gatha of Fausböll.
² The Mandalay M.S. makes Soma to be a river of that name. The lomapādo of verse 131 ought, I think, to be Somapādo.
"Subhoga, there was a certain powerful deva, a general of Sakko's army, who by soma sacrifice cleansed himself from that which is vile."

133. Akāriyo lokam imam parañca
Bhagirasim Himavantam ca Gijjham
Yo iddhimā devavaro yassasi
So pi tadā adahi Jatavedam.

134. Mālagirim Himavato ca Gijjho
Sudassano Nisabho Kākaneru
Ete ca aṁīca nagā mahantvā
Cittyākatā yaṁnaṭare hi mābāti.

"Brahma, who created this world, the rivers Bhagirati, the Himavanta and the Gijjha mountains, when he was a man, sacrificed to fire. They say, too, that the other mountains Malāgiri, Viṅjha, Sudassana, Kākaneru, etc., were created with bricks through sacrificing to fire.¹ Subhoga, do you know how the salt water of the ocean came into being? No, you do not, but you know how to ill-treat them (Brahmans) and know nothing of their good qualities."

135. Ajjhāyakam manta gunupapannam
Tapissinam yācayogo ti cáha
Tire samuddass' udakam sajantam
Tam sāgar' ajjhohari te na peyyoti.

"Listen to me, the Ocean caused the death of a Brahman who was versed in the Vedas, performed his duties strictly, and was ever ready to receive, therefore we may never drink its waters."

136. Āyāgavatthūni puthū pathavyā
Samvijjanti brāhmaṇā Vāsavassa
Purimam disam pacchimam dakkhim uttaram
Samvijjamāna janayanti vedam.

¹ Has this any reference to volcanic action?
“These Brahmans, Subhoga, are like the surface of the earth in which we ought to plant the seeds of good works. On the east, west, south and north, Brahmans are the only things we ought to desire.”

Thus Ariṭṭha, in fourteen gāthā, praised Brahman sacrificial rites and the Vedas.

Chapter V. (The Bodhisat’s Discourse.)

At that time all the Nāgas there assembled thought that what Ariṭṭha said was true, and Bhūridatta lay there listening to him; so, in order to dispel the wrong impression that had been given them, he thus addressed them: "Kāṇāriṭṭha, what you have said regarding sacrifice and the Vedas is not true; the Brahmans by their arrangement of the Vedas cannot be considered good men.

After this he recited the following twenty-seven stanzas, to show the erroneous practices of Brahmans:

137. Kalī hi dhīranam kaṭam mugānām bhavanti vedajjha-gatāna Ariṭṭha
Marīci dhammam asamekkhi tattā māyā guṇābhivahanti paññam.

“Loss to the wise, a gain to fools, is skill in the Vedas, Ariṭṭha; mirage-like when reflected on, their delusions take away wisdom.”

138. Vedāna tāṇāya bhavanti dassa mittadduno bhūnahuno narassa
Na tāya te paricinno ca aggi dosantaram maccam anariya-kammam.

“The Vedas are no protection to any one, not even to the peridious and evil man. The worshipped fire too, gives no protection to the evil-doer.”
139. Sabbe ca macca sadhanā sabhogā ādipetam dāru-tīṇena missam
Daham na tappe asamattha tejo ko tam subhikkham dvi rasaṅgu kariyā.

"Rich and wealthy mortals may set fire to food mixed with grass, but who can satisfy it? Fire, which is unlike all else, cannot be satisfied, O double-tongued one."

140. Yathā pi khīram pi vipariṇāma dhammam dadhi bhavītvā navanītām hoti Evam pi aggi vipariṇāma dhammo tejo samorohati yogayutto.

"As milk by its changeable nature turns to curd and also to butter; so fire, by its changeable nature, is made by him who uses the fire-sticks."

141. Na dissati aggim anuppaviṭṭho sukkhesu kaṭṭhesu navesu c’āpi
Nāmattha māno arāṇim nareṇa nā kammunā jāyati Jātavedo.

"One sees not the fire that is inherent in the dry wood or green. If the fire-stick is rubbed not by man, fire is not made, it burns not."

142. Sace hi aggi antarato vaseyya sukkhesu kaṭṭhesu navesu cāpi
Sabbāni sussesyyum navāni loke sukkhani kaṭṭhāni ca pajjaleyyum.

"If fire dwell hidden both in dry wood and green too, all the green would be dry in this world; the dry wood would burst into flames."

143. Karoti ce dāru tiṇena puṇṇam bhojam naro dhūmasi-khim patāpavam
Angarīkā loṇa karā ca sūḍā sarīra dāhā pi kareyyum puṇṇam.
"If one makes merit with the smoke and flame of wood and grass, then charcoal-burners, salt-boilers, cooks and even corpse-burners would heap up to themselves merit."

144. Atha ca hi ete na karonti puññam ajjhena aggim idha tappayitvā
Na koci lokasmim karoti puññam bhojam naro dhūma sikhī patāpavā.

"If they in truth do not a good deed, no one in this world can get merit by appeasing the Brāhminical fire."

145. Kathañhi lokā pacito samāno amanuiñña gandham bahūnam akantam
Sa devam accā parivajjayanti tadappa sāṭham dvi rasaññu bhuññeja.

"Wherefore does this world, revered being, eat, O double-tongued one, things which smell bad and which are rejected?"

146. Sikhīm pi devesu vadanti h'ekte āpaṃ milakkhū pana devam āhu
Sabbedha ete vitatham gahñanti aggi na devaṅṇa taro na cāpo.

"Some say that flame is a god, and Milakkhas (heathens) say that water is a god, but all have a wrong opinion; fire is not one of the gods, nor water."

147. Anindriya baddham asaṅṅa kāyam Vesānaram kamma-karam pajānam
Paricari sugatim katham vaje pāpāni kammāni pakuppamacco.

"How shall evil-doers go to heaven by doing honour to fire, which is perceptibly mindless and the servant of men?"

148. Sabbābhībhūtā āhu idha jivi kattā aggissa Brahmā paricāri koti
Sabbānu bhāvica vāsi kimattham animmito nimmita vandit' assa.
"You say that Brahma became the ruler of all things through serving fire here in this life. If he created all and controls all, the uncreated worships the created."

149. Hassam anijjhāna khamam atacchamam sakkāraheta pakirisu pubbe
Te labha sakkāre apatu bhūte sandhā pitā jantu bhi danti dhacama.

"A thing to be derided, a lie; wishing to be honoured they have lied of old; they for their own gain which was not before apparent have concocted their own law for men."

150. Ajjhenam ariyā, pathavim janindā, vessā kasim, pari cariyam ca sudda;
Upāyu paccekam yathā padesam katāhu ete Vasināti ahu.

"(Which is) For teaching Ariya, for the earth men rulers, Vesyas for tilth, as servants of all Suddas. Each for his own station were made, they say, by Brahma."

151. Etam ca saccam vacanam bhaveyya yathā īdam bhāsita Brāhmaṇeḥi
Na khattiyo jātu labhetha rajjam nā Brāhmaṇo mantapadāni sikkhe.

"If these words were true as spoken by the Brahmins, none but Khattiyas would reign, none but Brahmins would teach wisdom's sayings."

152. Na aññatra Vessā kasim kareyya Suddo na mucce parapesanaṇāya
Yasmā ca etam vacanam abhūtam musā ca ime odariyā bhaṇanti.

"None but Vesyas would till land; Suddas would not be free from service; these words are false: they speak lies for the sake of their bellies."
153. Tad' appapaññā abhissaddahanti passanti tam paññitā attanā ca
Khattyā hi Vessaśānam balim haranti ādāya satthāni
caranti brāhmaṇā
Tam tādīsam saṅkhubhitam vibhinnam kasmā Brāhma-
mān-ujum karoti lokam.¹

"Such things fools only believe, wise men and they them-
selves see through it: Khattyas pay tribute to Vesayas, and
Brahmans go about carrying weapons: such a shaken-up,
scattered world, why does not Brahma put straight?"

154. Sace hi so issaro sabbaloke Brāhma bahu bhūtapatī
pajānam
Kim sabbalokam videhi alakkhim kim sabbalokam na
sukkham akāsi.

"If verily Brāhma rules the world, and if he be the great
king of men, how can he behold the world thus unfortunate,
why does he not make the whole world happy?

155. Sace hi so issaro sabbaloke Brāhma bahu bhūtapatī
pajānam
Māyā musā vejamantena cāpi lokam adhammena kim
attham kāri.

"If verily Brāhma the king of the world be lord of all
mortals. By delusion, lying, magic and lawlessness, why has
he made this world?"

156. Sace hi so issaro sabbeloke Brāhma bahu bhūtapatī
pajānam
Adhammiko bhūtapatī Ariṭṭha dhamme sati yo vidahi
adhamman.

"Verily if Brāhma be the lord of the world and ruler of
all beings, he is a lawless ruler, Ariṭṭha; though there be
law, he rules lawlessly.

¹ Fausbøll reads in line 3, Khatta na Vessa na.
157. Kītā peṭānga uragā ca bhekā hantvā kimi sujjhati mukkhikā ca
Ete ca dhammā anariyā rūpā kambojakānam vitathā bahunam.¹

"‘Caterpillars and insects, snakes and frogs, and worms, and flies, they slay and are innocent;’ these opinions of the people of Kamboja are dishonourable (non-Brahminical); they are false.”

After this he recited the following 27 stanzas to show the erroneous practices of Brahmans:—

158. Sace hi so sujjhati yo hanati hato pi so saggam nupeti ṭhānam
Bhovādi na mara bheyyum ye cápi tesam abhisadda-heyyum.

“If he is pure who slays, and the slayer enters Svagga, would not the Brahmans slay one another, and those too who believe in them?”

159. Neva migā na pasuno pi gāvo āyācanti attavadhāya keci Vipphandamānā idhā jivikattā yaunēsu pāne pasum āharanti.²

“Nor wild beasts, nor cattle, nor oxen, request their own slaughter; there whilst alive they struggle at the sacrifice; they drag cattle by exertion.”

160. Yūpassane pasu bandheca bālā citrehi vaṇṇehi mukham na yanti
Ayante yūpo kāma duho parattha bhavissati sassato samparāye.

“Those fools having bound cattle to the post, with vanity make bright your face (saying), ‘This sacrificial post will give you all desires in the next world, and they will last in the future.’”

¹ The Mandalay MS. reads bhma, for bheka, and translates it “carpenter bee.”
² For āharanti the Mandalay MS. has mārabhanti.
161. Sace ca yūpe maṇi saṅkha muttam dhaṅṅam dhanam rajatam jātarūpam
Sukkesu katṭhesu navesu cāpi sannihitam tidive dive sabba kame.
Te vijja saṅghā ca puttha yajeyyun ha Brahmaṇa kiūci na yājayeyyum.

"Verily, if there be silver, gold, gems, shells and all kinds of wealth in the sacrificial post, in green wood and dry too, and all the delights of Deva land, all those Brāhmans would sacrifice abundantly, there is not a Brāhman who would not sacrifice."

162. Kuto ca yūpe maṇi saṅkha muttam dhaṅṅam dhanam rajatam jātrūpam
Sukkesu katthesu navesu cāpi kuto duhe tidive sabba kame.

"How can gems, etc., and all the delights of the Devas, be in a post in green wood and dry too?"

163. Saṭhā ca luddā ca paluddha-bālā citrehi vaṅṇehi mukham na yanti
Ādāya aggim mama dehi vittam tato sukhī hoḥi ca sabba kāme.

"Both wicked, cruel, covetous and fools, rejoicing in all sorts of vanities (they say) take fire, to me give wealth; then be blessed and have all you desire."

164. Tam aggihuttam saraṇam pavissa cittetu vaṅṇāhi mukham nayanto
Oropayitvā kesamassum nakhaṇi ca vedehi cittam ali-gālayanto.

"Taking refuge in sacrifice, they rejoice with various vanities."

165. Kākā ulūkam va raho labhitvā ekam samānam bahukā samecca
Annāni bhotva kuhakā kuhitvā mundam katvā yaṅṇa pathossajanto.
"Like crows who have found an owl alone, they surround one in flocks, and having eaten one's victuals they make a clean shave of one, and throw one away at the sacrificial post."

166. Evam hi so vañcito Brāhmaṇehi eko samāṇo bahūhi samecca
Te yoga yogena vilumpamānam diṭṭham adiṭṭhena dhanam haranti.

"Thus, deceived by the Brāhmans, being alone and they many: they with their sayings get present wealth, for that which is unseen (illusory).

167. Ākāsi yā rājuhi cānusiṭṭhā tadassa ādāya dhanam haranti
Te tādisā corasamā asantā vajjhā na haññanti Ariṭṭha loke.

"When made their advisers by kings they carry off wealth. They are such thieves, and worthy to be executed, yet are not slain.

168. Indassa bāhārasa dakkhiṇā ti yaññesu chindanti palāsa yaṭṭhim
Tam cepi saccam Maghava chinnabāhu kenassu Indo Asure jināti.

"In the sacrifice they cut the palasa pole, saying it is the right arm of Indra; if that be true and Maghava is deprived of his arm, with what does Indra subdue the Asuras?"

169. Taññeca va tuccham Maghava samaṅgi hantā avajjho paramo sadevo
Mantā ime Brāhmaṇā tuccharūpā sandiṭṭhikā vañcanā esa loke.

"That too is false, for Maghava being all-powerful, slays them; he is the chief Deva and cannot be slain. These Vedas are false, they are illusions visible to all men."
170. Nālā giri, Himavā yoca, Gijjho, Sudassano, Nisabhoga, Kākaneru
   Ete ca aññe ca Nāgū mahantā cityā katā yañña karebhim ahu.

   “Mounts Nālā, Himavayo, Gajjho, Sudassana, Nisabhogo, Kākaneru, these and other great mountains were brick made
   in sacrifice they say.”

171. Yathā pakārāni hi itṭhakāni cityā katā yañña karebhim
    ahu
   Na pabbātā honti tathā pakāra añña disā acalā tiṭṭha
    selā.

   “In this manner with bricks they are built in sacrifice,
   they say: mountains are not made thus, they stand firm and
   unshaken, being of a different nature.”

172. Na itṭhakā honti selā cirena na tattha sañjayati ayo na
    loham
   Yañña ca etam parivaṇṇayantā cityā katā yañña karebhim
    ahu.

   “Bricks become not rock by length of time, not thus
   arise iron and copper.”

173. Ajjhāyakam manta-guṇūpapannam tapassim na yaca-yogo ti cāhu
    Tiśe samuddassa udakam sachattam tam sāgar' aijho
    haritenā peyyo.

   “They say that a strict and learned hermit was swallowed
   up by the water when bathing on the shores of the ocean,
   and it is therefore undrinkable.”

174. Parosahassam pi samanta Vede mantūpapanne nadiyo
    va hanti
   Na tena byāpannarasūdakāni kasmā samuddo atulo
    apeyyo.
"More than a hundred virtuous hermits learned in the Vedas have the rivers slain; their waters are not undrinkable. Why, then, is the incomparable ocean undrinkable?"

175. Ye keci kūpa īḍha jīvaloke loṇūdaka kūpakhaṇe hi khaṭā
Na Brāhmaṇ' ajjhahari kena tesu āpo apeyyo, dvi rassaṅñu, ahu.

"Here in this living world there are salt-water holes that have been dug: these have not slain Brāhmaṇs; but, O two-tongued one, why is not their water undrinkable?"

176. Pare puratthā kāyassa bhariyā mano manassa ajanesi pubbe
Tena pi dhammena na koci hino evam pi vo sagga vibhangam āhu.

"In the beginning of ages to whom was there a wife? Firstly, mind created man. Therefore no one was base, and so in like manner they say is the determination of Sagga."

177. Candāla-putto pi addhicca Vede bhūseyya mante kusalo matimā
Natassa muddhā pi phaleyya sattadhā mantā ime attavodhāya katā.

"Should a Candala learn the Vedas, and recite its verses, though intelligent and virtuous, his head would be split into seven pieces: they have made the verses for the purpose of slaying."

178. Vācā katā griddha gatā gahītā dummocayā kavya-pathānupannā
Būlānam cittam pi same nivīṭham tadappapaṅṅā abhi- saddahanti.

"They teach words made for the sake of gain."
179. Sihassa byagghassa ca dipino na vijjati porisiyam balena
Manussabhāvo ca gavum va pekkhā jāti hi tesam asamā
samānam.

“To lions, tigers and leopards there is not the energy of
men.”

(This is not clear.)

180. Sace ca Rājā pathavim vijitvā sajivā assavā parisajjo
Sayam eva so sattusamghampi jeyya tassa pājā niccam
sukhi bhaveyya.

“Verily, if a king subdued the whole world and his
councillors were obedient, he would conquer all his enemies,
and his subjects would ever be happy.”

181. Khattiya mantā ca tayo ca Vedā atthena ete samakā
bhavanti
Tadeṁ ca attham avinicchinitvā na bujjhati ogha
patham vacharinnan.

“The instructions for Khattiyas and the three Vedas are
similar in purpose, and not being able to discern their
deception, one cannot know a word, as it were, covered with
water.”

182. Khattiya mantā ca tayo ca Vedā atthena ete samakā
bhavanti
Lābho alābho yaso ayaso ca sabbe vatesam catumnama
dhammā.

“The instructions for Khattiyas and the three Vedas are
one in their purpose: profit and loss, honour and dishonour,
these are the rules of those four castes.”

183. Yathā pi ibbhā dhanaṭhaññahetu kammāni karonti
puthu pathabyā.
Te vijjasu samghā pi thathe va sadda kammāni karonti
puthu pathabyā.

“And as rich men desiring wealth and corn do much
tillage on the earth, so these Brāhmans and Suddas do
many works on earth.”
184. Ibbhā hi ete damakā bhavanti niccam ussukā kāmagu-nesu yuttā
Kammāni karonti puthu pathabyā tada āpaṇṇā dvirāṇu rāte.

"They are like unto wealthy men, they are ever energetic in pleasure, they do much tillage upon the earth; but, O double-tongued one, they are witless in their pleasures."

When the assembled Nāgas heard this discourse, they were delighted and gave praise. Then Bhūridatta caused them to turn the Brahman Nesāda out of serpent-land. Rājā Sāgara Brahmadatta, on the appointed day, surrounded by his whole army, went to the place where his father was residing.

Bhūridatta caused it to be proclaimed by beat of drum throughout the whole of Nāga-land, that he proposed visiting his grandfather and uncle: and going forth from the river Yamunā with a great retinue and splendour, in due course, he arrived at his grandfather's hermitage. His parents and brethren followed after him.

When Sāgara Bhūridatta saw the Bodhisat coming with his attendants, he did not recognize him, but said to his father in the following stanzas (185 to 198):

"O hermit, my father, who, I pray, is this who comes with drums and other musical instruments playing before him? Whose face and crown is it that flashes like lightning? He is young indeed, but his glory flashes forth like gold flowing from the furnace? Who is he? His white umbrella delighteth the heart like Jambūraj gold. Those waving cāmāris,1 whose are they? and whose the splendidly jewelled peacock fans?"

Then his father answered (199), "Dear son, this is no other than your nephew, the son of Dhataraṭṭha, King of the Nāgas: those others are also his men; their power is very great and their hosts are many. They are also the sons of my daughter Samuddajā."

1 Yak tails.
Whilst they were thus talking, the company of the Nāgas arrived and sat down in a suitable place. Samuddajā, after doing reverence to her father, returned weeping to Nāga-land. Brahmadatta remained two or three days and then returned to Bārāṇasi. Samuddajā died in Nāga-land, and Bhūridatta continued his fasts for the rest of his life, and when he died he went to Deva-land with all his followers.

The Teacher then summed up the Jātaka as follows:

Bhūridatta’s parents were reborn of royal race; the hunter Nesāda became Devadatta; his son Somadatta became Ānanda; Ajamukhi is now Upalavaṃśa; Sudassena is Sariputtarā; Subhoga is Moggalāna; Kānāriṭṭha became Sunakkhat (Sunakkhatto, a Prince of the Licchavi) and Bhūridatta is myself, the incomparable and omniscient Buddha.
CORRESPONDENCE.

1. A Remnant (?) of Buddhism in India.

Sir,—A somewhat curious addition to the printed literature of Pali has recently come under my notice. This is a tract of 31 pages printed at Chittagong in 1889, consisting of extracts from Pali scriptures with Bengali explanations. The book, entitled “Buddha-bhajanā,” is stated in the Bengali preface to be compiled for the “assistance of our Buddhist community” (āmāder Baudhā samājēr upakār) in those parts. The name of the compiler, Duryodhana Bhikshu, and of others who assisted in the publication of “the Mahāthero,” Lālamohana Dhāmmāchāri (sic), and Doctor Bhagirathachandra Vaduyā (“Borooh”), have quite a Bengali-Assamese appearance, and do not at all suggest a mere colony of Burmese Buddhists. Still less has the tract the appearance of an emanation of the Neo-Buddhism of Col. Olcott and his friends. It would be interesting, therefore, to know the origin of this “Baudhā samāj.”

The Pali is of the most extraordinary description. Is it the result of faulty oral tradition or merely of imperfect knowledge on the compiler’s part of the character of the alphabet from which he was transcribing into the Bengali character?

The work begins:

Buddha vandanā.

Buddhapāttati buddhātaṃ, buddhānāmāṃ tābhrāṃntisa, bujjhāti dhāmmā ulārāṃ, buddhordiçaṃ nāmāmābāṃ.
A note or rubric follows in Bengali, explaining that this confused jargon of Pali is to be used in making flower-offerings.

The work consists of headings, written in Bengali, expressing the main topics of Buddhist devotion and meditation, each followed by a passage of curiously corrupted Pali, which is further explained where necessary in Bengali. Special features of this supposed Pali are (1) the prevalent use of ā for ā—perhaps, as Prof. Rhys Davids has suggested to me, in order to guard against Bengali-speaking Buddhists using the corrupt Bengali pronunciation (=ō) of the Sanskrit-Pali ā; (2) the use of the palatal sibilant (ṣ, ˛) not preserved in Pali; (3) the ungrammatical use of ṅ for ṇ.

It will be interesting if any of our readers in Bengal can tell us more of this Buddhist community, and of the literary and manuscript material (if any) on which this curious contribution to Pali literature is founded.

Cecil Bendall.

British Museum, November, 1891.

2. Tsonkhapa.

8, Upper Woburn Place, London,
July 2nd, 1891.

Dear Professor,—In reference to the 'Aphorisms of Tsonkhapa,' about which you enquired, it seems that by this the work called Snags rim (श्नाङ्गस्तिम्) might be intended, which is mentioned in the German translation of Tāranātha, p. 325, l. 4, and which must have been (and is probably) at the command of Wasilief. Neither it nor any other of the works of this author is in the Tanjur. The title means 'Method of Dhāraṇī.' Besides the above there are mentioned in Schmidt and Böhtlingk's 'Verzeichniss, etc.' (Bulletin iv.),
as extant in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy, also
Sub. 435 f. the Byañ chub lam rim (ブーパンチューブラムリム) 'Guide to Bodhi,' which work Wasilief quotes in his 'Buddhismus,' p. 142 (154 Germ.) note.
Sub. 433, A Biography of Tsonkhapa.
Sub. 419, Ritual for sacrifices to Tsonkhapa.
Wasilief also mentions, Buddh. p. 88 (95), a hymn by Tsonkhapa called Dmigs brtse ma ("Play of fancy"), and an 'Exposition of the Teaching of the Tantras' (p. 190 [208]). Both these would probably be found at St. Petersburg.
This is all I can find now about Tsonkhapa and his writings. None of the latter are accessible here.—Yours truly,

H. Wenzel.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER
(October, November, December, 1891.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

2. Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases. Collected, Translated, and Annotated by James Richard Jewett, Instructor in Brown University, Providence, R.I.
3. The Letter of Holy Sunday; also the Computation of the Sick; Syriac text and translation. By Prof. Isaac H. Hall, of New York City.

2. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Vol. v. part iii.
Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbien (Fortsetzung) v. Dr. G. Bickell.
Indian Inscriptions to be read from below, by G. Bühler.
Al-muṣajjar, v. Max Grünert.

Anzeigen.


Kleine Mittheilungen.


Verzeichniss der für die Bibliothek eingegangenen Schriften u.s.w. Noch einmal der Zar, v. K. Vollers.


Der Giftmann, v. K. Vollers.


Zu M. de Clercq’s Catalog. seiner Sammlung sasanidischer Jemmen, v. P. Horn.


Der Zweite Corrector der Clodius’schen hebräischen Bibel Dr. med. Leo Simon Rabbiner v. Mainz, v. D. Kaufmann.
II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Bishop Caldwell.—The name of Bishop Caldwell, of Tinnevelly, in South India, has been removed by death from the list of our Honorary Members. He was 78 years of age; he went out to India as the member of a Non-conformist body, but he passed into the Church of England, and was for many years Bishop of the Mission of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel. He died at Edyengoody, the headquarters of his District. He was highly esteemed and beloved by his flock, and some influential Mahometans laid flowers on his coffin as a tribute of respect. He was well known in England, and the compiler of this notice had the pleasure of his friendship.

It is, however, as the investigator of the South Indian Family of languages that Bishop Caldwell was most widely known. His "Comparative Grammar" of the Dravidian Family, originally published in 1856, was a revelation to Western philologers; and it remains, in the form of a second edition (1875), the standard authority on the subject, without a rival or a successor. Dr. Caldwell's intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their dialects, his patient study of their past, as proved by his "History of Tinnevelly" and "The Tinnevelly Shanars," and the strong religious convictions, which made pursuits that to another man would have been the relaxations of a busy
life, with him a serious and unremitted duty, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials such as no other European scholar has ever amassed in India. There are points, for example, with reference to the proportion of aboriginal words in the modern Indian vernaculars, in regard to which his conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. But his "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages" will ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age. Scarcely less interesting, although on a different scale, were his contributions during many years to the Indian Antiquary, and the series of Sanskrit manuscripts which he brought to light in Southern India and rendered available to Western scholarship. But in this, as in every other branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief, that he was doing true missionary service. The literary work to which he himself looked back with greatest satisfaction was the part which he took during eleven years in the revision of the Tamil Bible, and, when that long labour was ended, in the revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer.

Nov. 16th, 1891. R. N. C.

Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra.—This distinguished scholar was descended from an ancient stock, the Kulin Kayastha, who rank in Bengal next after the Brahmans. For upwards of forty years he had contributed to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society papers of much interest—in all 114. The following may be mentioned:—"On Some Greco-Bactrian Relics from Rawul Pindi" (1862); "On Greek Art in India," and "On Leprosy in Ancient India" (1875); "On the Representation of Foreigners in the Ajanta Frescoes" (1878); and various papers on human sacrifices, the use of spirituous drinks, the consumption of beef, and other customs among the ancient people of India. Another branch of antiquarian research to which Dr. Mitra devoted much attention was the elucidation of inscriptions (whether on stone or copper) and of ancient coins, and his numerous
notes and treatises on these possess great historical value. His more important works were:—"Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni," a handsome monograph on that great temple; "The Antiquities of Orissa," in two volumes, a work which was the outcome of an archaeological mission to Bhuvanesvara, whither Dr. Mitra was despatched by Government in 1868-69; "The Indo-Aryans," produced in 1881; and "The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal," in 1882. Dr. Mitra was often consulted by the Government in regard to antiquarian and literary matters, and he was created a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1878. He was also a Fellow of Calcutta University, and he was an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He rendered an essential service to Indian learning by striking out new paths and new methods of research, based upon the examination of ancient local remains. The wisdom of the orthodox Brahmans was in a large measure a wisdom of words. Dr. Mitra practically proved to his countrymen that scholarship deals also with things. His erudition in Sanskrit literature and philosophy would have sufficed to win for him a high place as a pandit of the old order, and it secured for him, in spite of his new departures, the respect of that order. But his main work was the investigation of the actual and material relics of the past, rather than of its science and metaphysics. Educated half a century ago in one of the then few private seminaries in Calcutta conducted by Hindus on Western lines, yet independent of missionary influences, Rajendra Lala Mitra entered life as a young Hindu of the clever worldly type, with an abundant stock of knowledge, and quite willing to push his fortunes by means of it. Having distinguished himself in the Medical College, he was selected as one of the four students who were to be sent to Europe. But his family, from caste-reasons, objected, and he was diverted from the medical profession. He then began a scholar's career, and was appointed Assistant Secretary and Librarian of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Before he had reached middle life he had mastered, in addition to English and the Vernaculars of
India, Sanskrit, Persian, and Latin, with a working facility in French, German, and Greek.

When the Bengal Government determined to provide more seriously for the education of State wards, or orphan landholders and nobles placed by law under its care, Rajendra Lala Mitra was appointed director of the Court of Wards’ College in Calcutta. In this congenial position he passed many years, branching out into various forms of public activity, as a municipal commissioner of Calcutta, critical in temper and caustic of speech, as an active member of the governing body of the University, and as a wise and honoured leader of the Native Landholders’ Association in Bengal.

The labours by which he will be remembered, however, were of a different class. In the maturity of his knowledge he formed the design of bringing the mass of writings about ancient and mediaeval India to the touchstone of the existing material remains. He explored step by step the sacred sites of the Hindus in Bengal and Orissa, gaining admission as a pandit to their innermost recesses, and producing, with the aid of the skilled draughtsmen and photography of the Surveyor General’s Office in Calcutta, a useful record of their now fading inscriptions and crumbling temples and gods. His “History of the Antiquities of Orissa” would alone have raised him to a very high rank among native scholars, second only to those who, like Bhagvan Lal Indraji, had acquired the methods of historical criticism. But that work forms only one of fifty-five separate publications which issued from his unwearied pen in English, Sanskrit, or Bengali. As will be seen from the list of those of his works in our Library, he edited an important Buddhist text, the Lalita Vistara, and translated a few pages of it, and began to edit the Prajñā Pāramitā, another of the standard books of the Nepalese Buddhists. These works, though by no means perfect, were the fruit of much labour; they have made the general contents of these books accessible to scholars, and will have prepared the way for the future
editor of critical editions. Scarcely less important was the search for ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, which he conducted under the auspices of the Government throughout Bengal, from the Himalayas to the sea, a task undertaken just in time to rescue many invaluable documents, and to secure a vast treasure-trove from antiquity.

Nov. 16th, 1891. R. N. C.

Professor Paul Hunfalvy.—Dr. Paul Hunfalvy was born at Nagy Szalok in the county of Szepes in Upper Hungary, on the 12th of March, 1810. His father, a simple agriculturist, could afford to give his son no better education than that obtainable at the village school. The family name was Hunsdorfer, which being Magyarized, was also adopted by the younger brother John, the famous Hungarian geographer. Whilst at the village school young Paul's intelligence and industry attracted the attention of the Pastor, who lent him books to read, and when the Pastor found with what diligence and earnestness the young lad continued his studies, he endeavoured to procure means of assisting him to higher schools; a boon which was not in the power of the poor father to give. Admitted to the Lyceum of Késmark, Paul's exemplary conduct gave great satisfaction to his masters. The holidays he spent at home and employed his time in reading the Bible and books on Geography; the deep religious feelings which characterized the man in after-life took root at this early age in the parental home.

Four years were spent at the Lyceum, during which his progress in classics was conspicuous. Whilst there he was a most assiduous visitor at the large library, where he endeavoured to learn more than the powers of his age would allow. From Késmark he went for two years to the Lutheran School at Miskolcz, where he studied especially Hungarian and ancient classics.

Moreover, he learnt as much logic, history, and other sciences as was required by the curriculum. "As I was journeying homewards from Miskolcz," says Hunfalvy in
his "Reminiscences," "and caught sight of the landscape of my native country with its snow-clad Carpathian peaks, my eyes filled with tears of joy. The world I thought was beautiful indeed, but one's home is the most beautiful of all." He returned to the Lyceum and studied the higher branches of Philosophy and Law, which, together with philology, fully occupied his time. He now began seriously to meditate on the fact that the road to real knowledge was long and arduous, poverty was staring him in the face, which made success very dubious. He refers probably to this period of his life when he writes, "I hardly know what good fortune means. As far as I can form any judgment on the subject by other people's thoughts, I cannot consider myself fortunate. The world looks up to family connection, splendour, wealth and competence as such—none of these advantages fell to my lot. Yet I was happy, I passed my early years in contentment, I enjoyed the splendid rays of the sun as they spread their warmth, no melancholy thought ever entered my mind, I never suffered hunger and the nights passed in refreshing sleep; later on I found comfort in the school, it seemed at first as if poverty had conspired to deny me that blessing. I began to contemplate the problems of human destiny, and my happiness would have been complete if doubts regarding the value of human knowledge had not disturbed my contemplations."

This seems to have given young Hunfalvy the first impulse towards individual research leading to the solid results of scientific attainments which he left behind him.

When he had finished all his studies at the Lyceum he supported himself by teaching, and after some years of hard struggle was offered the tutorship to the sons of Baron Podmaniczky at Budapest. This gave him the opportunity of being enrolled as a law student at the High Court of Judicature, and after passing examinations Hunfalvy was admitted an Advocate. Yet he never practised as a lawyer, but rather devoted himself to literature, and in company with such distinguished literary men as Toldy, Bajza,
and Vörösmarty, he contributed to the volumes of the Hungarian Athenæum. In this publication appeared his first works, namely: the "Drezdai levelek," Letters from Dresden; "Emlékezés Késmárkra," Reminiscences of Késmárk; "Rhapsódiaák," and "Thukydidés," which, together with three other Essays, were subsequently published in a separate volume under the title of "Tanulmányok," Löcse, 1873. These essays do not possess any special elegance of style or beauty of composition, but their contents bear witness to the work of a thoughtful mind, extensive reading, critical acumen and sound judgment.

In 1871 Hunfalvy was elected corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a year later a similar distinction was offered him by the Literary Society the "Kisfaludy Társaság." At this period his tastes had not as yet shown a definite tendency. He wrote articles in political and scientific publications, he translated the fables of Lokmán from the Arabic, and was conversant with Hebrew. He took his seat at the Academy by a Dissertation on "Thukydidés," and at the Kisfaludy Társaság on the "Poetry of Aristotle." It was surmised at the time that classics were the field which he had marked out for his future labours, although just then French romance and national lyric poetry commenced to attract public attention in Hungary.

In 1842 Hunfalvy obtained the offer of the Professorship of Law at his old Lyceum, which he accepted with great satisfaction, and published his work on "Commercial Legislation." For six years he occupied the chair, during which his fame spread far and wide; students from distant parts of the kingdom came to attend his lectures, who admired not merely his clear and attractive teaching, but they loved him as a man. The poet Petőfi paid Hunfalvy a visit in 1845, and speaks of his great popularity with his numerous pupils.

In 1847 he visited several countries on the continent, and published a work on matters concerning education—the "Tanodai Szózat." Hunfalvy's name now became known.
In 1848 he was elected to Parliament to fill one of the seats for his native county. At the beginning of 1849, when the Austrian Field-Marshal, Windischgrätz, was nearing the capital, Hunfalvý, with the rest of the Parliament, followed Kossuth to Debreczin, and remained at his post till its final dissolution in August, 1849, at Szegedin. He belonged to the Peace party, and frequently spoke out in the public press on that side. He opposed the deposition of the Habsburg dynasty, and consequently the Declaration of 14th of April, which he characterized as a grave mistake. Yet, notwithstanding his moderate views, he suffered persecution and imprisonment from the Austrians. On being released, he took up his quarters permanently at Budapest, and resumed his literary pursuits; he was appointed Librarian to the Academy, which post he held till his death. Works and essays on various literary and scientific subjects issued from his pen. In 1857 he edited a "Library of Hellenic Classics," and published one volume of "Translations from Plato."

From this time forward he devoted himself, however, more thoroughly to philology, having entered on a path of research which afterwards he made his own. He was the first who, since Révai, resumed the study of comparative Magyar philology, and thus became the founder of a school whose merits were soon universally acknowledged.

On the 18th January, 1851, he pointed out to the Academy of Sciences the direction in which Hungarian philology should go, if it desired to attain results worthy of philological science. In the study of Altaic languages, he thought Hungary should take the lead, and thus become an acknowledged factor in the scientific world.

With full conviction, and with all the resources of knowledge he possessed, Hunfalvý fought against the errors of his adversaries, and proclaimed the principles which should guide comparative philology, enumerating the problems which have to be solved. Concerning the Altaic languages, he endeavoured to establish the link which unites the Turk, Finn, and Magyar languages, and after studying the philo-

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1 See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1889, p. 647.
logical treasures which Anton Reguly brought home from his travels in the Ural region, he brought the Finn dialects and the Mordvin and the Cheremiss languages within the sphere of his researches, leading him to the conviction that the Magyar tongue occupies a mid place between the Finn and the Turk, and stands in near relationship to the Mordvin and Vogul-ostjak languages. In these studies Hunfalvy found a faithful co-worker in Joseph Budenz, with whose aid he subsequently laid down those solid foundations of the comparative philology of the Ugor languages, which he and others should build upon. This was done in the publication called "Magyar Nyelvészet" (Magyar philology), and in the "Nyelvtudományi Közlemények" Philological transactions, the latter of which he edited till 1878.

The publications issued by Hunfalvy contained, not only papers on Ugor comparative philology, but also communications on the Altaic, Indo-Germanic, and Semitic languages, and there are also found essays on ethnographic and mythological subjects, because he was convinced that comparative philology cannot show satisfactory results in any other way than by paying attention to the ethnographic and mythological peculiarities of different nations. When Reguly returned home from his northern travels, with philological and ethnographic treasures, his health was broken by the hardships and long privations he had endured, and from which he never recovered. On his death, at the early age of 39 years, the task of working up his literary remains devolved, at the special request of the Academy, on Hunfalvy. Bearing on this subject he published several treatises, the most important of which were the following:

"The Vogul Story of the Creation of the World," in original, with translation and a dictionary, in 1859; this was the first work ever published in Europe on the Vogul people.

"Chrestomathia Finnica," Finn Olvasmányok, in 1861.

"A Vogul Föld és népe," the land of the Vogul and its people, in 1864, containing, in a well-digested form, all the results of Reguly's travels.

1 See Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1859, p. 614.
Hunfalvy determined to study the life and languages of the peoples related to the Magyar race, and to base upon such data the principles of Magyar philology, which determination he pursued with unflagging industry and enthusiasm, ready to give battle to those who ventured to attack the result of his researches. Up till quite lately Hunfalvy had to fight hard in support of his theory that the Magyar tongue was cognate to the Finn-Ugor group of languages, and not to the Turco-Tatar, as was maintained by Vambéry. But just because he was ever ready for the fight, and continued it without intermission, he was able gradually to secure pupils and associates to his school.

In furtherance of his researches Hunfalvy travelled in the Baltic provinces and in Finland in 1869, the result of which was a work in two volumes, published in 1871, under the title of "Utaza's a Balti vidéken," a journey in the Baltic Provinces. When at Dorpat, he discovered the Gospel of Matthew translated into South Vogul dialect. Based on this, he wrote a treatise on the Konda Vogul Language in 1872, which was soon followed by another on North Ostjak Language, "az ójszaki osztják nyelv," based on Reguly's literary remains. These works established Hunfalvy's reputation as a philological authority.

In his later years, he paid particular attention to Ethnography. In 1876 was published his "Magyarország Ethnographiája," Ethnography of Hungary, an important work relating to history, language and racial differences of the various nationalities inhabiting Hungary, with regard to whom he advanced several striking and new propositions, supported by clearly defined arguments. Two of his conclusions especially raised heated discussion and originated a copious literature. The first of these was the question whether the "Szekler" of Transylvania were the descendants of Attila's warriors or not? The long and bitter controversy which followed, produced a work in 1870, "A Székelyek," the Székler and several articles on the same subject in the periodical called "Századok" from Hunfalvy's pen.

The second obscure problem of Ethnography was connected
with the origin of the Ruman (Roumanian, Wallach) nation. In endeavouring to throw light upon this subject, Hunfalvy gave great offence to the national pride of the Roumanians, because he ventured positively to question the theory that the Wallachs, as the Roumanians of to-day were till quite recently called, could claim the Roman Legions stationed in Dacia as their ancestors. The first and probably most important Monograph on the subject was published in Vienna, 1883, under the title "Die Rumänen und ihre Ansprüche," The Roumanians and their Pretensions (1883), followed by "Neuere Erscheinungen der rumänischen Geschichtsforschung," New Phases of Roumanian Historical Researches (Vienna, 1886); "Der Nationale Kampf gegen das Ungarische Staatsrecht," The Struggle of the Roumanians against the Hungarian Public Law (1880); "Hogyan csinálódik némely historia? Pillantások a rumun történetirásba," How some History is being fabricated. Glimpses into the rumun History (1885); "A rumun nyelv," The Rumun Tongue (Budapest, 1878) and numerous articles in the periodicals "Literarische Berichte aus Ungarn" and "Ungarische Revue." The crown of Hunfalvy's researches on this subject was expected to be a great historical work on the Ruman people which Hunfalvy brought down as far as the middle of the fourteenth century, and on which he worked on the day preceding his death. Another ethnographic work of great merit was published in Vienna and Teschen in 1881, "Die Ungern oder Magyaren," and the Transactions of the Hungarian Ethnographic Society bear the impress of his scientific interest. In the Transactions of the Hungarian Academy, and in the Proceedings of various scientific Congresses, he attended, of which that of the Orientalists at Stockholm, in 1889, was the last, there appeared many articles and essays from him. Five years ago he was nominated a life member to the House of Magnates, and when the bill for making the study of Greek optional in the colleges instead of being compulsory as in the past, was brought in, Hunfalvy spoke out with the fervour of youth against the innovation. He was Doctor of Philosophy, Professor at the University
of Budapest, an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of many foreign scientific societies.

Hunfalvy's death came unexpectedly, although he was in his 82nd year, and complained of late that his strength and power of work were not the same as of old; the last two summers he spent in his native county of Szepes, at Tátrafűred on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. When the academical season re-opened this year, it being the fiftieth anniversary of his connexion with the Academy, congratulations poured upon him from private friends and public bodies, not the least amongst whom was a deputation from the Academy itself, with the President, Baron Eötvös, at its head. On the 24th of November he presided over his section at the Academy, and on the 28th received the congratulations of the Ethnographic Society, of which he was the President. In returning his thanks for the honour done to him, he spoke of the first Hungarian philologist Révai, and pointed out, as if with a presentiment of his approaching end, that should he close his eyes there would be those who could continue the work he was engaged in. "If I may," he says, "be permitted to compare my humbleness to a thing really grand, I might venture to predict that, as after John the Baptist, so after me will come much mightier men than I, who will follow in the direction I have pointed out." He was the President of the Luther Society, one of the revisors of the Hungarian Bible, and a prominent supporter of the Evangelical church.

Returning home from the meeting of ethnographers, he begged to be excused attending the public dinner which was to follow, as he felt fatigued. The next day, Sunday, the 29th November, he rose in his usual health, took his customary walk, and spent the afternoon over his work on the Roumanians; he went early to bed without the slightest complaint. About four o'clock in the morning, his wife awoke and heard a gentle snore; she lit the candle and saw after a few deep gasps, her husband peacefully pass away. It was Monday, the 30th of November.
Hunfalvy’s body lay in state in the Palace of the Academy of Sciences, from whence it was conveyed to its last resting-place in the afternoon of the 2nd of December, amidst every manifestation of public sympathy and regret, an honour he so well deserved.

15th December, 1891.

Theodore Duka.

Mr. Rehatsek.—The Bombay Gazette of Dec. 19th says:—
A most unusual event took place at Worli on Friday, when a European was, by a desire expressed in his will, cremated in Hindu fashion. The man was Mr. Edward Rehatsek, well known in Bombay as being possessed of extraordinary learning, a first-rate Arabic and Persian scholar, a great linguist, and of remarkable literary ability, though, since he retired from the Latin and Mathematics Professor’s chair at Wilson College twenty years ago, he has led a strange life, living all alone, and welcoming no Europeans to his place of abode. Edward Rehatsek was an Austro-Hungarian by birth, and was born on July 3, 1819, at Illack. He was educated at Buda-Pesth, at which University he studied and took the degree of M.C.E. in the year 1843. After that he made a tour through Europe, spending a few months in Paris, then four years in the United States of America, and afterwards came to Bombay in 1847, when he settled down as Professor of Latin and Mathematics at Wilson College. He was also a Fellow of the Bombay University, and for twelve years was examiner in Arabic, Persian, Latin, and French. Even then he led a quiet life, seeking more the society of natives, among whom he laboured, than his European brethren; but when he retired from his professorship in 1871, his what might be termed almost hermit life began. He dwelt in a small bungalow at Khetwadi, kept no servants, went every morning to bazaar and purchased his provisions, which he cooked by his own hand. His meals were of the most frugal description, and his dress was most threadbare. He always went out for a short time morning and evening, and lately he took to cycling. It was a strange sight to see this old man, over seventy years
of age, moving slowly along the Queen's Road night and morning on his tricycle; but, though old, he enjoyed the best of health till within a few months of his death, when he was seized with an internal inflammation, from which he died yesterday morning at half-past six o'clock.

Though he had retired from his regular pursuit, it must not be imagined he was an idle man by any means. He laboured continually at his desk, chiefly translating foreign works into English, and many interesting and valuable contributions came from his pen. Most of his works were published at his own expense, for living so frugally as he did since he came to Bombay, he amassed a considerable sum of money, which he did not grudge spending on any hobby, or in giving the fruits of his study to the world with which he cared so little to mingle. Among his more prominent works were "Historical Sketch of Portuguese-India, with a List of its Officers till 1881," "The Alexander Myth of the Persians," "Gastronomical Anecdotes of the Earlier Kaliphs," "Life of Jesus according to the Mohammedans," "The Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization," "Bombay 115 Years Ago," in five volumes, "The Diamond Fields of India," in two volumes. There are many other valuable works of the late Mr. Rehatsk now published, but the list is too long to give in detail. The above, however, will suffice to show how great a student of literature he was, and how deeply he must have dipped into research to write so many books on such a variety of subjects.

His last work was a heavy task, namely, the translating into English of Mirkhond's "History of the World" from Persian into English. It is being printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, and the last volume, completed a short time before his death, is now in the press, and will soon be issued.

Occasionally he would leave his recluse life and come before the public, to lay before them personally the fruits of his research, and many will remember when, before the Bombay Anthropological Society, he lectured on "Veneration
for the Dead in China,” and “Hindu Civilization in the Far East,” and again recently when he read an interesting and instructive paper on “Statistics of Suicides in Bombay since 1886.” To the Anglo-Vernacular journal, Native Opinion, he was for many years a constant contributor, never missing a week without sending in an article in English. Even when laid up with the malady that proved fatal to him, he would not lay aside his pen, and only five days ago, when Mr. Hari Madhay Paranjpe, the editor of Native Opinion, who was one of Mr. Rehatsek’s closest friends, called upon him, the poor old man, too feeble to speak, signed to his desk where lay, just completed, the last contribution that came from his pen. Mr. Rehatsek also took a great interest in Theosophy, and was in constant correspondence with Theosophical Societies in Europe. Much as he kept himself to himself, he did not want for attention from friends after he was seized with his last illness, and three doctors—namely, Dr. Deshmuck, Dr. Kunte, and Dr. John De Cunha, all former pupils of his, ministered to him. By his death-bed yesterday morning were Mr. Hari Paranjpe and two other friends, and also two servants who had been left there by Dr. De Cunha to attend to the dying man. When a professor he was much beloved by his students, and they remained his friends to the last. What money he had remaining to him was not much, but he made a will leaving it all to local charities and to be spent in prizes for primary education schools in Bombay. In his will there was also a clause which was the cause of yesterday’s strange proceedings, instructing his executor, Mr. Narayen V. Mandlik, to cremate his body in Hindu fashion, and that was carried out yesterday, at the Municipal burning-ground at Worli.

At four o’clock the deceased, Mr. Rehatsek’s friends, all Hindus, with the exception of Dr. De Cunha, and nearly all former pupils of the late professor, assembled at his bungalow at Khetwadi, where the corpse had, native fashion, been laid out, face exposed, on a bier, profusely decorated with flowers. A procession was formed, the corpse-bearers
going in front and the carriages with the mourners following. Worli was reached about 5.15, and the body was immediately carried to that part set aside for deceased persons having no relatives. The still smouldering embers whereon a body had been burned that afternoon were swept aside; fresh wood was piled up, and the body was placed thereon; lights were applied, and in about two hours, the remains of Mr. Edward Rehatsek, the first European ever cremated in Bombay in native-fashion, were reduced to ashes.

Sir James Redhouse.—It is our painful duty to record the death of Sir James Redhouse, K.C.M.G. He joined this Society in 1854. He succeeded Mr. Norris as Secretary in 1861, and resigned that post in 1864, being succeeded by Dr. Reinhold Rost. He was elected Honorary Member in 1886. He contributed to our Journal no less than twelve interesting papers—a complete list of which will be found in the Index to the Society's publications published in our Journal for the year 1888.

Sir James Redhouse was born in 1811; was educated at Christ's Hospital, and went to Constantinople in 1826, where he was employed by the Ottoman Government in the preparation of various military, naval, and literary works. In 1830 he visited Russia. Having begun soon afterwards the preparation of a Turkish, English, and French dictionary, he returned to London in 1834 to take steps for its publication, which was rendered useless, however, by the appearance of Bianchi's Turkish-French work. In 1838 he was appointed a member of the Translations Office of the Porte, and in 1840 was transferred to the Turkish Admiralty; from 1839 until 1853 he acted as confidential medium of communication between the Porte and the British Ambassador. In 1840 he went on a mission to the coast of Syria, then blockaded by the allied squadrons of England, Turkey, and Austria, where he was engaged in communications between the admirals and the Turkish Commander-in-Chief on shore. After other services he assisted to conclude in 1847 a treaty of peace between Persia and Turkey; and in 1854 he was appointed
Oriental Translator to the Foreign Office. In 1857 Mr. Redhouse was sent to Paris to assist in the wording of the text of the treaty of peace with Persia, which set the British troops free to aid in the suppression of the Indian mutiny. Sir James Redhouse, who was knighted in 1888, was a member of several Turkish, Persian, and other Orders. In 1884 Cambridge granted him the honorary degree of LL.D. Among his works may be mentioned an English-Turkish and Turkish-English dictionary, a manual of colloquial Turkish for use in the Crimean war, a grammaire raisonnée de la langue Ottomané published in Paris, and an incomplete manuscript dictionary of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Eastern Turkish, and English in ten large folio volumes.

He was in many respects the leading authority on the Osmania-Turki language: to the other members of the great Turki linguistic family he had not paid much attention. He very naturally regarded the world from the Constantinople point of view, and did not hesitate to claim for the Tartar Sovereigns of that country the Kaliphat of Islam, a claim which the great Mahometan Emperors of India, whose ancestor, Tamerlane, had carried about Bajazet, the ancestor of the Sultans of Turkey, in an iron cage, laughed to scorn, and in no Mosque of India was prayer ever offered for him as the Kaliph of the Faithful.

It was a pleasure to visit year by year Sir James in his retreat at Kilburn, and converse with the great scholar: the sight of the great volumes of the great Dictionary of the Osmania-Turki on the desks round his writing table impressed one more with the grandeur than the prudence of the undertaking. Every word of the Arabic, Persian, and pure Turki languages had been incorporated alphabetically, but, when it came to publication, at the request of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who have extensive Educational Agencies in Turkey, a selection had to be made of a much more moderate size. The National Library of the British Museum has secured these folios, which will ever remain as monuments of his industry and knowledge.

Jan. 7, 1892.

R. N. C.

J.R.A.S. 1892.
III. Notes and News.

Count A. de Gubernatis has been appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Rome, and has accordingly left the Istituto di Studii Superiore at Florence.

Behramji M. Malabarli, the author of “Gujarat and the Gujaratis.” A life of this writer and philanthropist, by Dayaram Gidumal, acting district judge at Shikarpur, with an introduction by Florence Nightingale, is announced for publication shortly.

Vyāṣakāra Śatāka.—A MS. of this Sanskrit poem in Sinhalese characters has just been found in the Royal Asiatic Society’s Library. Each of the hundred moral verses of which it consists is followed by a pada-gata-sannaya, or word for word commentary, in the Sinhalese language. There is another copy in Europe, at Copenhagen, wrongly described by Westergaard (Cat. p. 21) as Vyāṣa-śataka. An English translation of forty-four out of the hundred verses is published by Philalethes in his “History of Ceylon,” pp. 308 to 314. There is no copy of this work among the sixty-three Sanskrit MSS. in the Kandy Library (none of which are noticed in Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum), though a list of them was printed in the Pali Text Society’s Journal, 1882, p. 45. It would seem also to be wanting in Colombo (see ibid. p. 58). The date and author of the little work are entirely unknown.

The Burmese Government has started a series of open competitive examinations in Pali. Prizes and scholarships are said to be promised to the successful candidates, but the exact details have not reached Europe.

Mr. Edward G. Browne, a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, is about to publish the “Makāla-i-shaksi sayyāh ki ār āzīyya-i-Bāb navishta-ast.” This work, composed in Persian by order of Behā Ullāh, the present chief of the Bābi sect, comprises a history of that sect from its origin to the present day, together with a statement of its doctrines and principles. The present edition will contain in Vol. I. the text in facsimile,
and in Vol. II. the translation, illustrated by critical and historical notes. The volumes will be sold separately at the Cambridge University Press.

Tibet.—M. Dutreuil de Rhins, the learned author of "L’Asiè Centrale," is said to be at present attempting an exploration of Tibet. When last heard from, in August, 1891, he had reached Khotan, which he places in lat. 37°.7 N. and long. 79°.55 E.

Prof. Brugsch is planning a journey into the Libyan desert, principally with the hope of finding there papyrus rolls.

Adam’s Bridge.—In No. 101 of "Petermann’s Mittheilungen," Dr. J. Walther discusses the mode of formation of this curious and famous link between South India and Ceylon. He thinks it was built up by ocean currents, and that neither an upheaval of the land nor the labours of coral insects had any share in its history.

A Conch Shell 1200 Years Old.—A pair of conch shells have been discovered in a poor peasant’s field near Amreli on Gohelvāḍ Timbo. The larger of them weighs 3½ lbs. It bears on it an inscription in Valabhi-Gupta characters, Si Bhatakadatti (possibly the name of the owner), and an engraving of a Venidāvana, or raised enclosed bed of the Tulasi or Basil plant. The latter sign, and the existence of the Śankha, may indicate Vishṇu worship in old Amreli, as both the Śankha and Tulasi are now sacred to that deity. An old Phallus of Siva had previously been found near the same spot. An inscription in the temple of Nāga Nātha Mahādeva at Amreli mentions the find of that Phallus. We know of Siva worship there in the Valabhi period from the published Valabhi grants. There are remains near by of what is probably a Buddhist stūpa, and the name Amaravalli (Amreli) would recall Buddhist associations, as its other name Grīvāṇa-valli would recall Brahminic associations. Popular tradition gives a third name to it, viz. Kanakāvati. Not far from it are the ruins of another old town Tāmrā-vatī. Old Kṣattrapa, Gupta, and Indo-Sassanian coins are found in large numbers about these parts.—H. H. D.
Prachina Kavya Mala.—H. H. the Gaikvad of Baroda, a member of this Society, has sanctioned Rs. 12,000 for the publication of poems of some of the Gujarati poets that flourished in his domains. Some eighteen numbers of the series are out up to date, containing poems of great merit of Kavi Premanaanda, his son Vallabha, Kavi Bhalana, Kavi Dayaram (the Byem of Gujarat), and Ratnesvara among others. The researches of the zealous editors of the series, among them R. B. Hargovinddas Dvarkadas, Director of Vernacular Instruction, point to the arrangement made by Kavi Premanaanda with his son and disciples who formed a large band to enrich the language of Gujarat by dividing the work among them. Some were to write verses on the model of Sanskrit, others on that of the old Prakrits, some on that of Hindustani, and others of the Urdu tales and traditions. This was so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. H. H. is also said to have sanctioned a large sum, Rs. 50,000, for Marathi and Gujarati popular school series. A large illustrated Gujarati Dictionary is said to be under contemplation. The works of Narsimha Meheta, said to be the Chaucer of Gujarat, are intended to be similarly published by the Junaghad Durbar. A young poet is moving among other Kattyawad States for getting the works of other Kattyawadi poets collected and published. The energetic editor of an Aryo-Gujarati bi-weekly, of Bombay, has issued over four large volumes of old Gujarati Poets, Brihatkavya Lokana.—H. H. D.

Constable’s “Oriental Miscellany.”—We beg to call the special attention of our readers to this new venture under an old and honoured name, the details of which will be found in our advertisement pages. It is a good sign of the times that publishers, whose estimate of things monetary is not often over-sanguine, should find it pay to publish books on Oriental subjects, and we trust that Mr. Constable will receive sufficient support to encourage him in producing works of real and permanent historical value.

Harvard Oriental Series.—This series is to be devoted to texts, translations, and other works concerning India, its
history, religions, languages, literature, and antiquities. The aim is to supply what has been urgently needed, well-selected, and well-edited texts, easy in style, of interesting contents, and not too long, suitable, in a word, for the acquisition of facility in reading, and which can be sold at a low price. The series is to include not only works of use to advanced scholars, but also books suited to the needs of younger students. Volume I., which is already out, is the text of "The Jātaka-mālā," by Aryaçūra, edited by Professor Kern (royal 8vo. cloth, pp. xii. and 254, price 6s.). Volume II. will be the text of "Kapila's Aphorisms of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy," with the Commentary of Vijñāna-bhikṣu; edited, in the original Sanskrit, by Richard Garbe, Professor in the University of Königsberg, Prussia. This text and commentary were published about thirty-five years ago by Fitzedward Hall, but are now out of print. The new edition is in handsome English letters. A translation into German by Professor Garbe was published by the German Oriental Society in 1889. Volume III., in preparation, is on "Buddha and Buddhism," as illustrated by English translations from the Buddhist Scriptures in Pāli, by Henry Clarke Warren, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass. This will be a series of selections made in such a way as to give a systematic exposition of the subject according to the views of the native authorities and the canonical books of Buddhism. The whole is, we are glad to see, under the editorship of Prof. Lanman, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for the scholarly character of any work that may be chosen for publication.

Buddha Gaya.—A few days ago there arrived at Colombo a Japanese monk sent from Tokio to Ceylon on a special mission to inquire into the "Buddha-Gaya Mission" founded in Colombo to acquire some lands on the site, at Buddha-Gaya in India, where Gotama Buddha preached his doctrines, and to consecrate them to the service of all Buddhists. Mr. Dharmapala, the Secretary of the Mission, who is away in India now, has already purchased the lands; and he is now making arrangements to build a monastery there. Japanese and Siamese Buddhists have been appealed to for help, and
the arrival of the "Jap" to make inquiries on the subject is the result of the appeal. The Buddha-Gaya mission has succeeded in securing the site of the Bo-tree at Gaya, where Gotama Buddha attained Buddhahood. The Sinhalese monks who have gone there to take charge of the place are making rapid progress in learning the vernaculars of Bengal, and they will shortly commence the work of the propaganda. A deputation of Sinhalese, Japanese, Siamese, and Burmese Buddhists will wait on H. E. the Governor-General on his visit to Gaya about the middle of October.

Since the above was written we learn from the "Calcutta Englishman" that there has been a meeting of the Committees arranging this matter at Buddha Gayā itself. There were present the following delegates:—Japan, Ato Tokuzawa; Ceylon, Dharmapala; the Secretary of the Budgya Society, Gunaratana Bhikshu; China, Tochiya Lama; Chittagong, Girish Chandra Dewan and Krishna Chandra Chowdri. Letters promising support were received from Prince Chandradat on behalf of the Siamese Buddhists, and Moung Shoung on behalf of the Burmese Buddhists. Letters were also read from Sir Edwin Arnold, Baron Harden Hickey, and the Australian Buddhists. Resolutions were passed calling for subscriptions from Buddhist countries for erecting a monastery and founding a Buddhist college. The meeting closed by thanking the Government of India for repairing the temple and the Indian press for the sympathy shown.

Dr. Bezold.—The Trustees of the British Museum will shortly issue the second instalment of Dr. Bezold's "Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection." This volume will contain the descriptions of nearly six thousand tablets and fragments which formed part of the famous clay library preserved by the Kings of Assyria at Nineveh. This library was founded by Assurbanipal B.C. 668–626, and contained official documents which had been sent to Sargon and Sennacherib by the generals of the army and others; as well as a series of works relating to every branch of science known to the Assyrians, and copies of
ancient classical books and legends from Babylonia. In this volume will be found a classification of omen and astrological texts, a work which has never before been attempted; and a considerable number of important extracts are printed in the Cuneiform characters.—_Athenæum_, 30th Nov. 1891.

_Etruscan._—Prof. Krall, of Vienna, in examining the bands of a mummy, probably of the age of the Ptolemies, which for the last forty years has been preserved in a museum, has found a strip of linen with several hundred lines of Etruscan writing. In this text, which is the longest we possess in that language, some words occur that are to be found in Etruscan inscriptions known to us, but the whole cannot in the actual state of Etruscan studies be deciphered. The cloth was, no doubt, written on for some purpose before being carried by ship to Egypt and there used for the wrappings of a mummy. The publication of the text by the learned discoverer is awaited with the keenest interest.

_Egyptian Antiquities._—Messrs. Newberry and Fraser have already left England for their second season in Egypt, and will be followed somewhat later by Mr. Blackden. Their work for this winter will be to survey, copy, and photograph the remaining historic antiquities from Beni-Hasan tombs, the tombs of el-Bersheh (XIIth Dynasty), the Speos Artemidos, and the tombs at Isbêdeh. It should be added that this archaeological survey is supported by special subscription.

The Egyptian Government has asked the Caisse de la Dette for £50,000 from the general reserve fund on behalf of the Antiquities' Department, but, before granting so large a sum, the Caisse will probably require the appointment of a commission to study the purposes of its employment. It is hoped that this opportunity will be availed of to make a searching investigation into the management of the department generally, which has for a long time excited dissatisfaction amongst all nationalities, and is discreditable to the country. The Ghižeh Museum especially is without a catalogue, its exhibits are unlabelled, and its immense
quantities of valuable objects are stored away from public view to the utter disappointment of visitors who desire to do more than merely pass an idle hour in the building. The monuments scattered throughout the country are inefficiently protected, and much irreparable mischief has been and still is caused by theft and wantonness.—Academy, 5 Dec., 1891.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins, has published in the fifteenth volume of the "Journal of the American Oriental Society" a third series of "Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda," continuing his former method of interpreting the early mantras by help of the later literature—Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, commentaries, and classical legends. He first deals at considerable length with the story of Indra and Namuci, which he makes intelligible by piecing together many scattered allusions. Perhaps the most novel feature in this re-constructed story is the scene where Namuci (the āśura) makes Indra (the deva) drunk with surā (brandy) instead of his own favourite soma. Secondly, he takes up the two dogs of Yama, and shows how identification with the sun and the moon in the Brāhmaṇas explains many of the conflicting attributes assigned to them in the Vedic mantras. Lastly, he discusses the much-disputed passage (Rig-veda, x. 17, 1, 2), which describes the conjugal exploits of Saranyu, his explanation being that it is a Brahmadya (riddle or charade), not, as has hitherto been held, either a fragment or a story in a form so condensed as to be foreign to Indian habits of narration. As the basis of the riddle he finds a cosmogonic conception with which a number of mythological inventions have been combined to make up a story of a composite character.

Dr. de Cara has published a paper under the title "Della Identita degli Hethe i e dei Pelasgi dimostrata per la Ceramica pre-fenica e pre-ellenica" (Rome: Befani). The work shows an acquaintance with the most recent results of Oriental and archaeological research, and the views expressed in it are novel and suggestive. The author seeks
to show that the Pelasgians of Greek tradition represent the Hittites of Asia Minor and Syria, and that the culture of Mykane had its ultimate origin in the Hittite empire.

The Oriental School at Berlin.—The official catalogue (Verzeichniss) of the teachers and students of the Berlin Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, for the term October 15th, 1891, to March 15th, 1892, has appeared. The teaching body seems to have undergone some changes. In the first place, the Lector in South Chinese is An Fung Tschü, whose name does not occur in the Verzeichniss for 1890. Next, Dr. Moritz is entered, not only as librarian, but as teacher of Arabic, while the dialect of Morocco is taught by Muhammad Bin Selham, a name also new. Another new teacher is the Lector in Suaheli, Amir bin Nasir Lomeri. The number of hearers is 118, against 132 in the early part of the year. The non-official courses are attended by 33 hearers.

The Bábís.—A Russian artillery lieutenant, Alexander Toumansky, having gone to Ashkabad with the object of visiting the Bábí colony there, has returned to St. Petersburg with many notes, photographs, and manuscripts. Several of the latter are described in the last issue of the ‘Collections scientifiques de l'institut des langues orientales’ at St. Petersburg (Part 2 for 1891). The same volume contains the complete text of some other Bábí works which form part of a volume of Bábí tracts lately presented to the library of the Institute. The description of these new treasures commences with a warm eulogium of Mr. Browne's articles in our 'Journal' for 1890.

The Rig-Veda.—The first volume of Prof. Max Müller's translation of the Rig-Veda, which has been so long looked forward to by scholars, has at last appeared just as we are going to press. It contains the translation into English, with a very elaborate commentary, of the forty-nine hymns to the Maruts, including nine not addressed specially to them, but dealing with allied subjects.

Lahore Museum.—The new buildings for this important local museum are nearly completed, and will be shortly
opened, to the great benefit of those who visit the collections there arranged under the able superintendence of Mr. Kipling, senior.

IV. Notices of Books.

The Dinkard, Vol VI. By Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana. (Published under the patronage of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai Translation Fund, Bombay, 1891.)

With this sixth volume of the Text and Translations of the Dinkard the learned high-priest of the Bombay Parsis completes seven-tenths of the third book, or nearly one-third of the whole work so far as it is still extant. The first two books appear to have become separated from the other seven more than 870 years ago, when the latter were copied from a manuscript found in Baghdād; and no trace of the former two books has yet been discovered.

The Dinkard is an extensive summary of information regarding the Mazda-worshiping religion, its legendary history, and its sacred books, compiled chiefly from writings no longer extant, and written in the Pahlavi language. This compilation was commenced by Ātūr-farnbag, son of Farukhzād, who was supreme high-priest in Irān early in the ninth century; and it was revised and completed, more than half a century later, by Ātūrpād, son of Hēmēd, one of his successors. Nearly the whole of its third book is quoted from the Nikēzō-i Vēh-dīnō, or Exposition of the Good Religion, which was probably the name of some important treatise on religious matters; but it also contains some answers to sceptical inquiries, and several series of admonitions issued by celebrated religious men and their opponents, which may be derived from other sources.

In preparing his edition of this Pahlavi work Dastūr Dr. Peshotan has had to provide not only for European scholars, but also for his own countrymen. He publishes the original Pahlavi text required by both parties, with an English
translation for Europeans, and a Pāzand transliteration, a Gujarati translation, and a Glossary of a few of the Pahlavi words for his own countrymen. His last two volumes contain a marked improvement, as compared with the preceding four, owing to the English translation being no longer a mere translation of the Gujarati, but being made direct from the Pahlavi, though still following the general course of interpretation adopted by the editor in his Gujarati version. This improvement has been carried out by the editor's son with great success, considering the difficulty of the task.

There is always much uncertainty in the reading of unusual Pahlavi names, and the best translators will often be led astray in such cases by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi characters. It has already been shown by Darmesteter (in Textes Pehlevis relatifs au Judaism, p. 3) that the name of the high-priest which is read Dāyūn by Peshotan, in his chaps. 197, 198, ought to be read Shēnō, he being the Saēna of Yt. xiii. 97, in the Avesta. And another correction of a similar character may now be suggested with regard to the name Asritic which is coupled with that of Hōshang in chap. 209, §§ 8, 11, and should doubtless be read Vāēgerēdō (the first letter being supplied, in two cases out of three, from the preceding word mūn, which ought to be min), as it appears from Sachau's Albirūni's Chronology of Ancient Nations, pp. 206, 212, that Vaikard was the twin brother of Hōshang and superintended the agriculture of the realm.1 His name occurs again in the fifth, seventh, and eighth books of the Dīnkard, but has not been preserved in the extant Avesta.

In chap. 229, § 5, hūāfrit is not a name, but merely a title of the Sāsānians, which is also used in Book VIII. chap. xiii. 17. The passage in chap. 229 would be better translated as follows: "The good government by sagacity as an administrator (?) among those of the race of Yim, after Frēḏūn, was first through the descendants of Mānuśehchihār,

1 I am indebted to Prof. Darmesteter for calling my attention to this statement, in correction of my translation of Dīnkard VIII. xiii. 5, in The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 37.
secondly through the Kayānians, and thirdly through the well-created (or the fully-blessed) that are descended from the same Kayānians, who are the Sāsānians that are also so called.”

Similarly, in chap. 274, §§ 2, 3, brāṭrāt is not a name, but should be read brāḍarvat “brotherly, fraternal, akin;” and the passage can be translated as follows: “Virtuous action is that which is due to the diligence that is free from the avarice which is akin to diligence. And honest comfort is that due to contentment preserved from the indolence akin to discontent.” It has been suggested that brāḍarvat generally means “brotherly” in an Oriental sense which would be better expressed in English by “inimical”; but this passage does not support that view.

It must certainly be admitted that the third book of the Dīnkard is the most difficult part of the whole work, and probably the portion least interesting to scholars who are not Parsi theologians. The next three books contain some passages that may be more entertaining. But the last three books, which comprise much legendary history and a summary account of the Nasks as they existed in Sāsānian times, are likely to be far more generally interesting, especially the seventh book. If the Trustees of the Sir J. J. Translation Fund could manage to expedite the publication of the Pahlavi text, by postponing that of the translations and other accompaniments, they would be conferring a favour upon European Pahlavi scholars generally, who look forward to their next fifteen years of waiting for the completion of the publication, at its present rate of progress, with some degree of impatience.

E. W. West.

The Dwarfs of Mount Atlas.

Mr. Haliburton, Q.C., has published a brochure (David Nutt) giving a detailed statement of the evidence in his possession as to the existence of a race of dwarfs (with an average height of less than 4½ feet) in the district subjoined
to Morocco immediately south of the Atlas range. It is made perfectly clear that a number of natives of Morocco believe in the existence of such a race, and that Europeans in North Morocco have seen dwarfs there who are believed to belong to such a tribe, and not to be isolated cases of arrested development or of atavism. The strongest evidence is that of a donkey-man in Tangier, 4 1/2 feet high, the son by a Moorish woman of one of the Akka dwarfs. He told Mr. Haliburton that his father, brothers and sisters were smaller than himself, and entirely confirmed the hearsay evidence (of those who had told the author or his informants about the dwarfs) as to the existence in Akka of a pigmy race. We understand from the brochure that Mr. Haliburton's conclusions have been controverted; but he does not state where; and it is difficult to see what negative evidence, except that of a trained observer who had been at the places indicated and found no pigmies, could be of much value against the carefully authenticated inquiries set out in this little book. Mr. Haliburton deserves the thanks of historical students for the trouble he has taken in the matter.

The statement of evidence as to the existence of this particular pigmy race is followed by seven pages of rather desultory remarks on dwarfs and dwarf-worship. It is suggested that nearly all the earliest myths of Greece came from the Atlas pygmies,—either direct, or through Crete, to which island they had emigrated, and it is confidently stated that "Probably on both sides of the Atlantic the ancient dwellings cut in cliffs were made by dwarfs." These propositions would be sufficient to overthrow the beliefs at present held among scholars as to the Greek myths on the one hand, and the cave-dwellers on the other. If the author would produce in support of them evidence as substantial as that set out in the earlier part of the pamphlet, he would find that serious scholars would not be prevented by the revolutionary air of his theses from giving to them a respectful attention.
Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. From the papers of the late William Wright, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1890, pp. 288.)

If we overcome the feeling of sadness that the author of the above-mentioned work is no more, nothing but pleasure is in store for the reader of these lectures which he has bequeathed to the students of Semitic philology. It is particularly lamentable that he was not spared to take into consideration the two latest works in this province which claim to do away with so many views hitherto sustained, and the ingenuity of which has opened up quite a new field of investigation. Like the foregoing works Wright's book extends over the whole realm of the Semitic dialects, but it omits entirely any theory concerning the formation of the nouns as well as the usual classification of their forms. The author has probably deemed it to be beyond his task, and declined consequently to give his young hearers a system, the deficiency of which was evidently too manifest to him. But on the other hand he does not give the slightest reason for this omission, nor does he intimate the existence of any other theory, with the exception of some remarks at the beginning of the chapter on the verb. The lectures thus extend over the Phonology and all the rest of the Morphology. It is surely an unsurpassable masterpiece to treat of so vast a subject in less than 300 pages. Yet the diction is transparent and clear, nay almost popular—as the lectures were meant for undergraduates—even though every word is written with the utmost care. The unhappy circumstance that the author was prevented by death from putting the finishing touch to his book was fully made up by its being edited, preaced and annotated by Professor W. Robertson Smith, whilst Professor Th. Nöldeke read the proofs and added notes and corrections.

The introductory chapters are devoted to a résumé of the latest investigations concerning the cradle of the Semitic
peoples, which the author, in common with Sayce, Schrader, and de Goeje, considers to have been in the South, and also to a survey of the single Semitic dialects.

To these general remarks I should like to attach a few details which include one or two unimportant suggestions. Referring to the chapter of the pronouns the author agrees with all other grammarians, that the demonstrative pronouns הת and נוּר are a combination of ה resp. נֵר with the article. It seems peculiar that no other Semitic language has this combination, whilst some place the demonstrative element hā before the pronoun dā. On the other hand no Semitic language, nor even the Phœnician, puts the article before the pron. demonstr. and Mesor 1. 3, neither. The treatment of הת and נוּר as adjectives is after all only owing to external formation and is frequently omitted also in Hebrew (see the instances given in Gesenius-Kautzsch. Hebr. Gramm. 24th ed. p. 289, to which are to be added Deut. xxi. 20, Jos. ii. 14, 20.) We should thus expect that the ה before הת and נוּר (with Dagesh following) should properly be not the article as such, but also a demonstrative prefix which was originally ה, but was gradually treated as analogous to the article by sharpening the syllable and Dagesh following. The Phœnician form הת which Wright disunites from הת, may yet perhaps have corresponded to it, and have been pronounced 'ażā with the ה dropped, just as the Vulgar-Arabic ʿaddā; as to נוּר and נוּר cp. the Vulg. Arab. ahō and ahōm [Wr. p. 107, Spitta, G.A.V. p. 76]. Whether cases as נוּר, Gen. xviii. 32, נוּר in the signification to-day, נוּר Jer. xxviii. 16, had originally the same ה or the real article is more difficult to decide. But with respect to the last instance we may quote the Bedouin هالشنة which Nöldeke [Wright, p. 115, note 1] dissolves in هاذئ السنة.1

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As to the relative pronoun נָהֳג Wright, mentioning the view which connects it with Aram. נָהֳג, inclines to acknowledge the other theory of Ewald-Böttcher that it is compounded rather of יִלָּשׁ + a prosthetic, but with the modification that its origin is to be sought for in the region of the demonstrative pronoun. The fundamental element seems to be the demonstr. נ (Hommel, Z.D.M.G. 32, 708) which in Phœnician, with the prosthetic or rather likewise demonstrative נ, was pronounced ננ a's or a'se (Wr. p. 119, cp. Ges.-K. p. 102).¹ Such a word, however, being impossible in Hebrew, the second syllable was closed by a liquid or guttural r which originally did not belong to the root, the addition of which may yet have been supported by the tendency to triliterality (see the examples with נ added at the end in Olshausen's Gramm. § 216c.). The liquid character of this נ is particularly visible in the forms נ [with Dagesh following] and ננ which represent the archaic form and are used preferentially in poetic passages, but were supplanted gradually by the fuller form ננ.

With reference to נגנ[ט] [p. 85, cp. Olshausen, § 202b.] the author mentions the Syriac נגנ. Also Levy in his Dictionary to the Targums gives to the 'Ayn a Patah.² In two rather old Yemen MSS. belonging to the Montefiore College Library, cod. Montef. 501 [Haftārōth] and 506 [part of the Pent.] both with Targum and written with the Babylonian system of vowels, I find always נגנ with Qāmez.

As to the chapter of the nouns, the author confines his


² Probably on account of an erroneous derivation from נ. Buxtorf's Concordantiae have the word under this root.
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remarks to the gender and the attaching of the suffixes. Only—as said above—at the introduction to the chapter of the verb he accentuates the close relationship which prevails between this and the noun. With Stade he confesses to have long believed that the verbal forms of the Semitic languages are really nominal forms, mostly in combination with pronouns. The question concerning the precedence of nomen or verbum has been lately raised with much vigour through Lagarde and Barth. Wright’s view coincides in so far with that of Barth, as the latter, although he does not seem inclined to give a decided answer, for the nouns derived from the Perfect-stem, ascribes the precedence to the noun, but not for the nouns derived from the Imperfect-stem. This view is most likely influenced by the circumstance that the imperfect includes principally future actions which cannot be conceived and expressed otherwise than through a verbal idea [Wr. p. 179], whilst completed actions can easily be comprehended as something existing, or a nominal idea. This, however, is by no means sufficient to help us in dealing with the above question, which will perhaps hardly be satisfactorily answered, owing to our most scant knowledge of the development of the elements of human culture.

In treating of the verb Wright starts from the three fundamental forms qatal, qatil, qatul, which by doubling one of the consonants or lengthening a vowel developed into the other forms. By lengthening the first vowel, he says, arose the form qātal, which by changing the vowel of the second syllable into i became indistinguishable from the hightening of qatil into qātil. Apparently Wright does not share fully the view hitherto generally held that the participle active was developed from an older form qātal, but says expressly [p. 197] that the form qātil may be explained in one of two ways, the second of which is the hightening of the first syllable of qatil into qātil, thus corroborating the view so strongly advocated by Barth [Nominalbildung, p. 200, and Z.D.M.G. 44, 685]. Yet Wright, on the other hand, admits—what Barth emphatically denies—the existence of
forms *fā'āl*, viz. מָלַח, Arab. מָלַחָן and מָלַחַה. As to מָלַחָן we may quote the longer form מָלַחָן [Gen. xxxviii. 25], which may fairly be subjected to the rule expounded by Barth, Z.D.M.G. *ibid.* 606. Perhaps מָלַחָן had originally also an i-sound in the second syllable, and is only a transformation of מָלַחָם.

According to the theory of deriving the verbal forms from an original noun Wright regards the 3rd pers. pl. m. perf. to be *qatalūna*, in opposition to Nöldeke [Z.D.M.G. 38, 411], who declares it to be only ending in ˀn, the ˀn being affixed later on. Wright seems to have thought that the ˀn belonged to the ending of the plural in primitive Semitic, which however does not entirely agree with his own opinion concerning the formation of the plural of the noun by lengthening the vowel-ending of the singular, viz. into ˀu. The addition of the ˀn is here hardly sufficiently explained; on the other hand, examples quoted by him from Assyrian [p. 147] *malkā, umī, pagrī*, etc., seem to strengthen the idea of the plural as having been formed without ˀn. With this Nöldeke's ending of the plural ˀu coincides very well. The same is to be said concerning the ending 3rd pers. pl. f. which Wright traces as *qatalāna* against Nöldeke-Hoffman *qatalā*. Wright himself takes at this place notice of his disagreement with the opinions of these scholars.

The same is again repeated where Wright denotes the oldest form of the 3rd p. imp. to be *ūna*. To this much the same may be applicable as to the perfect. The ending of the 2nd pers. sing. m. perf. is regarded by Nöldeke as being *tā*, by Wright however *tā*, whilst the lengthening, according to his view, was brought forward by the weight of the accent.
CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM. BY THEODOR AUFRECHT.

(Leipzig, Brockhaus.)

This is an alphabetical list of all Sanskrit books and their authors mentioned in accessible printed catalogues of MSS. of the Brahmin literature. It does not mention editions; nor such works as have been edited, but do not appear in the lists of MSS.; nor any Indian works, whether Sanskrit or not, which are not written from the Brahman standpoint. But it does include the names of books and authors quoted in the Catalogues under other books or authors. The Catalogues of MSS. thus inedited, fifty-six in number, are set out in the preface, and include all that the author could procure. The result is a stately volume of nearly 800 pages 4to., which will be a standard work of reference for all interested in the history of thought in India, and which reflects the greatest credit on the careful industry and exact scholarship of its distinguished author. No one will be surprised to learn that this colossal work has been thirty years in preparation. But the labour and scholarship involved could scarcely have been better employed. For we have here the first step, and a most substantial one, towards that 'Dictionary of Indian Literature,' which shall do for Indianists what Murray's series of dictionaries has done for the classical student. It has been necessary, of course, in order to bring the index within any reasonable limits, to omit all detailed descriptions either of books or authors. The plan adopted is exceedingly simple and clear. Each book is mentioned in its alphabetical place with a reference to the name of the author (whenever known) and to the names and authors of commentaries upon it, and usually with a single word, or a word or two, descriptive of the subject treated. Each author is given, also in the same alphabetical order, with a complete list of the titles of his works, and the names of his teachers or pupils, his father or sons, and his date, whenever such details are known. The work is published by the German Asiatic Society, and has received a substantial subvention from the Indian Government.
ARABIC LITERATURE.

Historia virorum doctorum Andalusiae ab Aben Alfaradhi scripta, ad fidem codicis Tunicensis ed. Francisco Codera. T. i. Matriti, Typ. Guirnalda. This publication forms the 7th volume of the Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana.

A volume of notes and indices by D. H. Müller has now appeared; it forms the second part of his edition of Ab-Hamdání's Geography of the Arabian Peninsula.

Among the recent publications of Croux, Paris, we may mention a Chrestomathie magrébine, Recueil de textes arabes inédits, avec vocabulaires, by O. Houdas.

Les monuments sabéens et himyarites de la Bibliothèque nationale (Cabinet des médailles et antiques), edited by Hartwig Derenbourg (Paris, Leopold Cerf), in honour of the eightieth anniversary of his father's birthday. The small volume, with phototyped frontispiece, contains thirty-one inscriptions.

Haftz.—The Divân of Hâfiz has been translated for the first time out of Persian into English prose by H. W. Clarke.

JEWISH LITERATURE.

Among T. Kauffmann's (Francfort-o.-M.) new publications are Maimonides' Commentar zum Tractat Kilajim. Zum ersten Male im arabischen Urtext herausgegeben, mit verbesserter hebräischer Uebersetzung und mit Anmerkungen versehen, by Dr. Salomon Bamberger. With a sheet of figures and designs.—Die Nominalbildung in der Mischenh, by Dr. F. Hillel.—Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. have just issued an excellent and comprehensive book on the Jewish Religion by Dr. M. Friedländer.

AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

The following books have been published during the last half of 1891:

I. Comparative Grammar of the Bantu languages, by Rev. Father Torrend, S.J., of the Jesuit Mission on the Zambézi. This is a large and important volume, compiled
on the model of the great Comparative Grammar of the Arian languages, but comprising a very much larger number of languages, the knowledge of which has been revealed to us during the last twenty years by the Grammars, Dictionaries and Texts prepared by Missionaries in South Africa. No doubt there are many points, which will require consideration, as our knowledge extends, but under any circumstances this is an epoch-making book. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.)

II. Grammar of the Nyanja language on Lake Nyassa, by the Rev. George Henry, Medical Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most satisfactory book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

III. Hymns by the same author in the same language.

IV. Angola Proverbs in the Mboundu or Banda language of the West Coast of Africa within the Portuguese Colony: the translations are in the Portuguese language, and the book is interesting as compiled by an educated Native. (Lisbon.)

V. Notes on the Tambúka language spoken on the West Coast of Lake Nyassa, by Dr. Elmslie, Medical Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most useful book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VI. Table of Concord, and Paradigm of Verb in the same language, by the same author. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VII. A few linguistic notes and Table of Concord and Paradigm of Verb in the Ngoni form of speech, a dialect of the Zulu language, spoken on the West Coast of Lake Nyassa: for this also we are indebted to Dr. Elmslie. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

VIII. Afrikanische Petrefakten, a Study of the Grammatical Features, and Mutual Relation of African languages, in the German language, by Professor A. W. Schleicher (Berlin). We particularly welcome this book, as indicating that the attention of German linguistic scholars is beginning to be turned to the wonderful new material brought to light by honest, though untrained, British labourers in a virgin field.
IX. A Gospel in the Shitswa language spoken in the Portuguese Colony in East Africa, near Lorenzo Marquez. We publish annually in this Journal a list of the translations made by the British Bible Society; but we are indebted for this translation to the American Bible Society. It may readily be understood how exceedingly important are genuine Texts, made by capable men in the Field, to be brought into immediate use, and severe criticism by the tribe, which speaks that language, when used in the schools and chapels.

*December 31st, 1891.*

R. N. C.

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V. **ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, Oct. 1891—Jan. 1892.**


*Presented by R. N. Cust, Esq.*


*Presented by the Author.*


*Presented by H. H. Dhrudha, Esq.*


Twentieth Annual Report of Anglo-Jewish Association, 1890–91. 8vo. 1891.
1891. Press List of India Office Documents from earliest date to 1630, including also notices of all documents extant in India. fol. 1891.

Presented by L. Rice, Esq.
Bhāṭṭakalanka Devās. Karṇāṭaka-Śabdāṇusāśānāṁ; with its vṛtti or gloss named Bhāshā-Mañjari, and vyākhyā or commentary thereon, called Mañjari-Makarandaḥ: an exhaustive treatise on the grammar of the language, completed 1604 A.D. Ed. by B. Lewis Rice. 4to. Bangalore, 1890.

Presented by the India Office.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India. No. 278.


Ditto. No. 280.

Report of the Political Administration of the Territories within the Central India Agency for 1890–91.

fol. Calcutta, 1891.

Selections from Settlements Reports of the Sakrand Taluka (irrigational settlement).


Seal (B.). A Memoir on the Co-efficients of Numbers, being a Chapter on the Theory of Numbers.

8vo. Calcutta, 1891.


8vo. Shanghai, 1889.


8vo. Madras, 1891.

United States: Department of Agriculture.


Lindsay (Lord, Alex. W., Earl of Crawford and Balcarres). The Creed of Japhet. (Printed for private circulation.) 8vo. 1891.
Archæological Survey of Southern India.
Australian Year Book. 1886, 1 vol. 1890, 1 vol.

Presented by Hyde Clarke, Esq.

Turkish Almanac. square post 8vo. 1892.
Burgess (James). Orthography of Foreign Place-Names. Pamphlet. 8vo. 1892.

A pseudo-Aristotelian treatise called de pomo et morte incliti principis philosophorum Aristotelis has been printed several times in Europe, the earliest editions being without place or date. This work is a Latin translation of a Hebrew tract bearing the name “The Book of the Apple,” the translator being Manfred, King of Sicily (ob. 1266), or, as Steinschneider suggests, a Jew employed by him. The Hebrew text professes to be a translation from the Arabic made by R. Abraham B. Hisdai, an author who flourished at the end of the thirteenth century. There are MSS. of B. Hisdai’s work in the Vatican and at Oxford, and it has been repeatedly printed, first at Venice, 1519. It was republished with a new Latin translation and a copious but irrelevant commentary by J. J. Losius, at Giessen, in 1706. A German translation was issued by J. Musen at Lemberg, 1873, and an English translation by Kalischer at New York, 1885. An edition with a brief Hebrew commentary is said to have been produced by J. Lichtstein (Grodno, 1799).

1 Hoffmann, Bibliographisches Lexicon, i. 347. Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. iii. 281 (ed. 2), mentions certain early Latin editions of Aristotle in which it is to be found.
2 Hebräische Übersetzungen, p. 268 (advance sheets lent the author by Dr. Neubauer).
3 See Wolf, Bibl. Hebr. i. p. 57; Steinschneider, Lc.
4 Bisga dissertationum quarum prior exhibet הֶנְטִית רַבָּא, etc. Losius’ translation is very inaccurate, and his text very corrupt.
The Arabic work which served as the basis of the Hebrew translation is not known to be in existence, nor is it noticed by the Arabic bibliographers, although reference is made to it in the encyclopædic work Ikhwān ul-Ṣafāī. The Persian translation, however, which is here printed for the first time from a Bodleian MS., will probably make up for the loss, and will show that the Hebrew translation is a very unfaithful abridgment, in which the original purpose of "The Book of the Apple" is entirely obscured.

That the Persian is more faithful than the Hebrew is proved by the fact that a quotation made from the Arabic by an author of the thirteenth century, and discovered by Steinschneider, corresponds exactly with a passage in the Persian, but has nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew.

The passage runs as follows in the Arabic:

لا سمع إذا علم المتعلم الأسنى قبل الفلسفية ولم ننظر الأسنى قبل المصباح وقال لا تقبل النفس الفلسفية النجمة من طبيعته ولا ينفع بصر البصير إلا بضوء المصباح فإذا اجتمع نفد

In the Persian as follows (l. 182 sqq.):

بس آموزند الاز جهت حکمت نتواند آموخت ونگلند الاز جرگنا نتواند نثرد ارسکفت نفس بذیرای حکمت نشور البدرست كه طبع او بود وبنیش بيننداد گذر نیابد الاز جرگن جون اینهم بهم آید بگذرد

1 Dieterici, Die Philosophie der Araber, i. 106, cited by Steinschneider, I.e. This quotation is rather vague.

2 MS. Ouseley, 95, viii. The dialogue is written on the margin of an analysis of the de anima of Aristotle.


4 The definition of "injustice" in Tebrizi's notes on the Hamasa, p. 7 (ed. Freytag), قبل هو روح الشیء قبل موجوده corresponds closely with the definition given here, l. 272.
It has been the custom to assume that the author of the work was a Jew,\(^1\) although Erasmus suggested that he was a Christian.\(^2\) The passage from which these inferences were chiefly drawn was that in which Noah and Abraham are mentioned, a passage which does not occur in the Persian, and is therefore an interpolation. It would have been as reasonable to argue from it that the author was a Muhammadan, for the Kor'an is quoted there, although the quotation is concealed in Losius' edition by a gross mistranslation.\(^3\) The original work as represented by the Persian bears no trace of a Jewish origin.

It is not probable that the book ever existed in Greek: not only is there no vestige of any mistranslation of a Greek text, but also many of the phrases which cannot be banished from the argument show the influence of the Kor'an; such are ἀλλ' θνατόν and μακροπαῖς. The expression "to mortify one self before death" seems borrowed from a tradition of the Prophet. On the other hand, the author must have possessed some acquaintance with Greek works. The passage in which Kriton warns Aristotle against making himself warm by talking is borrowed from the Phaedo of Plato (p. 63 d, e). From the same dialogue comes the discussion upon suicide (p. 62). The saying attributed to "Hermes," and quoted from Aristotle's "Metaphysics" (?), is not unlike the opinion of Empedocles explained in that work. The names Simmias and Kriton are borrowed from the Phaedo; Zeno and Diogenes from some history of philosophy; the source of Pindar and Lysias is less obvious. A Greek writer, choosing names for the interlocutors in a dialogue, would probably have chosen those of real disciples of Aristotle. In this respect Musen's text, which gives Aristoxenus as an interlocutor, is an improvement.

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\(^1\) So especially Losius, l.c.; Carmoly, Revue Orientale, iii. 49 (Brussels, 1843).
\(^2\) Fabricius, l.c.
\(^3\) ḥaṭiḳ ṣāliḳ what is called 'Uzza in the Kor'an is rendered by him excellenter bovinum. Musen's text is corrupt.
The author's purpose is philosophical, not religious. The last stage in the argument proves that philosophy is revealed through a chain of prophets, of whom the first was Hermes, who obtained his knowledge from the angels. Since the pseudo-Sabæans of Harran regarded Hermes as the founder of their religion,¹ and adopted the neo-Platonic idea of angel-mediators,² and since some of the most distinguished of the Arabic philosophers and translators of Greek philosophy emanated from this sect,³ it may be suggested that one of these Sabæans was the author of our treatise.

Many philosophical problems are discussed in the dialogue, but the various conclusions are ingeniously dovetailed into the leading argument, which may be briefly analyzed as follows:

The world of things is to be divided into knowledge and ignorance, and that to which they lead. Knowledge embraces both subject and object; the relation of the intelligent soul to philosophy being illustrated by that of the eye to the sunlight; while the relation of knowledge to virtue—all virtues being reducible to one—is similar to that of ice to water. Ignorance embraces all that is opposed to knowledge: this is, in the first place, the body and its passions; in the second place, the whole material world. If it be argued that the passions belong to the soul and not the body, since they disappear with the soul from the body, we answer, that they are an accidental result of the union. That they are not a necessary property of the soul is shown by the fact that the souls of the true philosophers are free from them. The existence of a result—i.e. a future world in which knowledge and ignorance are requited—is proved mainly by an argumentum ad hominem. Knowledge is incompatible with the enjoyment of the pleasures of this world, which are a hindrance to it. Yet the philosopher must pursue knowledge with some object—he who doubts this is asked why he doubts, if not for some object; and

¹ Chwolson, die Sabier, passim.
² Zeller, die Philosophie der Griechen, iii. 2. 420, etc.
³ Chwolson, l.c. bk. i. c. xii.
since that object is not to be realized in this world, it must be realized in another. That the future world will be like this in respect of the division into knowledge and ignorance may be argued from the analogy of the present. That knowledge and ignorance there will be respectively assigned to knowledge and ignorance is proved by *reductio ad absurdum*.

If, therefore, the future world is like this in respect of the division, since knowledge constitutes the happiness of the soul, and the power of acquiring knowledge increases as the bodily humours diminish, when finally freed from those humours the soul will have an unlimited power of acquiring knowledge and become perfectly happy. To the question why in that case suicide should not be committed, the answer of Socrates in the Phaedo must be given.

Although the dialogue is not free from obvious fallacy and self-contradiction, its ingenuity is no less apparent than the elegance of the Persian translator's style.

Of this argument the Hebrew translator has misunderstood or omitted almost every step, substituting for it much foreign matter, chiefly consisting in commonplaces of mediaeval scholasticism about the three souls, the four principles, etc., and some legends embodied in the Qor'ān. On the other hand, his answer to the question why suicide is not commendable is more original: any one who had reached the eminence of Abraham would be justified in perpetrating that act; but the ordinary philosopher needs time in which to perfect himself. The same reason is assigned by the commentators on the Qor'ān for the precept "slay not yourselves."  

The title, "Book of the Apple," has been adopted from the quotations in Ikhwān ul-Ṣafā and the Uri MS.; I have not ventured to translate it into Persian. The Hebrew translator evidently thought the Apple was not given sufficient prominence in the dialogue, and endeavoured to

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1 A characteristic interpolation is that in which the contents of the Book of the Soul are described in accordance with the Hebrew שָנִית לֶבֶן, edited by Löwenthal.
supply this defect. Vague conjectures about this "Apple" are made by Losius in his notes; Fabricius in his Bibliotheca gives some more useful information.

The Persian text has been re-collated with the MS. (which is almost entirely without diacritic points, and in a difficult hand) and the translation revised by Mr. J. T. Platts, teacher of Persian in the University of Oxford, who, however, is not responsible for any errors that may remain. The editor begs to tender him sincerest thanks for his kindness, and also to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for allowing this work to appear in their Journal.

Remarks on the Arabic version of the Metaphysics of Theophrastus.

The MS. from which this text has been copied (Ouseley 95) bearing the title "Translations from Greek Philosophers," among others, contains a variety of interesting matter, which has been catalogued by Dr. Ethé with his ordinary thoroughness.1 Perhaps the only tract in the Miscellany which can properly be called a translation of a Greek philosophical work is No. xvi., consisting of four torn leaves which originally contained an Arabic translation of the fragment of Theophrastus ordinarily known as his Metaphysics. We learn from Wenrich's authorities that Yahya ibn Adi (ob. 363 A.H. = 973 A.D.) rendered this treatise into Arabic from Syriac; the present translation is probably by him, though it might seem to have come directly from the Greek. Although the MS. is perfect at the commencement—for the obverse page is blank—the copy from which it was made must have contained more; for the present MS. commences in the middle of a sentence, viz. at the word ékátera, p. 410, l. 15, ed. Didot, p. 308, § 2, Brandis, p. iv, a. 12, Usener. The fragments—counting any line in which a word or more has been preserved as a whole line; owing to the pages having been torn obliquely, very few of the lines are

1 Persian MSS, of the Bodleian Library, pp. 861-875.
complete—cover the following portion of Usener’s edition
(Bonn, Index Scholarum, 1890–1).
  2. U. v. b. 11, § 9, ἐπιχειρήσειν — vi. a. 19, § 11, Ἀρχάτας.
  4. U. viii. a. 8, § 17, τῶς ποτε — viii. b. 21, § 20, ἴδιων.
  5. U. viii. b. 21 — i. b. 11, § 25, δυνάμεθα.
  6. U. x. a. 25, § 28, ἀρξάσθαι — xi. a. 10, § 31,
   οἰσοφάγον.
  7. U. xi. a. 10 — end.

The following passage, which is fairly well preserved, will
serve as a specimen of the translation (cf. U. p. xi. a. 2, § 31).

فان لم يكن هذه من قبل شئ قد دقل به الأمر الأفضل فقد يستحب ان
تقف على حدوها ولا نضع هذا القول على جميع الشئاع مطلقا
وذلك ان هذه الشئاع كانه [كان][read] القول فيها يميل الى المجتهين
اذ قيلت على الإطلاق وإذا قيلت على واحد واحد اعني بالقول
على الإطلاق ان الطبيعة في كل شئ تتشرق الى الانفل واذنا نهما
يتحمل ذلك تفشي النظام والدوام وكذلك يجري الأمر و...
والحيوانات وكذلك انها حيث يمكن... ليس تقصر في موضوع
من المواضع ومثال ذلك ان المجتهرة جعلت من مقدم المري
وكذلك جعل... كنها الشهوة الامبرى هذا المجرى
الانه قد يظهر ان ما لا يؤتياه ولا يقبل الأمر الا انقل كثير بل هو أكثر
كثيرا مما يقبله وكذلك ان ذا النفس قبل وما لا نفس له ولا يقص
كئرة واسرع تكونا مما له نفس واجود وجودا وبالجملة قن المجيد
يسير وفي اشياء يسيرة والردى كثير العدد وخروج هذا من الحد
Translation: "And if these things are not because of anything in which the better was intended, then it is necessary that we should understand its limits and not assert this proposition of everything absolutely. For in these things the statement as it were sways to two sides, when they are stated absolutely, and when they are stated individually. I mean by the absolute statement, that nature in everything desires the better, and that she, wherever possible, bestows order and persistence. The same is the case with . . . and animals. For where it is possible . . . she does not fail in any single place. An example of that is how the throat is placed in front of the esophagus . . . and likewise there is placed . . . The desire follows the same course; only it appears that what does not obey it nor accept the better matter is abundant, nay, it is far more abundant than what does accept it. For that which is possessed of soul is of small number, whereas what has no soul is innumerable and comes quicker into existence than what has a soul, and is better in existence. And in general the good is little and in few things; and the bad large in number. And the fact that this only exceeds limit is like what is in the nature of the extremity of folly. For those who talked of substance as a whole like Speusippus made the honourable in the middle place small and rare, whereas the extremes on either side of the middle are according to them as they should be. Plato and the Pythagoreans however carried the matter very far in what they held."

It is to be regretted that the passage breaks off here.
The following readings would seem to be of some interest (cf. Usener, Rheinisches Museum, xvi. 264 sqq.).

iv. a. 16, § 2, ὀςπέρ καὶ τὰ ἀδιατόνων φθαρτῶν: the beginning of the line is lost; the Arabic, however, has

κατάνεμεν ἃ ἀναχαίται γαμήλια γὰρ τοῖς φάρσαλοις ἀλλὰ ἐπάνω τῆς πρώτης χαλκιάς

like the priority of eternal things to things which are corruptible.

iv. a. 20, § 3, ὅθεν ὅλως ἀξιώματα φαναται πάντος:

nor are they altogether such as are needed or can be useful in all or on the whole. This would represent πάντως.

23, αὕτα δὲ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει φύσιν:

There are merely likely what we invent and set up ourselves, and as for them in themselves, they have not any abiding nature.

Owing to the loss of the preceding words, it is difficult to say whether ἔχει or ἔχειν was read; nor can we be sure that abiding was a supplement of the translator.

The next words εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐχ ὁστε συνάπτειν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ὅστ' ἐμποιήσαι καθάπερ ζωῆν καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶι are represented by fragments:

And if they have no permanent nature; the stroke that remains of the last word seems to me to point to ὅτι [they cannot] be connected with the [things appertaining to] nature so as to create in them life and motion as it were.

This would be in favour of the conjecture οἶα τε for ὁστε (Hoffmann). The Arabic continues:

ودِلُوك اَن الْأَعْدَدِ نَفْسَهُ فَضْلًا عَلَى الَّذِي يُعَتَّقِدُ [فِيهِ النَّا]ِسِ اَنِّهُ . . . . . . ط
for even number itself, much less anything else, which people believe . . . has not an abiding [nature]. And if there be here any other substance of greater priority and excellence, we should endeavour to speak about it, whether it be one in number or [one] in species or one in genus. And it is most probable, since its nature is the nature of a beginning, that its existence is in many, abundant things, unless the first parts of its existence . . .

p. v. a, § 5, κυκλικὴ кίνσις. Usener's insertion of the word κίνσις is distinctly confirmed by the corresponding fragment,

the nature of . . . from which there comes the circular motion.

U. v. b. 18, § 10, ὁσπερ ἀδεκτόν τι καὶ ἄσυνθετον εἶναι.

Arab. fragment غير قابل ولا يُستعمل للإرتباط
not receiving nor enduring to be tied together.

This confirms Usener's conjecture ἄσυνθετον which the Arabic exactly represents.

U. v. b. 23, συμβαίνει γὰρ οἶον κατὰ συμβεβηκός κτλ.

καννα عرض لزمها على الركة الدورية
it is like an accident which attends her from the circular motion.

The words καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους μεταβολάς were omitted by the translator.
U. v. b. 27, κάλλιον ἂν τι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου δέοι τῆς κυκλο-

φορίας κτλ.

 فقد يحتاج من ال ......... م سي يلي الوسط إلى شى هو انفصل
من الحركة الدورية

It would require ........ which comes near the middle some-
thing better than the circular motion.

U. vi. a. 14, § 11, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ ἔτερων λόγων κτλ.

وأخلاقي لقائل ان يقول ان الكلام في هذا المعنى ليس هذا موضعه
لكن ليست شعري للإنسان ان يعتقد من هذا المبدأ او من هذه
المبادئ او من مثير المبادى معها تكون وقعة س ... يتصل بها وليس
إناه ... ثم ينتفع

And it is filter for the speaker [i.e. any one] to say that this is
not the place for the discussion of this subject. Only would
I knew whether a man should believe from this beginning or
from these beginnings or from the rest of the beginnings existing
together at one time.

Wimmer conjectured in l. 17 ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, which is
perhaps confirmed.

vi. b. 3, § 12, χρόνον ἐκ ἀμα καὶ οὐρανῶν.

These words occur at the end of a line in the Arabic والزمان
مع السما، which is not therefore in favour of Usener's athetesis.

vi. b. 5, οὐδεμιᾶν ἐτὶ ποιοῦνται μ νείαν,

لم يذكره اصلا فضلا عن ان يشيروا فيه
they did not mention them at all, not to speak of dealing with
them; شرع is used below for ἄπτεσθαι.

vi. b. 10, § 13, Πλάτων μὲν — μόνον :

[وأما] أفلاطلون فانه عند رده الى المبادئ قد يظن انه قد شرع في
سائر الشيء بأنه رد الآلي [الي] الصور والصور الى الأعداد وترؤى

THEOPHRASTUS' METAPHYSICS.
As for Plato, when reducing [things] to the beginnings he might be thought to have dealt with the rest of things, inasmuch as he reduced things to the forms and the forms to the numbers and ascended from the numbers to the beginnings; and when he began to discuss generation he reached the forms.

This does not seem in favour of Usener's emendation κατάγειν for κατά.

vii. a. 15, §15. The words على ما قال ارو س according as Heraclitus said appears as a solitary fragment. But the word يستعملون for λαμβάνοντας shows that Yahya read the following paragraph.

viii. b. 4, §18, καὶ μέλανα ἐν αὐτοῖς: the remnant of a line begins the black in them.

§§ 19 and 20 are fairly well preserved in the Arabic.

viii. b. 24, §20, δίωσ is represented by the Arabic بالجملة in general.

viii. b. 26, §20, ὅτιν ἀριθμοῖς γραμμαῖς ζῶους φυτοῖς:

like that which is said about numbers and about lines, etc.

Usener's conjecture (Rh.M. p. 274) that ἐν should be inserted seems confirmed.

viii. b. 27, §20, τέλεος δ' ἢ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶν δ' ἐνα (ἐνθα Usener) τῶν μὴ καθόλου τέλος κτλ.:

[read والمعرفة الكاملة هي من الأمور الكلية كالغائية والمقصود فيها (اليه نان السبب انما يوجد في هذه وهي من الأمور الجزئية وقدر التقسة الى اشخاص
And perfect knowledge is in respect of universal things like the end and the goal; for the existence of the cause is in these only; but in respect of particular things it is to the extent of the division into individuals.

The translator might seem to have read τέλεος δὲ τῶν μὲν καθόλου τέλος, τῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει.

ix. a. 7, § 21, διὰ πλέοντος δὲ τὰ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν:
Usener’s conjecture τῷ is distinctly confirmed:

ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ὡς [καὶ 1] ἐπὶ τὰ μεθαίτια
except that most of what we understand by it is by analogy.

ix. a, 14, § 22, τὰ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα:

καὶ ἃ ἦν οὗτος εἰς τὰ μεθαίτια ὡς ἐποίησε ἡμῖν λαβεῖν
and what of these things are in the beginnings and what of them are following.

ix. b. 1, § 24, τοὺς πλεοναχῶς λεγομένους ἢ καὶ τὸῦτ’ ἄπορον.

.....
the things which are said in different ways; and perhaps this.

x. 1. 4, § 29, ἢ ἄλι μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κτλ.

The words ἢ and likewise we shall ask concerning what, correspond with the beginning of this sentence; after a loss of two-thirds of a line then follows ἀσήμως ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐποίησε ἡμῖν λαβεῖν other things not a few = x. b. 6, καὶ ἄλλα ὡς ὀλίγα. Yahya must have either read the passage bracketed by Usener, or some substitute for it.

x. b. 12, § 29, κυάσει καὶ παραστραφθεὶς is rendered في الحركة والانغلال, the first of which represents κυάσει.

x. b. 13, § 29. The sentence καὶ ὡς ἐνία—τοιαῦτα is omitted.
The words καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦν are rendered:

the greatest point of this into which the doubt enters and the point to which it especially belongs.

x. b. 19, § 30, εἰπερ τούτων χάρων:

Arab. من أجل شيء on account of anything, confirming Usener's conjecture του χάρων. The last word is almost obliterated, but can from the diacritic points have been nothing else.

The next sentence is

و للإنسان أيضًا ان يبحث عن أمر النبات بل عن أمر الإنسان عن السبب الذي له صار

and a man may also inquire concerning plants, nay, concerning the souls [read the soulless] of the cause for which there became . . .

For p. xi. a, 1, § 31 to xi. b. 1, § 33 see above. The place which would have corresponded to μμείσθαι γ' ἐβέλευν ἀπαρτε is unfortunately obliterated; the word which remains is apparently will receive it. The text contains:

هذا على أنهم وقعوا سببًا بالنفسان للانفصال الغير المحدودة والواحد

although they made its cause to consist in the contrariety between the infinite dyad and the one, wherein enters infinitude and disorder.

xi. b. 5, § 33, ἀνευ ταύτης: خلوا من تلك يعني الرداوة free from this, i.e. mischief; similarly after ἑτέρας a gloss يعني الخيرورة meaning goodness.

xi. b. 12, ἢς ἑναρχίου γε καὶ ἐν ἑναρχίοις οὐσαν.

ἐν was added by Syllburg; Yahya must have read it, as appears from the rendering
since it is of contraries and in contraries.

xi. b. 15, § 34, οὔτε γὰρ τὸ βέλτιον οὔτε τὸ τιμὸς χάριν:

for these things intend ... the better, and if they are regarded ...

The MS. represented by Yahya was clearly better than any existing.

Although the amount to be obtained from these fragments is not as great as might be wished, it is still interesting to find them confirm some scholars' conjectures.

No. xxiii. Plato's de legibus is of course wholly spurious; the passages quoted by Dr. Ethé show this.
کتاب التفاحة

این ترجمه مقاله ایست از ان ارسطوالیس که بوقت وفات امالا کرد است چنان گفتند که چون ارسطوالیس هکیم را عمر بربان رسید از شاگردان وی جنگی برود حاضر بودند چون نماینده تن و ناتوانی وی بیدویند و نشانهای مرگ از رو پیدا یافته از حیاتش نیووی گفتند مکن آنگه در وی می‌خندند از سرور و فرش و رستی عقل آنچه دلیلم مبکر برانگ از از حال خود می‌یابد بر خلاف آنکه دیگران از وی می‌خندند پس شاگردی بمرگ که مارا جزء برتو بیش از انست که ترا بر خود واز مرگ شستش تحت عناوت هکم که تو از مرگ شست خود اکثر آنانست که تو از خود خیزی می‌یابی بهون از آنچه ما از تو 10 می‌یابم مارا نیز آنان آگاهی در ارسطوالیس گفت اما آنچه از خروجی می‌یابد به انست که مراد در حیات خود طمعی من می‌یابد نه از انست که مراد است ویک استوار منست بحال خوشی پس از مرگ شاگردی نام وی‌شیمارا گفت اکثر این استواری هست نیازاوارته که مارا نیز پنایی سیب آن تا هفتنانه کت عام و لوقت است ما را 15 نیز باشد ارسطو‌گفت اکثر چه دشواری است برمن سخت گفت اما رئیجی برکم از برابر مشا اخضارت بهون از تربتیون که در وی می‌بینم که در سخت‌وار پاز تربتیون گفت اکثر چه نیک‌جوهاشان شنیدن
سنین ترا وپیدا کردن دانش ای آموزندگی بشرا لیکن طبیبی که
متعدد است مرا فرموده است که اورا بسبی نگفت میاری که سنین
گفت اورا کرم کند و جون گروی بر روی غالب گردد مدارا بر آن طبیب را
برگذاشتم و ادیبه بهبودی بس کنم که روان مرا چندان
نگیردار که می در سنین حیا شما ببگذر و جون و چگونه سنین
تقوی و بهترین امید می از دارو نیروی سنین گفتنست اکنون بیانید
ومرا آگاهی دهد که شمارا یقینست فنفل حکمت یا نه ناسی
دادند که گرامی داشت حکمت از ما نبوده است از ازازه فنفل
وی دانستیم بر دیگر جیزها ارسطوگفت فنفل این در دنیاست یا در
آختر گفتند فنفل حکمت را منکر نه ایم و ناجار مارا بدان آرد
که اثبات فنیست و منفیت وی در آختر کنیم ارسطوگفت پس
جان شمارا مزرع ناخوش آید و شهرتی را که ازان زیان بشما رسید
بجود بندی هرچند که از شما مزرع که درنگردید که تا این مزرع که
نذر تمامه ناپسنیده است خود نیست از تالب [و]وش نفس
جداماند گفتند چرا بیش بدانیم گفت یداچه یانته‌اید از
دانش هیچ خرمیا یا نه و بدانیه از شما درگذشت از دانش هیچ
اندروهمندید یا یا نگفتند بیل گفتیم به‌دام یک از بی مج و به روح دانش
اندوزید بین که ما یاد کری و کوری وستی و ناسودنمنسته هنگام
جداماند روی از یا بر خوی که گاوید مردم بدان شنوا و یشیتا
و دان و اوی با تا با یکیست گفتند بلکه بزنگانی روی و نیکی وی
دانش یافته شود و گزارانی تن آزان بازماند ارسطو گفته پس جوی 40 پیدا گشت که دانش نفرت رو هم است و آzan بازدارندگ رازی تنست و بیانات دانش خرم شوید و بپزمند ازان غمناک گردید ناجار بود که جذا شد روح از تی بر بونن روح با تی اختیار گنجید واز تی جذا گشت به آید روح را که با تی بودنش آخیر نیبیند که آرزویا تی ولذات وی از زن و پرزنده و حال و خوش و نوشش انبوهی 45 نیکانو براکم جست و هن شما چون این لذات را بلطیاشتید برای نکاهاشات خرد و گردیدن دانش بلطیاشتید گفتند آری گفتن پس جوی خستمونه که لذات تن ازان نیریو شود که تباهکندگی خرد است ناجار تن که پذیرای این لذاتست خرد را نیکانو بود گفتند ناجار رای مارا معلم کرد بدنامه از سخن تو 50 درست گفتست تا بدين سخن که رسیدیم لیکن چون کنیم وجه سازیم تا ما نیز برمرک همچنین دلبر گردیم که توئی و همچنین از حیات پرهیزم که تومی پرهیزم ارسطو گفت مزابر چیزی که جویدن دانش ازان بعقصود رسد کوشش گویند اما است در انکه نگویند آراست و کوشش شدنده در انکه نشندود الادرس 55 اکنون من بکوشم در راست گفتست شما نیز بکوشن در راست و درست شینبدن و پذیرفتن نه شما دانید که معنی فلسفة دوست داشتن حکمتست و روان به اصل و ماده فلسفه است و اغلب بدان خرسند نشود و آلان آرام نگه گفتند آری گفتست نه شما میدانید که سرور روان حکمتست و حکمت بینیکی نفس وروان تنوان یافته و نیکی.
کتاب التفاہة

نفس بدرسی ویست ودرستی روان بکمی بلغم وگُش ووحنست
گُمیدند آرئی کُنفت آخر نیکی روان بدرسی ویست ودرستیش
پکمی این اختلافات از نیست شدن اختلاف درستر ونیکتر گردید
gُمیدن مارا برفکنته تو هیچ انگاری نیست وبا اینهمه در خون این
نشات از مرگ نمی یابیم که از تو می بیینم ارسطالیس گُمفت

چون بینش بینندگه را پیش روست بمنفعت ونگُدیارنده ویست
از گمیده بکوشید تا باشد که بینش شما را ببنزایم بمنفعت مرگ
ای دوستداران حکمته نه بینندگه که جویای حکمته که روان وی
از گنبد ویؤد شده است خودرا میرانیده، اینست بیش از مرگ چه
اهل ومال ویچانی را که حقیت دنبال را از برای آن خواهند
وزرخ بسیار وبار گران از جست حکمته برفکرت جناتکه ازان
هر رجز نبمر آموزی نیایش نب جیست نیاز آنکه بلذت
زندگانی سود نیاید بزندگانی وچیست گریز آنکه آسایش وی
البمر نیست از مرگ بلی ستمدار شد هرکه نام فلسفةجست بی
آنکه سزاوار معنیش بود ونادان گشت هرکه پنداشت که با راخت

75 ولذت ونعیم دنیا راه توائند یافت بفیلسفة هنیچ توائند بود که شمارا
تمنا بود که نام علم بر شما افتاد بای لذات ایینچنی از خورش
ونوشه ودیگر چیه گفتند که مارا این طمع نیست وجویای این
نه این وچون طمع برم بفیلسفة وکار ایینچنی یابیم با آنکه دیده‌ایم
که چون وقتنی در طعام وشراب افتونی ایا دردل جنبشی پندا

آید از چیزی که نم خرد بود چون شهوتی یا خشمی یا حرصی
وحسدی خرد بیکارمانند آن هنگام و اگرچه آن جنبش دل بعمل نیاورد پس خون بود خون که بعمل آید و نیست هیچ چیزکه نگهداریت
وی را سودمندیتس وی‌ناما بدو رهبرت است از خرد ارسال
گفت نباشد شانج چیز از بی‌خوش ونه پاره چیزی‌الا از جمله‌ش
آگر از انسنت که دردنشی از شهوان پرده‌کنید وبدل بدینا کرائید
پرده‌کاری به تمام نبود وپیچ کرائیدن بدینا دوست داشت بقاست
پس هرکه از لذت وی پرشه وبازمانند بردنی دوست گیرد شان
گرفت وپیچ‌را فرو کذاشت وتمام ورسیده آنست که اورا با شاخ
پیچ‌زی بود شیمال گفت من بودم از نعمت دنیا خوششتن دار
واکون از انتبه از بغض تو یافتمن برام که هم برین نعیمان وجوی این
در بر من نگهدار جویای آن شوم که تمام‌تر کنی وبرنگی تو برخود
وسرت تو کریم از آموزندگ بسرا قربانه گفت انتون بهن بی‌نمون
بینش دانش من که هیچکس نیست که نه اورا مرز زبان‌کاریست
الا فیلسوف را هرکه بدان پرنسد وتعام کرد گیو مرز را بجا گود وبخواد
هرکه از از بازمانند گیو از مرز بکریز هرچه دورتر وبرده‌سوز هرچه
سقت ترکه بهای نعیمان مرز را واژ غم مرز آشیش ندهد مگر
حکمت زیتون گفت که سخت ارسطولیسی هنچ راه نداد ما را که
با لذتی بی‌خوددار شویم یا ببازمانند دریانه‌ی کرائیم واینکه او بر
مرز از دلی بتراست آفزینه‌ی من نیز سامت تسنیم از انسنت
که اورد حال وکار خوند اصلح آوردن کوشیده‌تار از من بوده است
واگر من خون حیات خود کرد، بودم‌ی هیچ‌اننکه او کرد است‌واز
خود آزمیان و خشم رانده بودمی همیشه آنها او رانده است در من همان دلیلی یک دامدن که در عیش می یادم دیگری گفت من از شن این پیش از تاختن مرگ می ترسیدم و امروز از پایان حیات می‌ترسم. گفت تون بر مرگ یافتن تو سرانجام که بر حیات دراز یافتن جوابش داد که سیرشدن من از عمر مرا بران نمیدارد که مرگ‌را خود خوانم پیش از انگه مرگ بسن اید زینون گفت ما دیدایم که دوستان بسی کنند بیدردن آنها ایشانرا ندیده باشد اگر مرگ را دوست داری چه جیه ترا از جستن وی بازمی دارد پیش از ازان. گفت که او ترا جوید جواب داد که مرگ دوست نیست لیکن دیست که تا بران تکردن بدکچیز نرسند که همیخواهندش و دوستش دارد و زینون گفت پس پایین دنیا و چیست با آنها میدانی درست که گرامی خواهی گشت مزول چرا بیان شد من همیون نگه‌دارند چه‌هارم که اگر بیاید با رژی پاپاید و آگر بگذرد و بیش‌اشد بکرامت رسد. گفت که از رهام گفت جیست نباد این مثل گفت مقيم درنگرف نفیلسوف است و نشرش تنست و آقیه‌تی ننگرف اوسن‌یار خشم‌کش و زیچ به هر فنست در جر ار اخلاق و دورکردن ایشان از خرود و کرامات آنست که نفس در بارگشتی بدان رسد از سرو فریخ و جون مناظره ایشان بدن‌نا رندی دیگری گفت نام وی استفانیس که اگر نام فیلسوفن (را) همین ناقدش بویی که از نام نادانی بیرون برد اهل خود را کی در جستن آن بی‌پوشیدمی دیگری گفت اگر خود برای نزاتنگی این نام جستنی این نام را زینون گفت اگر برای...
هیچ چیزی ریخت نکرده‌ایم. بادی نام برای این جستّمیش تا از
نزع و مهم مرّ، اس‌یک‌هاتامی ضریوت کنّد نمی‌کنیم، منفعت‌هائی
125 این علم آنست که عمه‌ای فرمان‌مرا یکی کرده، اثام‌گاه منفعت
چون دریافت‌کنن سهیده‌ای نم‌ماند، سود‌مندتر چیزی که بدان
قم خریدن همّ کمیست که غم چیزی باقی می‌خوردم فردروس
گفت مرّم‌همه در کارزارند و سزاوارتر خصوصی که کارزار جنّی
آهی‌ی نزدیک‌ترین دشمنان ویست و آن عمه‌ای سینه‌های
130 اوسّت ایلیت‌وس گفت به خیست دشمنان فیلسوف فردروس گفت
نزدیک‌ترین دشمنان او لذات سینه‌ اوسّت که به‌همکت جستّم
زیان دارند وجوش سنگی این طالبه ایِن‌تای‌سا رضید شیمس‌ روی با ارسطو
آورد و لّفت بر فرورود‌سی‌های مارا بفرح جهانخوید بی‌شاخ ازانّکه
فرود‌ فرونشیند ای پدر مهربان ارسطو گفت یابب‌ده‌ترین علم در
135 علم آنست که داشت نیئدوخت‌الا پس ازانّکه نفس‌را گفت
داده به‌روخی‌ خودرا ستوته کرد ورشت‌گویندت‌سی‌کوین‌گان
آنست که بگفتار نیازیّ‌الا پس از انديشه‌ و استوارت‌رین‌کارگران
آنست که در کار نشوادالا پس از انداخت‌ویچیس‌با‌اهستگی
و حزم در‌عزنم باک‌آورد نیاز‌مند‌تر از فیلسوف‌نیست در آن‌چه
140 پیش‌گیری‌ از این که رنّ یکی ایست و منفعت‌آن بازیس
گوی نتّ‌رسی‌شین در پیش‌دار‌پس‌جوّن تَنگ‌رسی‌شین ویرا بیدن‌رسانید
گوی‌دیدن‌را پیش‌وای کرده کی پس‌جوّن دیدن‌نمره‌کردن‌ بود
بهم‌رود گوی رنّ کار کرده‌برک به‌پیش‌از‌سیدن‌ببی‌و‌جوی‌از‌سر
دیدن اختیار کردن کارگردان بهتگام آنکه نمرو برای بهدیده از کار کردن

در اندوره نباید بود که هر آنکه نفس خورد را از لذت بازگردد و بار طلب علم بکشد برای خدا تا بپیاداش آن برید پس از مزرع و آنکه بهتگام مزرع شهوت خود را بدان باز آورد که برو خندند و بر کار او افسوس دارد و نجات خندیده و افسوس بود آنکه دعوتی مازد و بنای کوشک نبود و جوان دان رسد که مقصود دعوت و بنایی کوشک بجواهد یافته اندره‌هند و غمناک شود و من شنایم کسی را که این رنج بکشد و در پیاداش آن بشک بود و جه عجب از کسی که بشک بود از پیاداش پس از مزرع که خشم آیدش از مزرع و ناشاد بود دان بلل عجب دارم از کسی که از مزرع ناشاد بود با آنکه دعوتی دارست در آقین پیاداش پس از مزرع و جوان ارضو این صنف بپیمان رسانید قریعن که اگر تو آن خوانستی که ما پس از تو خوش دل باشیم ای آموزاندته شایسته بدين بیان چون که کردی اندود ما برفیزند بر مرغارت تو اوگر مزرع ترا سود و است مارا باری زیان‌کارست در آنچه برمای بمانند از مشکلات مسائل که دردی تو پنادجات بودی دیوچنس که هیچ چیز سود بچیزی

نادرد وزبان بیدنگئی الاکه میان ایشان مخالفتی بود و آخر سیرت ارست‌الاس اورا سودم‌سند است و مارا زیان‌کار از اختلاف ما و است قریعن که میان ما او خلافتیست و اتفاقی بآرزو و هوا منتفظم و بمانند ما ورفتی او مخالفت دیوچنس که میانکه اندره سوما نه از انسنت که او بمنزل کرامت خواهد رسید و لیکن بازماندن شماست
کتاب التفاحة

165 بمدینل خواری لسیاس گفت هردو راست گوید وشما ستون خانه بوده اید که در آن خانه جراحیا بود ستون برگذر بیفتان و بر [وباران بر ا] دیگر ستونها آمد و جراح روشنترا بنشاند خانه را روشنی کم شد وتاریکی افزون وشما نه از افتدس ستون و مردن جراح فمگینید بلکه از تاریکی خانه و منای سقف پس شیماس روی بارسططلیس آورد و گفت ۱۷۰ ای پیشرو حکمت مارا بیاگاهان تا جیست استخسدریس جیزی که جوینده حکمت را آموختن آن بکار آید ارسطو گفت جون رویان معدن حکمت بود استخستریانش که اورا بکار آید دانش نفس است شیماس گفت چون بجوید ارسطوگفت آن نیرو که تو خودرا گفت جیست نیروی خودش ارسطوگفت آن نیرو که تو خودرا ۱۷۵ از مسی بدای پریس شیماس گفت چون تواند که جیزی خودرا از دیگری برد ارسطو گفت چنانکه بیمار خودرا از طبیب پریس وچنانکه ناپنا از انها که پیراهن وی نشسته باشند رنگ خود پریس شیماس گفت چون خود از خود کور بود وصل همه بیناثی خود است ارسطوگفت چون حکمت در خود عیمت در نفس نباین ۱۸۰ و بوشیده بود هم از خود کور بود هم از دیگری همینانگی چشم بیفروغ جراح هم از خود کور بود هم از دیگری شیماس گفت پس آموزند الا از جیست حکمت نشاند آمودن گفت و نگرندند الا از جراح نشاند نگرید ارسطو گفت نفس پذیرای حکمت نشور الا بدرشتی که طبع او بود و سینش بین سهند گذر نیابد الا جراح چون ۱۸۵ اینهمه بهم آید بلخرد(د) شیماس گفت اگر نفس و جنشما بینیروی
خود بی‌یاری حکمت و فروغ جراح برزشی کارها نرسند پس هر چیز بنفس اولین‌تر از حکمت نیست ارسطو گفت جهانی چیزی بی‌خیزه از این پس به‌دید اولین‌تر بود از معدن خودش نه بینی که آموزگار بنا نماد سازوارتر بود که آموزش دهند و نیروی بنا نیروی لیاقت بود که نیروی ۱۹۰ یاب چه آموزگارنش معدن دانش که داشش ازو خیزه و نیروی مندست معدن نیرو و جون سبیل از این سرپید لسیاس گفت این سنین بی‌پایان آمد وسی به‌parison مرا بی‌خیزه از این پرده شود که علم نفس سازوارت جهانی‌ست که آموزشند محسنت آموزشند ارسطو گفت برای آنها دانش خوی اصل آموز و آموزشند است لسیاس گفت از جه دانیم ۱۹۵ که دانش خوی نفس است ارسطو گفت از این‌انه دانش با تن چندان بود که نفس با از این نفس از تن جدایی‌گفت داشت ازوی بخشیده گفت لسیاس گفت باشد که از تن افتاده نه از روان ارسطو گفت اگر در تن بودی از تن مرده هچنان دانش پدید بودی که ارتش زنده لسیاس گفت ما هچنان‌که از دانش مرده ۲۰۰ باختریم از نادانی وی هم باختریم هرچند بوند که نادانی وی که نعیدان لسیاس یکی نفس از تن جدا‌گفت ارسطو گفت اگر نادانی نادیدنست در کارها سازی نادانی و نادیدن تن پیش از مرگ پیدا‌گشت از نادانی وی پس از مرگ لسیاس گفت اگر نادانی کوری با تن است پس از مرگ نادانی بی‌بوده گاهی ۲۰۵ باری نیست ارسطو گفت جه جدایی‌گفت میان نادانی کوری و نادانی بی‌بوده گاهی لسیاس گفت وی به‌کلیست میا ایشان
کتاب الافاحة

ارسطو گفت هردو یکی اند درانکه ریچه دارند دهل خردنده اما نادانی بیو تاب کاری چون ناخوشی و زشتکاریست و زشتگوئیست
اما نادانی کوری چون بیو ناخوشی است و گند که ازو زاید لسیاس
210 گفت من زشتکاری و هواجوجه را جناب دانم که تا روان در تین نهاده شد هیچ تواند بود که این زشتکاری هم از روان خارز نه از تین ارسطو گفت آگر زشتگان خوی اصل روان بودی با آنکه روان از گارهای کردنده دورست با همه روانی بودی و هیچ روانی بی
زشتکاری نبودی و هما چون یافتنی روان بافسندرا که از زشتگان
215 دورست واز نابایگی شناختن و دانستن که پاکی روان ایشان بر هوا غلبه کرد است ودست بر آرزو و خشم یافته واو خویبارا متفاوت کرد و هوا را همسان خرد کرده لسیاس گُفت پس چون میان
هوا و روان چندین میانه است از چه انتاد که هوا با روان از تن جدا شد ارسطو گفت روان فروزنده ایست و چون از خلاط تن یکی
220 بر مرار دید تین با بسورد همیشه اطش یهی درا بسوود و فروغ روانا از تین بیرون کند جنابنکه اطش روشناش ایست و تش با ارسطو گفت
وران را از تن لسیاس گُفت هیچ تواند بود که روشنی خود از بود باشد ارسطو گفت
225 همیشه جنابنکه شهب تابستان کرمرود از روز زمستان و چون کار منافر نیل
ایشان بیانیجا رسید لسیاس گفت روان مرا میزده کرده که آموزانده
شاپتا بروائی این کُفتار و ناجار روان من بدان گرائید که میان
کتاب التفااحة

روان و هوا فرق کند و میان تبیش هوا و فروشش روای و بر ور مه روشن کردن هرکی هوا ود و جدایی روای ذهنو بصفات اکنون میخواهم که فرق میان سیرت هوا و سیرت روای بنماثی همچنانه فرق میان انسان بنمودی ارسطو گفت هیچ متفاوتی میان کاردرود یافته لسیاس گفت هیچ دو متفاوت گوشرا نیافتم الا استنف کارلین دیست میدارم که تو فرق میان سیرت روای و سیرت هوا مرا بنماثی بنشانهای روشن که کار هرک ازان دیستر جدای کند ارسطو گفت هرچه بودست همه کار هواست و اوره چه نیکست همه کار نفست لسیاس گفت من فرق میان خویکاری روای و زمینه هوا از فرق میان گوشرا و گوشرو روای برهن نمی دانم ارسطو گفت خویکاری و نیکی آنست که چون بتو رد ترا بصالح آور و بنده آنست که چون بتو رد در تابهی آور لسیاس گفت هیچ جهیزه به نرسید که از بطرفی بصالح آرد که نه طرفی دیگرا تباه کنید و چگونه اورا خوی توانام خواند چون بی تبادکاری نیا فنعم ارسطو گفت چون بصالح آرنه آن طرف از تو بصالح آرد که تو بدوست داشتن آن اولیر باشی که بهشم داشتن آن انتراور مری باشی که بدوست داشتم لسیاس گفت آن چیست که باید که مین آورا دشم دارم و آن چیست که بايد که مین آورا دوست دارم ارسطو گفت تو سزاواری که خریدرا دوست داری و بی خریدی را دشمن لسیاس گفت پس چه آمد ازین ارسطو گفت پس در خردت

شماره صفحه: 213
نیفزاپای ان آنچه از بچه‌بی‌چهره به‌کارهای پس دوست داره‌آنچه
۲۵۰ خردت ۲۴ بصل‌الارگ‌های بی‌چهره به‌کارهای پس دوست داره که فصل او با تو
در تبادل کردن بی‌چهره کم از فصل او نیست با تودرصلال خرد لسیاست
گفت جدا کردی میان روان و هوا بیان تبیش و نور کرده کرده و مرا
بنمودی مخالقت‌کارهای ایشان بمخالفت بینیادشان وپس از تو
پرسیدم که تا کاهه‌ای هردو به‌من روشن کنی بنشانی که جدا کند
۲۵۵ کار هرک ارژان دیگر و تو مرا آگاه کرده که خوبه‌گاری کار نفسئت
و ب دکاره‌ی کارها و ب ام فرق پرسیدم کار خوب و کار زشت را تو
لَشته‌ی هرآن‌چه در خرد بیفزاپای‌کار خوب است آگرچه نادانی از
بکاه و هرچه خرد کرده کار بذست آگرچه در بیفزاپای و
و هیچ یک از خرد و جهل نکه‌ی آن‌های از«مخالف خود و نیفزاپای
۲۶۰ ال‌اا همانس خود لیکن از هنوز ناگزیرم از بین‌آن‌که چیست
که خرد کرده انفزاپای و چیست که به‌کاره ارسطو گفت‌های
هرآن‌چه بی‌چهره بی‌چهره بی‌چهره بی‌چهره و هر آن‌چه
کارها برتو به‌بی‌چهره بی‌چهره که بذست لسیاست گفت آن چیست
که روشی دهد و آن چیست که پوشش آر ارسطو گفت
۲۶۵ راست‌الثواب و آن‌چه بدان ماند از روش‌هاست وشک و آن‌چه بدان
ماند از پوشش‌ها لسیاست گفت روشی راست‌الثواب میدانیم
و پوشش شک همین میدانیم لیکن آن چیست که بذستان
ماند ارسطو گفت راست‌کاری که عدل‌الثواب برستل‌الثواب ماند و ناراستی
که نام‌بست بدروغ و شک ماند لسیاست گفت عدل و صدق در جه
چیزهایی مانند ارسطو کشف هردو کارا بر نهاد خود ب‌ل‌د‌اش‌تنست
لِسیاسَ کْنْفت سْتم و‌دروغ در جه تصیب بهم مانند ارسطو کْنفت
هردو کارا از نهاد خود ب‌ف‌گ‌د‌نست لِسیاسَ کْنْفت سْتم و‌داد
کسی کند که كُرۧذُر و‌قانی بود و‌می‌ترأ از همدکاها می‌بی‌سیم ارسطو
کْنفت مردم همد قانی اند ازی‌شان بَرْخی خاص اند و‌برخی قانی
275 عام اند هرکه بینش او درک‌رها بلغزد وزبان او درگو کُوید و‌بِداغ‌چه
اورا نیود درآویز ستم‌کارست و‌دروغ زن و‌هَرآنگه بینش او‌بچ‌یرها
رد وزبان اوراست گوید و‌بِداغ‌چه اوراست حسَرْنسَد بود راست‌کار
ودادُگَرست و‌رَاست‌کَرَوْوا و‌ازین دو اندَرَژه که کْنفت‌هُم‌هیچ‌کار مردم
بدرِند‌شود لِسیاسَ کْنْفت من چِگَنو بهانه که ازین دو اندَرَژه هُچ به‌در
280 نشود ارسطو کْنفت باز جویی درکارهای که بر تو می‌گذرد و‌کْنفت‌ها
ت‌اهیچ ازین اندَرَژه بِرین شود اگر اُن‌اِر اُنزَست که بِری‌نون نشود آن
کارا نِرَزَکه بر تو نَگْذُشت هم در شمار آن کِریکه بر تو نَگْذُشت
لِسیاسَ کْنْفت من چِگَنو آَرَکه بر‌من نَگْذُشت در شمار آن کُریم
که بر‌من نَگْذُشت و‌بروی همان حِکَم که‌نم ارْسَت‌گُنْفت‌اگرچِی‌های اندک
285 از چِجَزۧهای بِسیارَسَت و‌اجزای چِجَزه باصل خود مانند‌هاند پس
اندک آنْهای می‌بینی از بسیار آن‌ست که نمی‌بینی و‌بِسیار آنْهای
نَم‌بَنی دُور نیست که بِدن‌مان که می‌بَنی و‌اگر این‌سنن
درِندست پِس تو خوب و‌زهوکارهای که هَنُز بر تو نَگْذُشت
هم در آن حَکَم کُریز از خوب و‌زهوکارهای که بر تو نَگْذُشت‌ه‌است
290 لِسیاسَ کْنْفت مرا جه بِدان‌می‌آرَد که می‌بَنی غَنی‌بۧ همان حِکَم
کنیم که بر حاضر ارسطو گفت آنچه حاضرتسنی را ترا ناجار
بیان آورد که بر غایب حکم کنی و آنچه که ترا بدان آورد که از
داناتسن حمص حاضر غیبیت غایبرا بصورت لسیاس گفت
جمهور از داناتسن حاضر بازدارد اگر از غایبراب ندانم یا یاد
295 دانش من بیفزاید بیان پیش از حاضررا بصورت چه من آن
ماهی از زمینی که می‌بینم آنرا که ورای آنست از زمینی به نمی
نماید ونه نادیده آنچه ورای آنست که جهش من بدان نمی‌رسد
بدیدن آنچه می‌بینم هیچ‌یک می‌بینم ارسطو گفت پس نه حکم
می‌کنی که بیرون از سی و زمین (که) می‌بینم [از] آن زمینی
300 است که نمی‌بینم هیچ‌یک واجب نشوره که حکم کنی که ورای
آنچه بر توکذش آغاز از آنها آنست که نللذشته هیچ‌یکه حکم
کردی که ورای آنچه دیدی از زمینی آن زمینست که ندیدی
لسیاس گفت مرا نازیزارد شد که بر غایب حکم کنی از حاضر اما
مرا معلوم گردان که اگر اثران بود که بر غایب حکم نکنی از حاضر
305 داناتسن حاضرا هیچ‌یک زمین کنی که از داناتسن انها این مرا فاقده رسد
بر حکم کردی بر غایب از حاضر ارسطو گفت جیزرا نشانخت
هرکه اواز مخالف آن جدا نداونست کرد لسیاس گفت
چونست این ارسطو گفت اگر سخن داریوش حکم درستست
که حتی را نشانخت هرکه از باطلش جا نداشت پس تا بیانب خسته
310 ردی نیایند هرکه از خطااش باز نداشت پس تا بیانب خسته
نشوی ترا راد نبوذ بشناخت حاضر لسیاس گفت این سخنی گذر

یافتن اکنون ای پیشوا! حکمت از تو پرسم که آن کارهای که
عامت مردم اتفاق کرده‌اند بر زشتی آن از زنا و دزدی و مستی
و خریان و ناراضی و غدر و فربپ وکینه و حسد و نادانی و عجیب
315 و بخور شاد بودن هم‌را در یک معینی جمع توان آورد که بیرون
نشود که می‌آیند بشناسم که از این جزها که بر می‌گذشت
مانند آن هست که برسن نگذشت ارساط‌گفت اهل این خصال
اخلاق جون بدان یارد که اورا نیست ستمکارست و دروغ‌زن
و تباه کندند ببینش خود لسیاس کُفت چونست این ارساط گفت
320 نه بینی که هیچ‌کس از این بدها پیش نگذرد که مختست در وی
آز و خشم و آزر و انجند پس این کارا پیش گیر و با آز و خشم و آزر و
خرد بسامان نماند و جوآن خرد بسامان نپید راه راست نبرد
و هرکه راه راست نبرد بی‌رست شود و هرکه بی‌رهست ستمکارست
و ستمکار و دروغ‌زن در عذاب‌بست لسیاس گفت هرچه بیدنبست
325 هم‌را در یک معینی باز نمودی هیچ تواند بود که نیکویی‌ارا نیز در
یک معینی بهم آری ارساط گفت بازکذاشتی ستم نیست ابداد
وراستی بیوستی و از باطل برهمزنی نیست الابقند و أخرى
ترا زشتی بابیتا روش شد ناچار بر تو روش شد که بگذارش بنی
نیکویی‌ست لسیاس گفت میان بی‌دو و نیکویی هیچ میانه هست
330 که آخر آنکه من بیدهای بگذارم نیکویی نرسم و در آن میانه بمانم
هیچ‌زندگی دروغ‌را بگذارد و بر خاموشی بماند ونی راست گزید
ونه دروغ و آنکه از ستمکاری بازآید ونی بیداد کنی ونی داد ارسطو
گفت خاموش خاموشی نذریند ملت بردنائی یا برناندی اگر بر دنائی خاموش گفت راست کویست و اگر برناندی خاموش گفت دروغ زنست و مستوفی یا بر راست مستوفی گفت یا بر گر اگر بر راست مستوفی گفت وادل و اگر بر مستوفی گفت کرد ستمکارست وبيدادگر لسیاس کفت بر مس روشن کردن فرق میان هر آنچه برم گذرند از خویش وزشتی در فرق روشن و مرآ بنشمویدی که آنچه برم نغلشته هم مانند آنست که بر گفت گزشت بخششته این حکمت بتو دنبادرنده برادران پاداشت کناد از مس خویش که هیچ پدری بزنگانی فرزند جنین بیروش نکند و پس از مرّل هیچ میراث آنی گرامیتر باز نغلشته ارسطو گفت اگر از جواب سوال خود شما یافتد یک بر چریطون را نغلش تا سخن گوید که دروی می بینم که در سخن می یاردار چریطون گفت بار سخن بر تو نپادن رزگیست و در گفتش و سخن را فرگذاشته پس از امر حسرت است ارسطو گفت هیچ سخن را از مس فرو مستگذار تا در مس رسوی یابی که مس خودرا بران بیای آرم چریطون گفت شنیدم ویافتم هرچه بلسیاس دادی از جواب وخستو شدم بشناخت غائب از شاهد همچنانه او شد لیکن مرأ یازان شفاهی تمام نیست بی آتکه بدانم که این غائب را که بدان اقرار دادم وخستو شدم بدانم که جونست صفات وگاهای غرب آن ارسطو گفت من هیچ نمیدانم در غایب وشاهد جز دانستن ونادانستن وبیانش این هردو تریانون گفت من جلوگمه
قرار دهم بدن در غایب و در حاضر چه هموز مقر نشدم بدان

ولی اگر ازانگه در حاضر تو مرا اقرار اوردی در غایب اقرار ندهم الا

بجدود وپرها ان ارسن کنست آن پرها که ترا در حصور بنماید

همان در غیبت بنماید قریانون کنست چیست آن پرها ارسنو

کنست هیچ مقرشون که رای درست در صواب جوی آنست

که مقرتنیس کنست قریانون کنست چیست آنچه او کنست ارسنو

کنست اورا یافتم که سفینست هرآنفکه که بر تو رای دشخوار گردد آنرا

دو ووجه بنه که آن بی یکی از آن دو وجه نتواند بود پس پیش گیر

تا کدام یکی شکسته شود که در باطل گشت یکی وجه بهبای آمدن

دیگر وجه باشد قریانون کنست بلی اورای دیدم که در مطالبات

مشکلات چنین کردن اکنون دلیل ما چیست از گزارت غائب وشاهد

ارسن گنست هیچ اقرار می دهی که نیست چنین بیرون از علم

وخلانش قریانون گنست ناجاراست ارسنو گنست هیچ اقرار میدهی

که چیزهارا بصلح باز نیارد الا همسان آن وتباه نگرداند الا خلاف

آن قریانون گنست دری دن شک نیست ارسنو گنست پس نبینی که

اکر پاداش علم نه همسان وی نود خلاف وی نود و اکر خلاف علم

بود پس پاداش دانا بنادانی بود وپاداش بینا بناباینادی بود وپاداش

خوب رکار رشتنا بود واینچنین نه پاداش بود بلکه نکال بود

وهران که بار علم بکشید مقر بودست که پاداش آن اخواهید یافت

وچین این حکم باطل گنست خلاف این حقی شد پس پاداش

بیننادی بناباینادی رود وپاداش خوبساری بخوبی وپاداش حکممت

J.H.A.S. 1892.
کتاب النفاحه

375 جستس یا حکم‌تی یافته تقریبیون گفتند مرا اقرار اوردی بر تواب
دانت و تلقو نادانی ارسطو گفت اگر پیش تودرست گشت
که پاداش نادان بر خلاف پاداش دان بود اگر نه جینیس بود
پاداش کوری بینایی بود و پاداش خوبکاری بیدکاری و پاداش دانش
دشمنی یافتن حکم‌تی وای مذهب وقول باطلست نزدیک آن
کس که رنج طالب علمی برکرت بامید ثوابش ویرهیز از عقاب
نادانی و در بانل سخن این مذهب حق گشتن خلاص است
قریبت‌دان کفت این سخن بررس اوهاینرآید که من رنج طالب
علمی برکرت نلب ثوابش را و نادانی برهم کرد از بیم عقبش
ولیکن توچه‌کردن اگر از آزم ازین اقرار و اناکردن کم که دانستم
را ثوابیست و نادانی را عقابی ارسطو گفت بس خیت ترا بر منازعت
ومناظره من میدارد رغبت بمنفعت دانشی وکریز از مصرب
نادانی یا چیز دیگر تقریبیون گفت بلکه رغبت بمنفعت دانشی
وکریز از زیان نادانی مرا بین داشت ارسطو گفت پس اقرار دادی
بمنفعت دانش و زیان نادانی وثواب ازان بیرون نیست که
390 نفعست ونه عقاب ازان بیرونست که زیانست تقریبیون گفت مقررم
بمنفعت دانش بزندگانی نه پس ازمرکز ارسطو گفت منفعت
علم بزندگانی کدامست ریست کام یا افزایش دانش تقریبیون گفت
مقرکشیم بسود دانش ودیدم که دانش بلادت بزندگانی زبانیست
نافذی بدان بازگیم که سود منفعت دانش در آخیرت بود ارسطو
395 گفت اگر تودر شکی از منفعت دانی در آخرت با آنکه یا آنکه لذت دنیا
کتاب النفاحة

نیست در دانش‌ها پس هیچ راه نیست ترا که منفعت دانش‌ها
اثبات کنی که دردنا و نه در آختر قریطون گفت بدیهم من که اگر
اعترار دهم بمنفعت علم ناجار ائتر باید داد که در آختر بود
اکنون منگر میشوم که دانش‌را منفعت‌ست تا انکار توانم کرد که
400 در آختر بود منفعت است ارسطو گفت نه تو اخیار شنوائی و بنیائی
و خردندی کنی برکوری وکری واحمقی قریطون گفت بلی ارسطو
گفت برای منفعت اختیار کنی یا نه برای منفعت قریطون گفت
برای منفعت ارسطو گفت دیگر بار مقر شدی که منفعتی هست
پس همانند لازم شود که در بیش لازم شد قریطون گفت منفعت
405 دانش‌را مقر شدم بیوست تا زنده باشم از روح و آسایش دانش‌ها که
می یابم وغم نادانی که نبود وجزای این هیچ منفعتی دیگر ندایم
ارسطو گفت ویبون ازین هیچ چیز دیگر هست که نه چنین است
قریطون گفت چه دلیل بر آن‌که بیرون ازین چیز دیگر هستند و آن
پس از گریکه و هیچی نست که در حیات ارسطو گفت ومرک
410 نیست جزازتن بازماندن نفس قریطون گفت نیست جزازین
ارسطو گفت وگدام گایبست که در غیبت بصال ماند الاهل
بدانکه در حضور ازان بصال بود قریطون گفت جز ازین
نتواند بود ارسطو گفت پس تو از کجا می پرسی که چیست که
نفس منفعت ازان گیرد که در حال غیبت از تن بجز از این‌هه
415 ازان منفعت گیرد در حال حضور یا چه برو بیان کند در حال
غیبت که نه همان برو زبان‌گریست قریطون گفت براست که هیچ
کتاب التفاوت

بهرن شده نقل‌داشتی مرا در اکثر منفعت دانش در دنیا و آخرت
و زیان نادانی در دنیا و آخرت و بدلین اقرار دانم ناحیه و ترا راست‌گوئی
داشتم بدانچه گفتی که مس در حاضر و ناقص قیمه قیسی نمی‌یابم جز
420 دانئی و نادانی و کیفیت‌ایون هردو لیکن بتواند بود که جزایی
چیزی دیگر بود و دیگر یافتست و این نیافتی از این ارسول کنست هرگز
جواب توان یا پس از سوال قربانیون گفت نه ارسول کنست هرگز
سوال باشد الیس از آنکه آنچه ارزه برند در یاد بود قربانیون
گفت نه ارسول کنست اگر تو یافتی آنچه ارزه برندی جواب آن
425 یافتی در جواب آنچه برندی از علم و جهله و کیفر در دو اگر تو
در خود نیافتی آنچه ازان سوال توان کرد بر من هیچ جواب لازم
نشد قربانیون گفت بلی سوال مس در این ثابت نشد و مرا بر تو هیچ
جواب نمی‌دانست از آنچه برندیم جواب یافتی ارسول کنست بس
شیامس را ماهیت ده تا نوبت خود را بدارند درسی شیامس کنست
430 شریدم هرچه لسیس برندی از سخن تو و آنچه بقربانیون دادی
و همه بر من روشنست مگریک کلمه که قربانیون از تو پذیرفت و مرا
هنوز درست نیست ارسول کنست کدام‌ست شیامست گفت
شیدم که تو گفتی که در غیبت و حضور هیچ قیفسی نیست جز علم
وندش و کیفر درد و مرا این از چگا روش شود که جزایی نیست
435 ارسول کنست تو هیچ دیگر یافتی شیامس گفت من آسمان را یافتی
وزمین و کو مانست و جاندربا و هرچه در خشک و تیر است که مس
نیوانم که آنا علم خوانم ونه جهل ونه جزا هردویی برهم ارسول کنست
هدف اقراردهی بسیار هرمس که در کتاب طبیع خلق آورده‌ام شیمس کُنست
چیست آن سخن ارسطو کُنست او خبردادن است

440 که همی طبع نیرو نُکرده‌الا از بیوند همسان خویش وستی نیابد اما
از بیوند مخالف خود شیمس کُنست بی‌جنین است که همی
چیز نیست یا که تجربی دران درستی سخن هرمس بپنداید
ارسطو کُنست پس اقرار دادی که جوز علم وجبه وکیفر هر دور دیگر
چیزی نیست شیمس کُنست چرا ارسطو کُنست ازدیبا که بر

445 شمردی همی نیست که هن از دنیای شیمس کُنست که به ارسطو
کُنست همی دانی که چه چیز فلسفه را برات داشت که دنیارا
فرو کُناق شیمس کُنست دانش ایشان بدی این چیزها که
خردرا زینکارست ایشان‌را برات داشت ارسطو کُنست پس
تو ندانستی که هرچه خردرا زیان دارد مخالف خرد بود و مخالف

450 خرد بیلخردی بود شیمس کُنست اکثر آنچه کُنست که خردرا
زیان دارد برزمین درستست بر آسمان دست نیست ارسطو کُنست
وآسمان نیست الاهیچه زمین درین کار شیمس کُنست از جه روى
آسمان زینکارست همه‌پنی بخرد که زمین ارسطو کُنست کمترین
زیان آسمان بدائی آنست که بصرها از نفوذ وکذشت باز داشته

455 است پس دشمن بینائی دشمن خرد بود شیمس کُنست این سخنهم
dرستست در حاضر در غایب چه گنوئی ارسطو کُنست غایب همی
ازان بیرون نیست که یا موانع حاصر باشد یا مخالف یا شیمس کُنست آری ارسطو کُنست اکثر افاقت‌ست همی تواند بود که (نه)
كتاب التفاحة

460 وتعتبر كند شيماس كفته أكنون تأجيج أقراز دانست بر الجمله كه قرطيلين اذ توقيول كرد أكتون مرا آكاده ده اذ تفسيرك كلمه كه در ذكر أفلاطون بزلف يانته ام كه هر نفع دهند دفع كننده است ونه هر دفع كننده نفع دهنه است باید كه فيلسوف ازانچيزها كه دفع كننده ونفع دهنه باشد بسيار اندوروز وازانچيزها كه دفع كننده باشد كه نفع دهنه بكناك خيرند شود ارستو كفته أفلاطون ترا خبير دادادن كه فيلسوف را سامان ندارد الا جيزي كه نفع بوى ميسباند وازوى دفع منصرم ميكند وديين جييز دانش ميكنواه كه بروج روشانيه بساند ودفع تاريخي جهيل بكك وفرومود كه باید كه ازار بسيار اندوروز وبدفع كنندته ناوسهمند كه خورش 470 ويوشي ومسكنست جنديانكه ناکيير باشد اقتصاد فرومود وياندكه از انداره گذشت دريس جييزها زيانگارست دانشرا وميناه جستن دفع كنندته است ونفع دهنه نيسست كه هچره روح دانانيي ازان مخيز وازينست كه فيلسوف را باید كه نيك خرسند باشد بر اسباب حيات ساخس ونك حريص باشد بآموخت شيماس 475 كفته جييست كه دفع كنندرا ازان بازداشت كه نفع دهنه بود وهر دو مواقدند دفع كرد ارسطو كفته نفع دهنه از دفع كننده بدان بيدا شود كه هرچه دفع كننده است آخر دران افراط رود از دفع كرد نيز بيرون رود وزيانگار شود ونفع دهنه كه دانش است جنديانكه بيشتر بود نفع أو بيش بود ودفع كنندته جنديان دفع
كتاب الناقة

480 كننده بود كه باندازه بود نه بيني كه اگر تود در خورش باندی خرسند شوی دفع مفرکت كرستگی بکند و همچنان‌اشامیدن ولباس و اگر آنسره شنود از لاندكه بايد همه زبانگاری كند و دفع كردن نمیر از روي باطل شنود جون سلاح گران كه دارندرا بکشند وخته كند واما فني هزند دفع كنند كه آن حکمتست بر خداوند ندراند چنانچه سلاح گران اكترچه بسیار بود پس افلاتون كه فرق ميان

485 فني هزند و دفع كنند بهماد چنانكه یا سخن شنيدي شيماس کفت از رین دو حس هچبیز بیرون شود یا به ارسطو کفت يک حض دیگر مانند است كه اگر با اين دو جمع شود هچبیز از این بیرون نشود شيماس کفت كامست ارسطو کفت كارا یا اين که فرق

490 گونه اند فني رسانده ايست دفع كنند دفع كنند ايست كه نفع رسانده نيسست و خصیرت دهد است شيماس کفت كامست زبانگار ارسطو کفت دفع كنند كه دران افراز رود و زبان كرود شيماس کفت اين سخن تکم انت شد و از کفتت توظ شد جلا یافت همچنانكه نورديده نذرند كه از روشيني بروز جلا بايد اكثرك مرا آخامي

495 ده كه مياني آنکه جلا خرد دهد و مياني آنکه جلا ديده دهد هرچ نزديكي هست يا عقل و بصير هاچ بهم مانند ارسطو کفت از رین خوبيها هستند كه بلندهرنه همچنان بيكدير مانند که كياراکر ازانتست كه جواب سوال یانتي ديوجنسري مهلت ده تا سخين گويد شيماس خاموش كشت ديوجنسري کفت ما از فلاسفه آنزا

500 متوسرتي يافتيم كه راى او تيزيبيني تر بود اكثرك مرا خبركرن كه صدق
کتاب التفاحة

ورع از روشی را اخیراً یا نه ارسطو گفت هواها انواعند و خردها
گوناگون و هر دوایی را اخیراً در برآورست که آن بعداوت آن هوا
اولین درست که نه شهوت عیسی چهانست بخاصیت بلکه هر یکی عیس
خود است اگرچه هر دوی در زبان که در بفیلسوف ومنع ثواب
۵۰۵ کردن از روی پیکسانند ونی زمان قوت و خوی که پرهیز فرماید عیس
آن قوت و خویست که جهالرا باطل کند و دانش آرد ونی بر
مختلف یکدیگرند بلکه میان ایشان موانعی است و مخالفت مثل
موافقیت و مخالفت آب روان و آب نسرده یکی تنشکست ولطف
ویکی درشت و کتیف و همه‌نین دانش لطفاً لطفاً جهل لطفاً خد
۱۰ بود توغی عظیم قد شهوت عظیم باشند هرکه خوی وریش مست
بود وخوی دانش نیریمند را ای اود بینش درست آید وکار او در روع
بست و آنکه بی‌کفایت این بود کار نوای ای این باشد دیوجنس
گفت این سبیل چون راست بود با آنچه در پیش ثبت خیه که
۲۱۵ نیست هیچ جیز لیورون از دانش و جهال و جزای هردو وکون لئنی
را اتی با کرد و نادانی وریش و شهوت و دیگر چیزها ارسطو گفت
نه بینن که آب روان و آب نسرده بهم نزدیکند همه‌نین است
نزدیکی شهوت نادانی و دیگر شنعت همه‌نین و جهان بهم نزدیک
شدند در عمل بنام یکی کشیدند دیوجنس گفت جعلونه بعدان که
نادانی بی‌شهوت جنگ مانند که آب روان با آب نسرده ارسطو گفت
۵۲۰ نه بیننی که هردو خریدار زیانکارند همه‌نین که آب روان و آب نسرده
تبشیراً نیریرت دیوجنس گفت این سبیل گذشت یا خاتم بخت کون مرا
کتاب التفاحة

خبرکن که مزایارترین علوم که بدان یازم کدامکست ارسطو کفتم چنین طلب حکمتست بهترین کارهای دنیا و ثواب آنست که مهترین ثوابهای آخرتست مزایارتر دانشی که بدان یازی حکمتست.

525 دیوجنس گفت هیچ دانشی دیگر هست جز از حکمت یا نه ارسطو گفت عادته خلق راست بهتر جند از دانش و علم وارستی وونا وصنا ودیگر حسنات ناپایع که از حکمت جشن دویدن میانه دارند که صورت جانور از تمثال ورق دیواز دیوجنس گفت جرا این خصال را ناپایع خواندا در عادته ارسطو گفت از جهت بیخبری 530 عادته ازان دیوجنس گفت جونست این ارسطو گفت برای آنکه دانی عادته دانش خودرا دران بکارد که وزر او نیفزاید و همیشه ایشان بار آن بکشد که سزا نکال بود وارست گل ایشان آنجا صدق بکار آر که خود بسندد اگرچه ستنه بود و بخشیده ایشان بر ناشابست بخشیشد کند ووقای ایشان بوعدهای تلف کندید بود 535 وشنواز ایشان بیپوهده شنود لا جرم این حسنات در ایشان ضایع باشد وحصنت اهل علم نماند الا هچندانه نقض بر دیوار بجانور زند ماند دیوجنس گفت این مثل را جه نسبت است با حسنات خاصه و عادته ارسطو گفت نه تودانسته که دانش زندگیست ونادانی مرل گفت بل ارسطو گفت علم دانکاردهای ویرا 540 زنده دار وچهل نادان کرهای ویرا بمیراند دیوجنس گفت این خوب‌کاری‌های ایشان همچ افزونی برشکاری ایشان دارد یا نه ارسطو گفت بلی گفت چگونه ارسطو گفت نیکوار عاده عنص نیکوئی
کتاب النفتاء

دارد وطريق خطای میکند وبدرکار ایشان عزم به داواد وبکردار خطای ببرد ویکسنان باشد ویگی را افنونی نیست البته دیویلینس گفت

545 اکنون دانستم که حسنات ایشان از جه روی ناپیوست اکنون فضل حکمته بنعما که کرده آلبدان سودمند نیست ارسطو گفت هرکه خودی را دید وتشیص را بثلاشت وبنیکونی آمد موافق حکمته

کرده وهرکه عزم خویی کرد وخطای کرد یا عزم به داواد کر وچنالی آوره از حکمته دردشت دیویلینس گفت ایشان گفتار جمله

550 روش گفت اکنون مرآ بناما که این کار عینی حکمته نخستت بر

که روش گفت ارسطو گفت خردیا مردم ایزان دورست که بهنیان

کار بپرال توانت ریسک به آموختن هچینانه چشمبهای ایشان

دورست از دیدن به روشانی چراگ دیویلینس گفت فلسفه از که

آموختن آنار ارسطو گفت بیوسه دهیم ورسیل قرون در آفاق

555 زمین مردم را بدوین کارتیخوننداد واز زمین ما هامختسترنکس که

این دانش بدو ریسک بویی هرمس بود دیویلینس گفت از کجا

بهرمس آمد ارسطو گفت روان ویزرا بر اسماان بردند واز ملا اعلا

بدو ریسک وایشان از ذکر حکیم گفتند وازوئی بر زمین آمد وعلم از

وی گفتند دیویلینس گفت من چگونه بدانم که هرمس این علم

560 از اهل اسماان گفت ارسطو گفت اگر این علم حقیقت رسیدن آن

از بلا توانت بود دیویلینس گفت جرا ارسطو گفت نه بینی که که دلی

هرچیز از شیب ای به بود که بالای آب وزبرش صافیتر بود که زیرش

وگاهایا بلند از زمینی خوشتر ونژتتر بود که جاهای شیب وپیشرین
اعضای مردم سر باشند و باختنی درختم موبیود باشد و در همه چیزی جنین است پس سازوارتر چیزی که از بالا رسد حکم‌هست ودلیل بروی آنکه گوهر حکم‌هست و خوی وی بر همه ببهرد و بلندتر آمد دیجونس کفت ای پیش‌واح حکم‌هست خرد ما از خرد توهین بباز نمی‌گراید با ما بی‌مانی کن که مارا از مختارنت یک‌دیگر نگهدارد ارسطول کفت آخر بر سریت می‌خواهد بودس بکتیب می‌افتد کنید دیجونس کفت بسیارست کدام اولیت نقل می‌مانی می‌افتد کنید ارسطول کفت اما آنچه جوئید از علم اول و حکم‌هست روبیشت از کتاب دروس جوئید و آنچه مشکل شود از علم سیاسیت و تعلیم خلق از کتاب طبیع خلق بجوئید و آنچه بر شما مشکل شود از خورب وشکارها از کتاب اخلاق بطلیسی و آنچه از حدود سخن بود 575 ورشما را دران خلاف افتد از کتاب جهانگانه در منطق بجوئید کتاب اول قاطیف‌ورایس بوده پاریسیمیاس و سمپی املولوگیا و جهانم اپوریگیا کتاب برخان که فرق میان حق و ناحق کند و بدان برخان توانان انتخابت برکاریهای پوشیده وجوی نسخ ارسطو بیدیچی‌ای رسید روانش بی‌بانش شد ودستش بلندید و سپیب از دستش بینناد و حکما جمله بر خالسنده وندزدیدک وی شندند وس وچشمه ببوسیدند وبرو ثنا کفتند دست قرطبح گرفت وبر روی خود نهاد وکفت روانتار سرمید به‌دیرای روان حکما وخموش کفت ودگشت یاران بر ور زاری کردند سر آمد روزگار دانانی
The Book of the Apple.

This is the translation of a discourse which Aristotle delivered at the time of his death. It is said that when the life of the sage Aristotle approached its end, some of his disciples came to see him. When they saw the emaciation of his frame, and his weakness, and perceived about him the signs of death, they despaired of his life; only the joy, alacrity, and clearness of intellect that they perceived in him showed them that he took a different view of his condition from that which was taken by others. Then one of the disciples said to him: Our grief over you is greater than your grief over yourself, and we are more vexed than you concerning your departure; if it be that you feel otherwise than we feel about you, tell us also of this.—Aristotle said: The joy that you perceive in me does not arise from my cherishing any desire for life, but from my confidence about my condition after death.—A disciple named Simmias said: If you have this confidence, it were better that you should explain the ground of it to us also, that we may be as certain as you.—Aristotle said: Although it is difficult for me to talk, still for your sake I will endure some trouble: but first let me hear Kriton, for I can see that he wishes to say something.—Kriton said: Although I should much like to hear your conversation, and acquire knowledge thereby, O teacher of mankind, the physician whom you employ commanded me not to induce you to talk, on the ground that talking would make you warm, and should the heat get the better of you the cure would be delayed, and the effect of the drugs impeded.—Aristotle said: I will disobey
the advice of the physician, and will employ no drug but the scent of an apple; which will keep me alive till I have given you the lecture to which you have a right. Why should I not speak, when the best thing I hope to obtain from the drugs is the power to speak? Come now, tell me, Do you grant the excellence of wisdom or not? They answered: Our only reason for honouring wisdom is the fact that we know it to excel other things.—Aristotle said: Is its excellence in this world or in the next?—They said: We do not deny the excellence of wisdom, and necessity forces us to place its excellence and value in the next world. Aristotle: Then why do you abhor death and adhere to the notion that some detriment will accrue to you therefrom, when you ought to perceive that death, horrible as it is to the vulgar, is nevertheless nothing but the freeing of the soul from its bodily case?—Disc.: How so? Let us know more.—Aristotle: Does the knowledge which you have acquired make you glad or not? And does the knowledge which has escaped you make you sorry or not?—Disc.: The former is true in both cases.—Aristotle: Through which then do you acquire knowledge—through the body, which is a blind, deaf, impotent, and useless mass when the spirit departs from it, or by the spirit whereby a man is continually rendered capable of learning, seeing, knowing and speaking, so long as it is with him?—Disc.: Doubtless through the vitality and goodness of the spirit knowledge is acquired, and by the dullness of the body it is kept out of it.—Aristotle: Since then it is clear that knowledge is a product of the spirit, and that the dullness of the body keeps it out, and that by the acquisition of knowledge you become glad, whereas by being precluded from it you become sorry, evidently you must prefer the separation of the spirit from the body to the persistence of the spirit in the body; and separation from the body must be better for the spirit than abiding in the body. Do you not see that the desires and delights of the body such as women and children and wealth and eating and drinking still more impede the search after wisdom? and that when you abandon
those lusts you do so in order to protect the intellect and to devote yourselves to knowledge?—Disc.: Certainly.—Aristotle. Then, since you confess that lusts have the power to damage the intellect, surely the body which enjoys those lusts must be more detrimental to the intellect?—Disc.: Our judgment forces us to agree with what your discourse has proved thus far; but what shall we do and how shall we act, in order to become as brave about death as you are, and as regardless of life as you are?—Aristotle: The best means for a seeker of knowledge to attain his end is an effort on the part of the speaker to speak only what is true, and of the hearer to hear correctly. I will now endeavour to speak truly; do you endeavour on your part to hear and receive correctly and truly. Do you not know that the meaning of the word 'philosophy' is 'fondness for wisdom'? and that the mind in its substance and origin is philosophy, and only delights in it, and only obtains peace therefrom?—Disc.: Certainly.—Aristotle: Do you not know that wisdom is the joy of the mind, and that wisdom can be obtained by goodness of soul and mind: now goodness of soul consists in its adjustment, and the adjustment of the mind consists in diminution of phlegm, rheum and blood?—Disc.: Aye.—Aristotle: If the goodness of the mind lie in its adjustment, and its adjustment in the diminution of those humours, when those humours altogether depart, it will become sounder and better?—Disc.: We cannot fail to admit the truth of what you say, but nevertheless we do not find in ourselves the same pleasure in death that we perceive in you.—Aristotle: Since sight guides the seer to his gain and preserves him from harm, try to let me increase your sight as to the advantage of death. O friends of wisdom! do you not see that the seeker after wisdom whose soul has become free from sin has mortified himself before death in respect of friends, and wealth, and empire, for the sake of which men desire the life of this world, and undertaken much sorrow and a heavy burden in seeking wisdom—sorrow so great that it can only be relieved by death? What desire has he for life who enjoys none of the pleasures.
of life: and why need he flee from death who can only rest in death? Nay! He does wrong, whosoever seeks the name of philosophy without being worthy of its meaning: and he is ignorant who fancies that in the comforts, pleasures and delights of this world the road to philosophy can be found. Can you desire that the name of knowledge should be bestowed on you whilst you are enjoying the pleasures of this world, of eating, drinking, and so on?—Disc. : We have no such desire, nor do we seek any such thing. How could we aspire to be philosophers while caring for this world, when we have seen that whenever there has been any excess in food or drink, or there manifests itself in the heart any motion of something contrary to the intellect, such as lust, or anger, or covetousness, or envy, the intellect remains inactive all that time; whereas, if that motion come not into play, then the blood only is at work, and there is nothing which serves better to protect it, and from which protection is more sought than the intellect.—Aristotle: The branch of a thing does not come but of the root, and the part is not but of the whole. If ye abstain in this world from lusts, but are attached to this world in your heart, your abstinence is not perfect. Now the root of attachment to the world lies in love of self-preservation. Hence every one who abstains from its lusts, but desires to remain in the world has caught the branch and neglected the root; whereas he is perfect and has reached the goal who has both root and branch.—Simmias: I have been abstemious in regard to the pleasures of this world; but now from what I have heard you say, I am anxious to remain in it no longer. Should that not be granted me, at least I shall endeavour to walk in your footsteps, and adopt your way of life, O teacher of mankind!—Krison: My mind's eye now shows me that there is no one to whom death is not detrimental except the philosopher. Whosoever has attained thereunto and become perfect, let him seek death and desire it; but whoso has failed to attain thereto, let him flee from death his farthest, and avoid it his hardest. For nothing but
wisdom withstands death and gives peace from its pain.
—Zeno said: Aristotle’s discourse leaves us no right to participate in pleasure or to endeavour to remain in the world, and the fact that he is more courageous about death than I—though I do not fear it very much—comes from his having been at greater pains than I to set his affairs right; had I looked after myself as he has looked after himself, and banished from myself avarice, desire, and anger, as he has banished them from himself, as great courage would be perceptible in me as we perceive in him.—Another said: Until this day I used to dread the approach of death; now what I fear is the protraction of life.—Zeno:

You are better able to attain death than to protract life.—He answered: My weariness of life does not induce me to summon death myself, before it comes to me.—Zeno: We have known friends do much to see the friend who has not seen them; if you love death, what prevents your seeking it before it seek you?—He answered: Death is not a friend, but a bridge which men must pass before they can arrive at that which they desire and love.—Zeno: Then why do you remain, although you know for certain that death will make you nobler?—He answered: I am like a guardian of the frontier-pass who, if he abide, abides with regret, and if he advance and conquer, will attain to honour.—Zeno: What is the meaning of your parable?—He said: The soul of the philosopher is stationed at the pass, its pass being the body; on the other side are wants, lusts, and passions. Every soul has sore trouble in dealing with these enemies, and in keeping them away. The glory consists in the joy and pleasure whereeto the soul attains at parting.

—When their discussion had reached this point, another named Stephanus (?) said: If the name of ‘philosopher’ have no other use than to preserve its owner from the name of ‘ignorant,’ why should I make any effort to obtain it?—Another said: Merely for the sake of honour I would not seek this name.—Zeno said: Did I desire this name for nothing else, I should desire it for the sake of obtaining security from the fear and horror of death.—Kriton said:
The greatest of the benefits of that science is that it makes for us many cares into one.—Kramas (?) said: Since in this world one thing alone, sorrow, is permanent, the most profitable thing for us to sympathize with is the high aim of one who is concerned about a thing that is everlasting.—Pindar said: All men are at war, and the fittest enemy for the warrior to attack is the enemy nearest home; and that enemy is the trouble of his own breast.—

Eletus (Theaetetus?) said: Who are the philosopher's enemies?—Pindar said: His most particular enemies are the pleasures of his breast, which hinder his search after wisdom.—When the discourse of these people had reached this point, Simmias, turning to Aristotle, said: Enlighten our hearts with the rays of thy lamp ere its light be quenched, good father!—Aristotle: The most acquisitive of scholars is he who acquires no knowledge until he has disciplined himself and corrected himself; the most accurate of speakers is he who attempts not to speak save after meditation, and the soundest of workers is he who acts only after deliberation. And no one more needs deliberation and caution in carrying out a plan, than the philosopher in undertaking matters of which the trouble is present and the reward prospective. First let him meditate; then, when meditation brings sight, let him make sight his guide to action; and if sight show that the action will be remunerative, then let him endure the trouble of doing before he reaps the fruit. And when after seeing he resolves to undertake the work, at the time when he should reap the fruit he ought not to be vexed at the trouble he has endured. For he who weans his soul from pleasures and undertakes the labour of searching for wisdom for the sake of God, and to gain the reward therefor after death, if at the hour of death he exhibits melancholy, makes himself an object of laughter and derision. So too does he become an object of laughter and derision who makes a feast and lays the foundation of a palace, and when about to attain the purpose of his feast and of the building of his palace becomes sad and gloomy. I have known
men who have undertaken this task while in doubt concerning the reward—nor is there any wonder that one who is in doubt concerning the recompense after death should be grieved and sorrowful about dying—but I do wonder at any one who is grieved at death while professing to believe in a recompense after death.—When Aristotle had brought this discourse to a conclusion, Kriton said: If you desire us to be contented after your departure, O worthy teacher! the eloquent speech which you have made must increase our sorrow at your departure; and if death be profitable to you, to us it is most detrimental, on account of the unsolved difficulties remaining among us for which you were our refuge.—Diogenes said: The same thing cannot be profitable to one thing and detrimental to another unless there be some contrariety between the two latter; if Aristotle’s departure be profitable to himself and detrimental to us, this must be because of some difference between us.—Kriton: There is both agreement and diversity between us and him; we agree in our wish and desire, and differ about our remaining and his departure.—Diogenes: Your grief comes not of his being about to enter the house of honour, but rather of your remaining in the abode of disgrace.—Lysias said: You both speak well. You were the pillars of a hall wherein were lamps; the greatest pillar has fallen, and the weight has come upon the other pillars; the most brilliant lamp is extinguished, the light in the hall is diminished, and the darkness increased. Nor is it the falling of the pillar nor the extinction of the lamp that troubles you; but rather the darkness of the hall and the weight of the roof.—Simmias, glancing at Aristotle, said: O guide to wisdom! tell us what is the first thing which it behoves the seeker after wisdom to acquire?—Aristotle: Seeing that the soul is the source of wisdom, the first knowledge which is profitable for him is knowledge of the soul.—Simmias: How should he seek it?—Aristotle: By his own virtue.—Simmias: What is his own virtue?—Aristotle: That virtue whereby you asked me about yourself.—Simmias: How is it possible for any one
THE BOOK OF THE APPLE.

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to ask any one else about himself?—Aristotle: Even as the sick man asks the physician about himself, and even as the blind man might ask those about him of his own colour.—Simias: How can the self be blind about the self, when the self is the source of all sight?—Aristotle: When wisdom is secreted and concealed in the self, that is the soul, it is blind to itself, and to others alike: even as the eye without the light of a lamp is blind both to itself and others. —Simias: Then the learner can only learn through wisdom, and the seer can only see with a lamp.—Aristotle: The soul becomes capable of receiving wisdom only by its natural correctness, and the sight of the seer becomes penetrating only through a lamp. When the two come together, it can penetrate.—Simias: If the soul and the eyes cannot attain brightness in their functions by their own virtue, unaided by wisdom and the lamplight, then nothing is nearer akin to the soul than wisdom.—Aristotle: How can anything be nearer akin to that which it takes in than its own source? Do you not see that the teacher has a better right to the name of knowledge than the taught? and that the possessor of force has a better title to the name of force than one who is acquiring it? For the teacher is the source of knowledge, seeing that knowledge flows from him, and the strong is the source of strength.—When the discourse reached this point, Lysias said: This subject is finished, and I will now begin afresh. Tell me how it is that knowledge of the soul is the worthiest thing for the acquirer to acquire first? —Aristotle: Because knowledge is an essential property of teacher and taught.—Lysias: How am I to know that knowledge is a property of the soul?—Aristotle said: Because knowledge is in the body only so long as the soul is in it; and when the soul is separated from the body, knowledge disappears from it.—Lysias: It may come from the body rather than the soul.—Aristotle: If it were of the body, it would appear in the dead body as much as in the living body.—Lysias: We are as ignorant of the knowledge of the dead, as we are of their ignorance. May it be that the ignorance of it which we do not know may come from
the fact that the soul is departed from it?—Aristotle: If ignorance be blindness to one's own concerns, then the ignorance and blindness of the body before death are even more evident than its ignorance after death.—Lysias: Though the ignorance of blindness may be in the body after death, the ignorance of folly is not there assuredly.—Aristotle: What is the difference between the ignorance of blindness and the ignorance of folly?—Lysias: Wherein is the identity?—Aristotle: The two are identical in that they both afflict people of understanding. As for the ignorance of folly, it is like badness and evil-doing and evil-speaking; and as for the ignorance of blindness, it is like an evil smell and the fetid matter whence it proceeds.

Lysias: I only know of the existence of foulness and sensuality while the soul is in the body: can it be that this foulness proceeds from the soul and not from the body?—Aristotle: If foul habits were of the original essence of the soul, while the soul was abstracted from accidental states, this foulness would appear in every soul, and no soul would be without it; how then could we have learned that the philosopher's soul is free from foulness, and uncleanness? Whereas we have learned and know well that the purity of their souls has gained the upper hand over lust and overcome desire and passion. They have subdued these inclinations and harmonized lust with reason.—Lysias: If then between lust and the soul there be so great a difference, how comes it that passion and the soul part together from the body?—Aristotle: The soul is a flame, and when some one of the humours of the body prevails, it kindles the body as fire kindles fuel, and causes the light of the soul to issue from the body even as a fire brings brightness and heat out of wood. And passion is as a fire that brings the brightness of the soul out of the body.—Lysias: Can it be that brightness itself comes from warmth?—Aristotle: If brightness varied with heat, a summer night should be brighter than a winter day, even as a summer night is warmer than a winter day.—When the dialogue had reached this point, Lysias said: You have enlivened my mind,
O teacher! this discourse is worthy of deep consideration. Most assuredly I must endeavour to distinguish between soul and passion, the heat of the latter and the brightness of the former. You have made clear to me each of the two, passion and the body, and the distinction of the soul from both, according to their attributes. Now, I would have you show the distinction between the conduct of the soul and of the passion, even as you have shown the distinction between themselves.—Aristotle: Do you know of any distinction between their functions?—Lysias: I know not of any distinction between their substance, but only between their functions: but I would fain have you show me the difference between the conduct of the one and that of the other by signs clear enough to distinguish the work of the one from that of the other.—Aristotle: All that is bad is the work of the passion and all that is good is the work of the soul.—Lysias: I know the difference between the good conduct of the one and the soul action of the other no better than the difference between their substances.—Aristotle: Good action or goodness is that which, when it comes to you, puts you right; and badness is that which, when it comes to you, does you harm.—Lysias:

Nothing has ever come to me which has done good to a part of me but has damaged some other part. How can I call it "good" when I never have found it free from harm?—Aristotle: When the thing that is beneficial benefits that part of you which you are more bound to love than to hate, be not vexed if it harm some part of you which you are more bound to hate than to love.—Lysias: What part of me is it which I am bound to hate, and what, that I am bound to love?—Aristotle: You should love your intellect and hate your unintelligent part. —Lysias: What comes of this?—Aristotle: Why, nothing increases your intellect but that which lessens your non-intelligence. Love therefore that which improves your intellect, even though it lessen your non-intelligence. For the advantage done you by it in decreasing your non-intelligence is not inferior to that done you by the improve-
ment of your intellect.—**Lysias:** You distinguished between soul and passion by your illustration of heat and light; and you showed me the difference of their functions by showing the difference of their origin. I then asked you to make clear to me what they each do by some sign which should sever the work of the one from the work of the other; you then told me that well-doing was the work of the soul and ill-doing the work of the passion. I asked you the difference between good and bad actions. You answered that whatever increases the intellect is a good action even though non-intelligence is increased by it, and whatever causes decrease of intellect is bad, even though it increase the non-intelligence. Neither intelligence nor non-intelligence is diminished except by its opposite, nor increased except by what agrees with it. Now, I still require an explanation of what it is that increases the intelligence and what it is that lessens it.—**Aristotle** said: Whatsoever adds brightness to your vision of things increases your intelligence, and whatsoever makes things dark to you lessens it.—**Lysias** said: What is it that gives them brightness, and what is it that veils them?—

**Aristotle:** Truth-speaking and whatever resembles it is an illuminator, doubt and whatever resembles it a cloke.—**Lysias** said: I understand how true-speaking illuminates and how doubt darkens; but what are the things which resemble them?—**Aristotle:** Right-doing or justice resembles true-speaking, and injustice or iniquity resembles falsehood and doubt.—**Lysias:** In what respect do justice and veracity resemble each other?—**Aristotle:** Each of them consists in leaving things in their own places.—**Lysias:** And in what respect do falsehood and injustice resemble each other?—**Aristotle:** Each consists in removing things from their own places.—**Lysias:** Justice and injustice are the work of administrators and judges only; whereas I am asking you concerning things in general.—**Aristotle:** All men are judges, only some private, others public. He whose judgment errs, and whose tongue speaks false, and whosoever appropriates what is not his,
such a man is unjust and a liar: whereas he who sees things aright, and whose tongue speaks the truth, and who is satisfied with what is his, is righteous, just, and veracious. Nor is any human action outside the two patterns which we have described.—LYSIAS: How am I to know that nothing falls out of these two kinds?—ARISTOTLE: Enquire among the events which are passing and have passed over you, whether any of them lies outside these patterns. If none such be found, include those events which have not yet passed over you among those which have passed over you.—LYSIAS: How am I to include what has not yet happened to me with what has happened, and pass the same judgment upon it?—ARISTOTLE: If the few be part of the many things, and the parts of a thing resemble the whole, then the few things which you see belong to the many things which you do not see, and it is probable that the many things which you do not see are like what you do see. If this reasoning be correct, then you may well pass the same judgment upon the good and evil which have not yet happened to you as upon the good and evil which have happened to you.—LYSIAS: What should make me judge of the absent as of the present?—ARISTOTLE: That which is present must necessarily make you pass a judgment on what is absent; or the thing which makes you know the absence of the absent from knowing the presence of the present.—LYSIAS: What prevents my knowing the present without knowing the absent? Or how is my knowledge of the absent increased by my knowledge of the present? That portion of the earth which I see does not show me the portion which is beyond; neither does my not seeing the portion to which my eye cannot reach hinder my seeing the portion which I can see.—ARISTOTLE: But do not you pass judgment that beyond the earth which we see there is the earth which we do not see? Similarly must you not necessarily pass judgment that beyond those events which have happened to you are those which have not happened, even as you passed judgment that beyond the portion of the earth which you saw there was the earth.
which you did not see?—Lysias: I am constrained to 
amit that I must judge by the absent of the present. 
Only tell me this: If I pass no judgment from the 
resent on the absent, does my knowledge of the present 
305 suffer any detriment? By knowing which I may derive
benefit in judging of the absent from the present.—
Aristotle: No one knows a thing who is unable to 
distinguish it from what differs from it.—Lysias: How
so?—Aristotle: If the saying of the wise Darius be 
true, that no one knows the truth who cannot dis-
riminate it from the false, and no one knows what is
right who cannot sever it from what is wrong, then so
long as you are not acquainted with the absent, you have
no means of knowing the present.—Lysias: This subject
is over. Now, O guide to philosophy! I would ask you this:
Is it possible to embrace in one notion all those things
concerning the baseness of which mankind are agreed,
forination, theft, drunkenness, deceit, injustice, treachery,
315 fraud, malice, envy, ignorance, pride, self-complacency, so
as to exclude nothing, whereby I might know that the
events which have not yet passed over me are like to those
which have passed over me?—Aristotle: The possessors of
these qualities and characteristics are unjust, false, and
self-blinding, insomuch as they strive after what is not
theirs.—Lysias: How so?—Aristotle: Do you not see
320 that no one sets about any of these iniquities before avarice,
desire, or anger bestir itself in him, after which he sets
about them. Now with avarice, desire, and passion reason
cannot remain at peace. And the reason being out of
order, it cannot take the right path, and whoso does not
take the right path goes astray; he that goes astray is a
wrong-doer, and the wrong-doer and the liar are in torment.
325 —Lysias: You have collected under one notion all the vices;
could you do the same for the virtues?—Aristotle: To
abandon injustice is to adhere to justice and right; and
to avoid the false is to strain after the true. If the foulness
of the vices has been made clear to you, it must inevitably
have been made clear that virtue consists in abandoning
vice.—Lysias: Is there any mean between vice and virtue?

330 so that having got rid of vice I might not attain to virtue, but remain at the mean; like one who, abandoning falsehood, stops short at silence and speaks neither truth nor falsehood; or one who avoids iniquity and does neither injustice nor justice?—Aristotle: He who is silent elects to be so either with ignorance or with knowledge; if he be silent with knowledge, he is a speaker of truth; if with ignorance he is a liar. So, too, whose pauses does so either for fraud or for right; if for right, he is just and righteous; if for fraud, he is iniquitous and a doer of injustice.—Lysias: You have made clear to me the difference between all the good and the bad that may happen to me by a clear distinction, and have proved to me that whatever has not happened to me must resemble what has happened.

340 God, who gave thee wisdom, and who protects thee, give thee therefor a meet reward! Never has father in his lifetime tended his child better, or after death left him a more honourable inheritance!—Aristotle: If you are satisfied with the answer to your questions, let Kriton speak, for I can see that he wishes to do so.—Kriton: It is painful

345 to impose on you the burden of speaking, whereas it is sad to be quiet and leave the subject to be finished on some later day.—Aristotle: Withhold nothing, so long as you see a spark of life in me on which I can sustain myself.—Kriton: I heard and understood all the answers you gave Lysias; and I agreed as he did that the absent is to be

350 known from the present. But I am not quite satisfied without knowing what are the qualities and unknown operations of that “absent” to which I confessed and agreed.—Aristotle: I know of nothing in the present or the absent, save knowledge and ignorance, and the reward of the two.—Kriton: How could I acknowledge this of the “absent and the present,” when I have not yet acknowledged it of the present? And though you should

355 force me to acknowledge it of the present, I will not acknowledge it of the absent, save by definition and evidence.—Aristotle: The evidence which tells you it of the present
will also tell it of the absent.—Kriton: What evidence?—
Aristotle: Do you not agree that the right way in seeking
the truth is what Sokrates said?—Kriton: And what did
he say?—Aristotle: I am told that he said, Whenever you
are in difficulty about a question, give it two alternatives,
one of which must necessarily be true; then proceed till one
of the two is refuted, for with the refutation of the one
alternative will come the establishment of the other.—
Kriton: Yes, I have observed that he acted thus in difficult
investigations. Now what evidence have you about the
nature of the present and absent?—Aristotle: Do you not
grant that there is nothing outside knowledge and its con-
trary?—Kriton: I must do so.—Aristotle: Do you grant
that things are bettered only by their like, and damaged
only by what is unlike them?—Kriton: Undoubtedly.—
Aristotle: Then do you not see that if the recompense of
knowledge be not like it, it must be the contrary of it? And,
if it be the contrary of knowledge, then the recompense of
the wise will be ignorance, and the recompense of the
seeing blindness, and the recompense of well-doing ill-
doing? Now such as this would not be a recompense but
a punishment. Then whoever bears the burden of knowledge
must allow that he will gain no recompense for it. This
judgment being false, the opposite of it is true. The
recompense for seeing will be sight; for well-doing, good;
for seeking wisdom, finding wisdom.—Kriton: You have
forced me to agree that knowledge will be rewarded and
ignorance punished.—Aristotle: If you are satisfied that
the recompense of the ignorant is the reverse of the re-
compense of the wise—otherwise the reward of blindness
would be sight and that of goodness badness, and that of
hating wisdom obtaining wisdom. Now such a view or
doctrine must be false in the eyes of him who has borne
the labour of pursuing knowledge in the hope of the
reward thereof, and in order to avoid the penalty of
ignorance. This opinion being proved false makes the
opposite necessarily true.—Kriton: This argument applies as
forcibly to me, since I have borne the burden of the searcher.
after knowledge with a view to the reward thereof, and have avoided ignorance fearing its penalty. But what will you say if I withdraw this concession, and deny that knowledge is rewarded and ignorance punished?—Aristotle: Then what induces you to discuss and to argue with me? The desire for the benefit of knowledge and the endeavour to avoid the harm of ignorance or something else?—Kriton: Nay, desire for the benefit of knowledge and the endeavour to avoid the harm of ignorance induce me to do this.—Aristotle: Then you have acknowledged that knowledge is beneficial and ignorance detrimental. Now a reward is not other than beneficial, and a penalty is not other than detrimental.—Kriton: I acknowledge that wisdom is beneficial during life, not after death.—Aristotle: What is the advantage of knowledge during life? A pleasant life or increase of knowledge?—Kriton: I granted the value of knowledge, and I have seen that knowledge is detrimental to the pleasures of life; it necessarily follows that the advantage of knowledge must be in the next world.—Aristotle: If you doubt the benefits accruing to the wise in the next world, while knowledge precludes the enjoyment of this world, it is impossible for you to assert that knowledge is of value in either world.—Kriton: I see that if I grant that knowledge is beneficial, I must acknowledge that it is so in the next world. I will now deny that it possesses any advantage, in order to be able to deny that it is of advantage in the next world.—Aristotle: Do you not then prefer hearing, seeing, and understanding to blindness, deafness, and folly?—Kriton: Yes.—Aristotle: Do you prefer them for the sake of some advantage or not?—Kriton: For the sake of some advantage.—Aristotle: Once again then you have acknowledged that there is some advantage; and you have the same conclusion forced on you as before.—Kriton: I have ever acknowledged the value of knowledge, so long as I live, in respect of the comfort and peace that I gain from it, and the pain of ignorance that I am freed from; but I know of no other benefit therefrom.—Aristotle: Then is there anything else beyond this which is otherwise
than it?—Kriton: What evidence is there that there is anything else beyond this, which exists after death and is as it was in life?—Aristotle: Now death is nothing else but the soul surviving the body?—Kriton: It is nothing else. 

—Aristotle: Then is anything "absent" which is benefited in absence except by that whereby it is also benefited in presence?—Kriton: It must be so.—Aristotle: Then why do you ask what it is from which the soul derives benefit in the state of absence from the body other than that from which it derives benefit in the state of presence? Or, what can harm it in the state of absence that does not harm it likewise in the state of presence?—Kriton: You have left me no loophole to deny the value of knowledge in this world and the next, and the harm of ignorance in both; these I must acknowledge, and I allow that you are right in stating that in the present and the absent I know of nothing save knowledge, ignorance, and the recompense of the two.

It may be, however, there is something besides these which others have learned, though I have not.—Aristotle: Can an answer be given but after a question?—Kriton: No. —Aristotle: Can a question ever be asked before that which is asked about comes into the mind?—Kriton: No. —Aristotle: If you have a clear notion of that about which you have asked, you have obtained the answer thereto in the answer which you received to your question about knowledge, ignorance, and their recompense. But if you have no notion in your own mind of that about which you would ask, I am not bound to reply.—Kriton: True, my question was not justified, and no answer is due from you. I have obtained the answer to my question.—Aristotle: Then give Simmias leave to speak in his turn.—Simmias said: I heard all that Lysias asked concerning your statements, and the replies you gave Kriton: and all is clear to me except one word that Kriton accepted from you, but which is not clear to me as yet.—Aristotle: Which?—Simmias: I heard you say that there is nothing either in "absence" or "presence" except knowledge, its opposite, and the recompense of the two. Now how can it be clear
to me that there is nothing save this?—Aristotle: Do
you know of anything else?—Simmias: I know of the
heavens and the earth, the mountains and the plains, the
animals, and all else that is on the dry and the moist,
which I cannot call knowledge, nor ignorance, nor the
recompense of either without proof.—Aristotle: Do you
agree with the saying of Hermes, quoted by me in the
book of physics?—Simmias: What is that saying?
Aristotle: Hermes states that no object acquires strength
except by union with its like; and that none acquires
weakness except by union with what is unlike it.—
Simmias: Yes, it is so; there is nothing in which
experience does not show the truth of Hermes' saying.—
Aristotle: Then you have acknowledged that nothing
exists except knowledge, ignorance, and the recompense
of the two.—Simmias: How so?—Aristotle: Of the things
which you have enumerated there is none that does not
belong to this world.—Simmias: Certainly.—Aristotle:
Know you what it is that induces philosophers to abandon
this world?—Simmias: Their knowledge, by seeing that these
things are detrimental to the intellect, induces them to take
this course.—Aristotle: Then have you not learned that
whatever harms the intellect is the opposite of the intellect,
and the opposite of the intellect is non-intelligence?—
Simmias: If what you say, that these things harm the
intellect, be true of the earth, it is not true of the heaven.
—Aristotle: Nay, the heaven differs not from the earth in
this matter.—Simmias: In what respect are the heavens as
detrimental to the intellect as the earth?—Aristotle: The
least detriment occasioned to knowledge by the heaven is
this, that it prevents the sight from penetrating and passing
through; now that which is inimical to sight is inimical to
intelligence.—Simmias: This theory is true of the present;
what of the absent?—Aristotle: The absent must either
be like or unlike the present, must it not?—Simmias: Yes.
—Aristotle: If it be like it, must it not help its like?
if it be unlike, must it not oppose it and thwart it?
—Simmias: Now, indeed, I must certainly agree to all that
Kriton accepted from you. Now tell me the explanation of a single saying that I have met with in the works of the great Plato: that everything that does good averts ill; but not everything that averts ill does good; and that the philosopher should amass a great quantity of those things which both avert ill and do good, and be content with a small number of those things which avert ill but do no good.—Aristotle: Plato tells you that only those things suit the philosopher which bring him good and avert ill from him; and thereby he means knowledge which brings illumination to the mind and averts the darkness of ignorance; and he bids him acquire much of it. And of that which averts ill but is unprofitable, which is food, clothing and lodging, he bids him be content with as much as is absolutely necessary, because to exceed the limit in these things does harm to the intellect, whereas to seek the mean averts ill, but does no positive good, since none of the pleasures of knowledge proceeds therefrom to the mind. Hence it behoves the philosopher to be easily satisfied with obtaining the means of subsistence and very eager to acquire knowledge.—Simias: What is it that prevents that which averts ill from doing positive good when both agree in averting ill?—Aristotle: That which does positive good differs from that which averts ill in this, that whatever averts ill only, if it be pursued to excess, ceases even to avert ill, and becomes detrimental; whereas that which does positive good, i.e. knowledge, the more there is of it the more beneficial it is; whereas that which averts ill only does so, so long as it in moderation. Do you not see that if you are satisfied with a modicum of food, it averts the mischief of hunger? similarly drink and clothing; whereas all, if there be more of them than is necessary, become detrimental, and their power of averting ill even is annulled, like heavy armour which wounds or kills its bearer. Whereas that which both does good and averts ill (that is, wisdom), however much there be of it, does not, like heavy armour, weigh down its possessor. Thus did Plato distinguish between that which
does good and that which averts ill, according to what you heard of his sayings.—SIMMIAS: Is there any other term besides these two or not?—ARISTOTLE: One other term remains; if it be added to these others, nothing is left out.—SIMMIAS: What is that?—ARISTOTLE: Things are of three sorts: the thing which both does good and averts ill; that which averts ill, but induces no good; and that which does harm.—SIMMIAS: What is it that does harm?—ARISTOTLE: A thing which averts ill, when carried to excess, so as to become detrimental.—SIMMIAS: This subject is concluded. My mind is as much brightened by your instruction as the eye of the seer by the light of day. Now tell me: Is there any affinity between that which gives brightness to the mind and that which gives brightness to the eye? Or, is there any resemblance between the mind and the eye?—ARISTOTLE: They are things which do not resemble each other so much in substance as in function. If you have received the answer to your question, let Diogenes speak.—Simmias became silent.—DIogenes then said: I have observed that those philosophers whose mental vision has been most acute have been the most temperate. Now tell me: Do goodness and temperance spring from brightness of mental vision or not?—ARISTOTLE: There are different sorts of passions and divers sorts of intellects. Over against each passion there is an intellect best capable of opposing that passion. Lust in its nature is not the essence of folly, but each is a separate essence, though both are at one in harming the philosopher and keeping him from his recompense. Nor again is that faculty and quality which recommends self-restraint identical with the faculty and quality which overcomes folly and brings knowledge; neither are they opposed to each other; rather is there resemblance and also diversity between the two, like the resemblance and diversity between running water and ice; the one being fine and rare, the other hard and coarse; just so is fine ignorance opposed to fine knowledge, and strong piety to strong lust. And if a man's habit of temperance is weak and his property of knowledge strong,
his judgment sees aright, while his conduct, so far as continence goes, is weak; while the intellectual vision and the conduct of him whose case is the opposite are opposite.—Diogenes: How can this be right, when you have said before that nothing exists except knowledge, ignorance, and the re-

515 compense of each? Now you have acknowledged the existence of knowledge, ignorance, continence, lust, and other things.

—Aristotle: Do you not see that running water and ice resemble each other? Similar to this is the resemblance of lust to ignorance, and the rest are like this too. Being similar in operation they become one in name.—Diogenes: How do I know that ignorance is to lust as running water to ice?—Aristotle: Do you not see that both hurt the intellect, just as running water and ice neither tolerate heat?—Diogenes: This subject is over. Now tell me: Which science is the most proper for me to pursue?

—Aristotle: Since the pursuit of philosophy is the best of the pursuits of this world, and the recompense therefor is the greatest of the recompenses of the next world, philosophy is the best science that you can pursue.—Diogenes: Is there any other knowledge besides philosophy or not?—Aristotle: The vulgar herd have a sort of knowledge and science and truth and honesty and generosity and other wasted virtues, which are as different from wisdom as the form of an animal is from a picture or sketch on a wall.—Diogenes: Why do you call those virtues of the vulgar herd wasted?—Aristotle: On account of the ignorance of the vulgar with regard to them.—Diogenes: How so?

—Aristotle: Because the vulgar wise man brings his knowledge into play there where it will not increase his gain, and their merciful man spares him who is worthy of exemplary punishment, and their veracious man brings his veracity into play when it pleases him, though the truth be obscene, and their liberal man is liberal to the unworthy, and their faithful man keeps his promises to people's ruin, and their hearer hears to no purpose. Beyond a doubt these good qualities are wasted in them, and no more resemble the virtues of the wise than a painting on
a wall resembles a living animal.—Diogenes: How does your illustration correspond with the virtues of the few and of the many?—Aristotle: Have you not learned that knowledge is life and ignorance death?—Diogenes: Yes.—Aristotle: The knowledge of the wise man vivifies his actions, whereas the folly of the ignorant mortifies his.—Diogenes: Then are their good actions any better than their bad ones or not?—Aristotle: They are not.—Diogenes: How so?—Aristotle: The well-doer of the vulgar intends to do good, and takes a wrong path. The evil-doer among them intends evil and carries it out in the wrong way. They are just alike and neither has the advantage.—Diogenes: I know now in what way their virtues are wasted. Now show the superiority of wisdom without which no actions are profitable.—Aristotle: Whosoever has seen good, abandoned evil, and entered into goodness has acted in accordance with wisdom; and whosoever has intended good and erred, or intended evil and carried it out, has departed from wisdom.—Diogenes: This whole subject is clear. Now tell me: To whom was this thing, I mean wisdom, first made clear?—Aristotle: The minds of men are far from being able to attain to any thing so grand without teaching; just as their eyes are far from seeing without the light of a lamp.—Diogenes: From whom did the philosophers learn it?—Aristotle: The heralds and ambassadors of the different ages in the different regions of the globe were constantly summoning mankind thereunto; and the first person on earth to whom that knowledge came by revelation was Hermes.—Diogenes: Whence came it to Hermes?—Aristotle: His mind was taken up to heaven and it came to him from the Archangels, who had got it from the record of God. From him it came to the earth, and was received by the sages.—Diogenes: How am I to know that Hermes obtained that knowledge from the inhabitants of heaven?—Aristotle: If that knowledge be the truth, it can come from above.—Diogenes: Why?—Aristotle: Do you not see that the upper part of each thing is better than the lower? The
upper part of water and its surface are purer than the lower; the higher parts of the earth are pleasanter and fairer than the lower parts; the best member of a man is his head, the purest thing in a tree is its fruit; and so on with everything. The fittest thing, therefore, to come from on high is wisdom. Another proof is this: the substance and nature of wisdom have overcome and out-topped everything else.—Diogenes: O guide to wisdom! Our minds vary not the least from thine. Make a compact between us which will guard us from differing with one another!—Aristotle: If you would follow my ways, Imitate my books.—Diogenes: There are so many. Which will settle differences between us best if any such arise?

—Aristotle: Questions concerning the “first science” and the science of theology you should seek from the book of Hermes; for difficulties in the way of politics [you should go to the Politics, and for] difficulties in natural science, to the Physics; for difficulties about good and bad actions, to the Ethics; whereas if any difference arise among you about the definitions of speech, you should refer to the four books of Logic, the first the Categories, the second peri érhmenvéias, the third anakhtikh, the fourth antidikikh, or book of Demonstration, which tells you how to distinguish between true and false. There you will obtain light on dark matters.

When Aristotle had spoken thus far, his soul became powerless; his hand shook, and the apple fell out of his hand. The philosophers all rose and came near to him, and kissed his hand and eyes and eulogized him. He grasped Karson’s hand and laid it on his face, saying, “I commit my spirit to the Receiver of the spirits of the wise.” Then he ceased and his spirit passed away. His friends lamented over him, saying, “The day of knowledge is over.”
Art. VI.—Marwari Weather Proverbs. By Vidyā Bhashkar Pandit Lālchandra, of Jodhpur (Marwar), M.R.A.S.

If there be at sunrise stripes of red light in shape of fish and at sunset red rays of light stretching in diverging stripes from the west, Dunk says to Bhadli that rivers shall have foams.

If it rains in Magh the rain is heavy, and if not, dusty winds will blow (ends in famine).

In Magha either the rain copiously falls or it ends.

Heat in Rohin and wind in Mirag are certain to bring on unexpected thunder (rain) in Adira.

Winds in Rohin and heat in Mirag will cause the King to enter into war and thus ruin his subjects.

If it is cloudy on Friday and remains so till Saturday next, Dunk says to Bhadli that it must rain.
Enemy's kindness is bad, but good is friend's unkindness, for when it becomes close and hot it rains.

When North-East wind blows in Sawan (August) Eastern wind in Bhadun (September) and the sea wind in Asoj (October) the crop is 20 annas in Kartik (November).

If North-East wind blows, farmers, why have you given up regular ploughing (it will rain instantly).

If there be a partridge-feathered cloud and deep blue sky, Dunk says to Bhadli that fish will jump even in plains (all the plains will be under water, i.e. so heavy will be the rain).

If a partridge-feathered cloud go the west, within fifty-four hours it will rain cats and dogs.

If the chameleon changes colour, the snakes climb a tree, it will rain in torrents.
If the sparrow sings, the North wind blows, and the fish swim on water surface, rain may be expected.

If Jeth is intensely hot who can prevent the excessive fall of rain.

After the rise of Canopus the rains do not set in, and if it rains, it falls in unbroken showers.

Rain, frost, and kings come from the north.

A cloud like partridge-feather, a widow with collyrium-marked eyes, one will rain, the other again keep house; of this there can be no doubt and is not to be criticized (or no need to consult constellation to discover this).

When there are rolling clouds in the morning, heat at midday, at night clear stars, it is time to be off, my son, i.e. there are signs of drought and famine.

If you fly a kite in Sawan, if not to-day, to-morrow it will sink (because rain will wet it).
A flash of lightning in Kirti cancels all bad omens.

If the wind blows under Adra, the hut will rock (i.e. will be abandoned on account of the famine which will follow).

If on the 5th day of Sawan the wind blows strong, a famine will prevail throughout the land, and man will eat man.

Rolling clouds in the morning, a cool breeze at eve, are signs of famine says Sahdes Joshi.

If a day be cancelled (by the Hindi Calendar) in the first fortnight of Sawan, the cow will not keep its calf and the mother will sell her child.

If the month of Mah (January) is not cold, know friend that grain will be dear.

It has rained in the hills and "tale" is blessed or "The low lands are content."

Canopus has risen and the rain is past. There is said to be no rain usually after the star canopus appears above the horizon.
Red horizon indicates heavy rain.

Yellow horizon indicates rain scanty.

Lightning in N.E. is sure to bring on rain.

Rain in Rohin and the crop is eight annas or reduced by half.

Rain in Bharin will make a husband quit his wife (so severe will be the famine that he would not be able to support his better half).

Rain in Ashleca is welcome to doctors (a disease is sure to prevail).

If winds blow not in Mirag.

If heat be intense in Rohin and Jait, why should we build a hut as we shall have to live under banyan (will be homeless on account of famine and consequent emigration).

If there be too many clouds and flashes of lightning on the 24th of Asad, clean all your granary and only keep quantity sufficient for seed and plough, the year will be a good one and no stock of grain, except seeds, will be required.

The Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg has an admirable custom, which it were well if other similar institutions would imitate. From time to time it publishes, under the title of Collections Scientifiques, not mere catalogues of recent acquisitions, but full accounts of the more interesting manuscripts which have been added to its library, with copious extracts, tables of contents, and critical notes. The sixth volume of these Collections has lately appeared in two parts, of which the second is almost entirely filled with a description, from the pen of Baron Rosen, of certain Bábí MSS. acquired by the Institut. It is this second part of vol. vi that I propose specially to discuss here, but of the Bábí texts contained in vol. i (published in 1877) I shall also have something to say.

Before proceeding further, I wish to enumerate briefly the publications to which in the course of this article I shall have occasion to refer, and to specify the abbreviations by which they will be hereinafter denoted. They are as follows:—

(1) Collections Scientifiques, etc., vol. i, Manuscrits Arabes, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1877), denoted as Coll. Sc. i.

¹ I omit in this article all but incidental reference to vol. iii of the Collections Scientifiques (Manuscrits Persans), published in 1886, which contains descriptions of the Persian Bégîn and the İkân. Of the former I am now engaged in the preparation of a complete text, and I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Academy and the Institut of St. Peters burg for their liberality in permitting me to borrow the MSS. of this work contained in their collections.
(2) Collections Scientifiques, etc., vol. vi, Manuscrits Arabes, (non compris dans le No. 1) . . . et Bábys, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1891), denoted as Coll. Sc. vi.

(3) My first paper on the Bábís (The Bábís of Persia. I. Sketch of their History and Personal Experiences amongst them) in the July number of the J.R.A.S. for 1889 (pp. 485–526), denoted as B. i.

(4) My second paper on the Bábís (The Bábís of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines) in the October number of the J.R.A.S. for 1889 (pp. 881–1009), denoted as B. ii.

(5) My recently published Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb (Cambridge, 1891), of which the first volume, containing the Persian text, is denoted as T.N. i, and the second volume, containing the English translation, introduction, and notes as T.N. ii.

Were it possible, I would fain consider Baron Rosen's work by itself, without reference to my own. But it is not possible to avoid such reference; for, just as I, in my second paper in the J.R.A.S. for 1889, which dealt with the literature of the Bábís, as well as in the Traveller's Narrative, had Baron Rosen's researches continually in view, so he, in his later writings, constantly alludes to my work, often correcting, supplementing, or criticizing most kindly and most pertinently the statements and conjectures which I have advanced. To withdraw or modify such of these conjectures as are no longer tenable, to harmonize, as far as possible, the results of our independent researches, to epitomize, for the benefit of those not specially engaged in this branch of Oriental studies, the results of Baron Rosen's valuable discoveries, and to add some few new facts which have come to my own knowledge, is the object of this article. With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the detailed examination of the texts published by Baron Rosen.
I. The Báb's Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, otherwise called the Káyyúmu'l-Asmá.

Coll. Sc. i (MSS. Arabes) contains descriptions of two Bábí MSS. The first of these (pp. 179–191) is conjectured by Baron Rosen to be the Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf (Kur'án, xii), composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission. In B. üü, pp. 904–909, I gave some account of this book, based on Baron Rosen’s notice of the St. Petersburg MS., and remarked that there existed in the British Museum Library a MS., marked Or. 3539, which appeared to be a copy of the same work. Quite recently I obtained from a learned Ezelí, resident at Constantinople, a MS. which is professedly a transcript of the Báb’s Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf. This I have compared with the British Museum MS. as well as with Baron Rosen’s description of the St. Petersburg Codex, and I have satisfied myself that all three MSS. are copies of the same work, and that this work is none other than the Báb’s celebrated Commentary. A Commentary in the strict sense of the word it is not, but rather a mystical and often unintelligible rhapsody, containing as many chapters as the original Súra in the Kur’án does verses, viz. one hundred and eleven. Five of these chapters (Nos. i, ii, iii, iv, and lxii) are described in the British Museum MS. as containing forty-two verses each. The number of verses is inserted, as in the Kur’an, after the name of the súra. Thus the second chapter or súra is headed سورة العلماء وهي أثنتى واربعون آية شیرازیة, “The Chapter of the Doctors, consisting of 42 verses. Revealed at Shiráz,” and so with the others. In my MS. the number of verses is prefixed only to chapter xlii, which is described as containing forty verses, but in the letter which accompanied the MS. the sender wrote as follows:

اين كتاب تقيوم اسماء خوش خط و صميم استناسا شده خط آن هم بشيوه خط بیان است که شکسته حیوان باشد . بنی نقصی که
This book, the Kayyûmu'l-Asmá, has been well and correctly transcribed. Its writing is in the style of the Beyân, which is [called] shikasté-i-hayavân. The only defect which it has, is that the names of the sûras have not been inserted, and we had not another copy from which to transcribe them. You must get these names from Kirmán, Isfahán, or Teherán. Each sûra contains 40 verses, which is the number [equivalent] to لَـ ِي ‘to me’ [لـ = 30, یـ = 10], in allusion to the blessed verse [of the Kur'án, ch. xii, v. 4], ‘I saw them performing obeisance to me.’ But it is impossible to understand the book Kayyûmu'l-Asmá without the book Mustaykidh [see T.N. ii, p. 341], which is its commentary and explanation; and there is no copy of it either in the Island [i.e. Cyprus] or Constantinople. Write for it to Kirmán, or Isfahán, or Teherán, that they may send it for you.” It appears, therefore, that each chapter properly contains 40 verses. As regards the names of the sûras, for the omission of which the sender of my MS. apologizes, they appear to be altogether absent in the MS. described by Baron Rosen, but a good many of them are given in the British Museum Codex. and a very few in mine. A list of these names, as far as they are given, with the corresponding numbers of the sûras, I subjoin.
Chapter i.

Chapter ii.

Chapter iii.

Chapter iv.

Chapter v.

(In my MS. this is called sura Qasim, but ch. lixi bears the same title.)

Chapter vi.

Chapter vii.

Chapter viii.

Chapter ix.

Chapter x.

Chapter xi.

Chapter xii.

Chapter xiii.

Chs. xiv.—xvi. Without titles.

Chapter xvii.

Chapter xviii.

Chapter xix.

Chapter xx.

Chapter xxi.

Chapter xxii.

Chapter xxiii.

Chapter xxiv.

Chapter xxv.

Chapter xxvi.

Chapter xxvii.

Chapter xxviii.

Chapter xxix.

Chapter xxx.

Chapter xxxi.

Chapter xxxii.

Chapter xxxiii.

Chapter xxxiv.

Chapter xxxv.

Chapter xxxvi.

Chapter xxxvii.

Chapter xxxviii.

Chapter xxxix.

Chapter xl.

Chapter xli.

Chapter xlii.

Chapter xliii.

Chs. xlv.—liii. Without titles.

Chapter liv.

Chs. Iv.—lx. Without titles.

Chapter lxi.

Chapter lxii.

Chapter lxiii.

Chapter lxiv.

Chapter lxv.

Chapter lxvi.

Chapter lxvii.

Chapter lxviii.

Chapter lxix.

Chapter lxx.

Chapter lxxi.

Chapter lxxii.

Chapter lxxiii.

Chapter lxxiv.

Chapter lxxv.

Chapter lxxvi.

Chapter lxxvii.

Chapter lxxviii.

Chapter lxxix.

Chapter lxxx.

Chapter lxxxi.

Chapter lxxsii.

Chapter lxxsiii.
The remainder of the chapters (lxxiv–cx) are without titles.

To each chapter, save the first, is prefixed a verse from the *Sūra-i-Ŷūsuf* and a group of mystical letters. A list of the latter, from ch. ii to ch. xx inclusive, is given by Baron Rosen, and this agrees with my MS. with the following exceptions:—Ch. x in my MS. has ۸۲۳ for ۵۴۳; ch. xii has ۸۲۶ for ۵۴۶; ch. xvii has ۸۲۹ for ۵۴۹; chap. xviii has ۸۲۶ ۵۴۶ for ۸۲۹ ۵۴۹; and ch. xix has ۸۲۹ for ۵۴۹. The first chapter forms a sort of preface or introduction to the work; the second is a "commentary" on v. 1 of the *Sūra-i-Ŷūsuf*; the third a "commentary" on v. 2, and so on, up to ch. lxxxii, which is a "commentary" on verses 80 and 81. From this point onwards each chapter corresponds to the verse in the *Sūra-i-Ŷūsuf* which bears the same number, ch. lxxxii being a "commentary" on v. 82, ch. lxxxiii on v. 83, and so on. But, as in Baron Rosen's description, only the first half of v. 103 is prefixed to ch. ciii, while the second half of this verse, together with v. 104, is prefixed to ch. civ. The irregularities in the arrangement of the verses prefixed to chapters liii and liv, noticed by Baron Rosen, are absent in my MS. The British Museum MS., like the St. Petersburg Codex, is without title, but to my MS. is prefixed a full title, as follows:—

كتاب تقيوم الأسماء تفسير أحمص القصص
وهو سورة يوسف لنان عدد قيوم مطابق مع يوسف

"The Book of the *Kāyīmūl-Asmā*, the Commentary on 'The Best of Stories,' which is the *Sūra-i-Ŷūsuf*; for the number of *Kāyīm* (٩۶۰+٥+۸۰+۶۰+۶+۱۰=۱۵۶) agrees with the number of *Ŷūsuf* (٩۵۶+۶۰+۶+۱۰=۱۵۶)."

Amongst the Bábís, therefore, this work is indifferently known as *Sharḥ* or *Tafsīr-i-Sūra-i-Ŷūsuf* ("Commentary on
the Súra-i-Yúsuf”), Aḥsanu’l-Kiṣṣā (“The Best of Stories,”
a title given, in Kur‘án xii, 2, to the history of Joseph),
and Kāyyūmu’l-Asmá (the word Kāyyun being numerically
equivalent to Yúsuf). We find in the Persian Beyán
(Váhid vii, ch. i) the following passage corroborative of this
identity:—

"It hath not yet been heard that the book Kāyyumut-
Asmá (so called), according to the number inherent in
Kāyyun, which is the number of the name of Joseph, upon whom be
peace) hath been written out as it deserves, yet withal, how
many books have been written from the beginning of the
'Manifestation' to the present day, lack of belief in which
hath no result."

The book is again referred to in ch. 18 of Váhid iv of
the Persian Beyán in the following words:—

"Not that special grace was shewn to him [alluding to one
who had accompanied the Báb on the pilgrimage-journey
and believed in him, probably, therefore, Hájí Mullá
Muhammad ‘Alí of Bárfurúsh, afterwards called Jenáb- or
Hazrat-i-Káddús, or else Suleymán Khán], for that same
grace was shewn to all, though they veiled themselves
therefrom. For in that year of the 'Manifestation'
[A.H. 1260] the Book of the Commentary on the Súra-i-
Yúsuf reached all."
If aught else be required to establish the identity of the *Kāwyāmū'īl-Asmā* with the Commentary on the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf*, and to prove that it is this work, and no other, which is contained in the MSS. under consideration, it is supplied by a passage from the *Īkān*, quoted and remarked on by Baron Rosen, at p. 43 of *Coll. Sc. iii*. This passage is as follows:

"Glory be to God! In the first of his books, which he named *Kāwyāmū'īl-Asmā*, and which is the first, the greatest, and the chiefest of all books, he [i.e., the Báb] foretells his own martyrdom, and, in one passage, utters the following verse:—'O Remnant of God! I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content to be reviled in Thy way; I crave naught but to be slain in Thy love; and God the Most High sufficeth as an Eternal Refuge'."

On this passage Baron Rosen remarks:—"Ce passage est très-important, parce qu'il nous donne le nom authentique d'un des ouvrages fondamentaux de la secte. Il s'agit maintenant de retrouver ce passage dans les manuscrits babys connus jusqu'ici."

Well; the passage in question actually occurs in ch. Ivi of my MS. of the Commentary of the *Sūra-i-Yūsuf*, in what appears to be verse 37 or 38. The whole of the verse (or verses, for I am not sure whether

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1 This passage is also quoted in the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4).
2 Cf. also *B. ii*, pp. 952-3, and n. 1 on latter.
a division should not be made at the word (تَسيَّرًا) is as follows:

يا سيد الكُبرِما انا بَشى الَو قد اقامتى قدُرناك على الامرأ
أتكلمت في شى الَوّبعِك وما اعتستت في امرآ الَوّبعِك وانت
الكافى بالحقَّ والله الحقَّ من وراءِك الضحِّيّ إ𝘬ى بالله العلي
على الحقَّ بالحقَّ القوى نصِّرَا يا بَقَيتَ اللَّه قد فُدنت بكَلِّيك
و رضيت السَّبَى في سبيلك وما تعرشت الَوّبعِ القتل في مِهِنك
و كفى بالله العلي معتصمًا كَوْتُي و كفى بالله شاهداً و كَوْيًا

My MS. has 22 lines to the page, contains ff. 202 (the last blank), and concludes with the following colophon:

تَعَام شَد كِتاب مستطاب تَيْبَوم السَّمَّا در تنَسبراحِس
القصَّ بَدَست أَل اللَّه بَدِّيَان حَسِين إِيُراَنِي
غَرَّةُ شهرَ ربيع الثاني سَميَّة


Concerning the British Museum MS. (Or. 3539) I have two remarks to make. Firstly, owing to the same catchword occurring at the foot of two closely adjacent pages, the leaves between f. 105 and f. 112 are improperly arranged. Their proper order, as I have ascertained by comparison with my own MS., is as follows:—105, 110, 111, 108, 109, 106, 107, 112; in other words the leaves at present numbered 110, 111, 106, and 107 should be transposed and numbered respectively 106, 107, 110, and 111. Secondly, the first page is smudged and blurred, as though with water, to such a degree as to be illegible. Now when I was in Cyprus in March, 1890, Subḥ-i-Ezel incidently mentioned, in the course of one of our conversations, that at one time
the Báb, for some reason or other, issued a general order that such of his followers as had in their possession copies of his Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf should “wash them out” or obliterate them. Between their love for their Master, and their love for his book, the Bábís found themselves in a dilemma, from which the majority of them sought escape by expunging a single page of the Commentary. It seems to me very probable that this accounts for the state of the first page of Or. 3539, the remainder of which is in perfect preservation.

I cannot here speak at greater length on the Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, but before passing on I would remark that, sooner or later, it will have to be fully and carefully examined, and copious extracts, if not the whole work, published. It was the first, and, for a long while, the chief sacred book of the Bábís, and in it the earliest form of the Bábí doctrine must be sought. Apart from this it appears to me almost certain that some passages, at least, will be found in it to throw new light on the Báb’s life and character.

II. The Súratu’l-Mulúk, or ‘Chapter of the Kings,’
by Mírzá Ḥuseyn ‘Alí of Núr, commonly called Behá’u’lláh.

The second Bábí MS. described in Coll. Sc. i (pp. 191–212) consists of “a collection of 30 pieces, mostly very short, which, judging by the tone and style, all belong to the same author.” The twentieth of these pieces is, however, of considerable length, and is addressed collectively “to the Kings.” Its contents are fully described by Baron Rosen, and copious extracts from it are given. Before proceeding to discuss it, I will in a few words dismiss the other 29 letters, of which, with one exception (No. 29), only the opening words are given. There can be practically no doubt that they are all by the same author, and that he is none other than Behá’u’lláh, the chief of the Behá’í Bábís, now resident at Acre, where I visited him in April,
1890 (see T.N. xxxix–xli). A similar collection of fifty-five letters is contained in the British Museum MS. Or. 3114, which was purchased on Jan. 9th, 1886, from Baron von Kremer, for whom, according to a rather illegible pencil-note in German on the first page, it appears to have been bought in Acre by one Yúsuf Khálídí from “the spiritual chief of the Bábís there living in exile” (evidently Behá’u’lláh). This MS. I have examined, but with negative results, for it contains none of the letters described by Baron Rosen. This, however, is not surprising, since the number of these alwáh or epistles addressed by Behá’u’lláh to his followers (who regard them all as equally inspired) is practically illimitable.

I now pass to a consideration of the far more important Súratu’l-Mulúk, the twentieth piece contained in the MS. (No. 438), described at pp. 191–212 of Coll. Sc. i. This MS. contains, as Baron Rosen informs us, ff. 72, of which the Súratu’l-Mulúk occupies ff. 36b–57a, or rather more than a quarter. The description of it here given was written in 1877, and, since the history of the Bábís, subsequently to the year 1852 (when most of the still surviving chiefs of the sect, including Mírzá Ḥuseyn, ‘Alí Behá’u’lláh and Mírzá Yahyá Ṣuhb-i-Ezel, emigrated from Persia and took up their abode at Baghdad), was then unknown in Europe, its authorship and many of the allusions contained in it could not at that time be determined by Baron Rosen. In the elucidation of this later history it was my good fortune to render some service to science—service to which, in Coll. Sc. vi. (pp. 141–3, etc.), Baron Rosen awards a more than ample tribute of praise. Now when, in the summer of 1889, I came to write my second paper (B. ii) on the literature and doctrines of the Bábís, this Súratu’l-Mulúk greatly puzzled me. So much did it seem to me to differ both in style and tone from the Epistles of the Kings (Ahláh-i-Saláṭín), of which Behá’u’lláh was confessedly the author, that I finally came to the conclusion that “the letter described by Baron Rosen was not by Behá, but by one of the other Bábí chiefs, possibly Ezel” (B. ii, p. 958).
But Baron Rosen's recent researches have proved conclusively that I was wrong, and that Behá'u'lláh is the author of the Súratu'l-Mulúk, as well as of the Alváh-i-Saláţín. His ingenious arguments, the substance of which I shall state immediately, will be found at pp. 145–8 of Coll. Sc. vi. Disregarding, for the present, an important postscript of twelve pages, dated Oct. 15th, 1890, of which I shall have to speak subsequently, this volume (that is to say the second part of it) contains descriptions of four Bábí books recently presented by M. Gamazof to the library of the Institut. The first three of these, which are dismissed very briefly, are: (1) A MS. of the Tkán, dated A.H. 1299; (2) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the same; and (3) A MS. of the Kitáb 'Lqás' Lhq 'Lqás, which I originally misnamed كتّاب إقس إقس (see Coll. Sc. vi, p. 243, n. 1; B. ii, pp. 972–981 and 1007–1008; and T.N. ii, p. 211). Two and a half pages suffice to describe these, since their contents, nature, and authorship have already been determined and made known. Far otherwise is it with the fourth MS. (No. 48/465), the description of which fills nearly 100 pages, and the contents of which, briefly stated, are as follows:—

(1) The Súratu'l-Mulúk, already described from another MS. (No. 438) in Coll. Sc. i, pp. 191–207 (Fr. 1b–39b).

(2a) The Súra-i-HEYkAL, of which the Epistles to the Kings (Alváh-i-Saláţín), described by me at pp. 953–972 of B. ii, form a portion (Fr. 40a–109a).

(2b) The Letter to the Sháh of Persia (Láh-i-Súltán), together with the instructions to the bearer written on the outside of the packet. The latter are of singular interest. By the kind permission of Baron Rosen I was enabled to include them (both text and translation) in vol. ii of my Traveller's Narrative (pp. 390–392). It is not certain whether this Epistle should be regarded as part of the Súra-i-HEYKAL or not. Baron Rosen (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 216–217) expresses his opinion in the negative, as follows: "Nous avons vu plus haut, p. 195, que
étrange, dans le titre de la lettre se trouvaient les mots "This is what was revealed in the Heykal to His Majesty the King". "On en pourrait peut-être conclure que la lettre fait partie de la Sûra de l'Heykal dont M. Browne nous a révélé l'existence et qui est probablement identique avec le texte imprimé plus haut, pp. 149-192. Pour ma part, je croirais plutôt que cette lettre n'en fait pas partie et qu'elle a été composée un peu plus tard que la Sûra de l'Heykal. 1 Dans ce cas les mots "what was revealed in the Heykal" doivent naturellement avoir un autre sens, que je n'ose point préciser pour le moment" (Ffr. 109-143).

3 "A piece without title, which contains, in comparatively simple language, some definite information as to the transference of the sectaries from Adrianople to Acre. In the margin one reads سلطان روم. It is possible, therefore, that this document may have been intended for the Sultan" [sc. of Turkey]. I myself am inclined to identify this epistle with the "letter to Sültán 'Abdul-'Aziz" to which I referred at p. 520 of B. i (Ffr. 143-154).

4 "A piece without title, which is the لوح رئيس of Mr. Browne (II. pp. 960-63). In the margin one again reads سلطان روم" (ff. 154-166).

5 "Without title. A sort of hymn of triumph on the occasion of the death of one of the most violent enemies of the new religion, who, as would appear, had gone to Paris for medical advice." Fu'ád Páshá and 'Álí Páshá were the two Turkish statesmen who were chiefly concerned in the removal of the Bábís from Adrianople in 1868, and against whom the Bábís therefore cherish a deep resentment. Amongst the notes which I took of my conversations with Šubh-i-Ezel in March, 1890, I find the following:

1 I find some difficulty in accepting this view. See pp. 281-2 and 313 infra.
“Fu’ád Páshá was first of Finance and then (Minister for Foreign Affairs). He and 'Álí Páshá (then Prime Minister) combined to expel the Bábís [sc. from Adrianople]. The former died abroad, it is said a renegade from Islám. The latter was not so bad. Shubh-i-Ezel wrote him a petition asking not to be sent to Acre, and he laughed and sent a verbal message offering the choice of three places, Bosnia, Philippopolis, and Tekir-dághí. 'Álí Páshá died a few months after Shubh-i-Ezel came to Cyprus.”

It appears, then, that I was mistaken in alluding (B. i, 492) to “the death of A’li Páshá away from his native country” as one of the events foreshadowed by Behá’u’lláh, and that the name of Fu’ád Páshá should be substituted. Mehmed (Muhammad) Fu’ád Páshá, son of the celebrated ‘Izzet Mulla, was born in 1814. He received a medical training, but later abandoned this profession for diplomacy. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs for the second time in 1855. In 1867 he accompanied the Sultan to England and France. He died at Nice, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, February 12, 1869. These particulars are taken from the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix, p. 805, article Fuad Pasha, and on the whole they agree well with the supposition that his death was the occasion of this letter. Just as the Persians, for the most part, know no England but London, so would they naturally enough regard Nice as practically the same as Paris. This letter I shall therefore provisionally call ‘the Epistle of Fu’ád Páshá’ (ff. 166a–168b).

(6) Another epistle, without title, in Persian (Ff. 168b–170b).
(7) Behá’u’lláh’s answer to a question concerning the nature of the “First Point” (i.e. the Báb) addressed to him by one of the “Letters of the Living,” or members of the original “Unity” (الح) (Ff. 171a–182a).
It is the discussion of this most interesting MS., which contains so much that is new and important, that has led Baron Rosen to reopen the question of the authorship of the Sūratu'l-Mulūk. The conclusion to which he comes is that it was written by Behā'u'lláh, and that it was written at an earlier date than the Alwāh-i-Salāṭīn, or “Epistles to the Kings.” The arguments whereby he justifies this conclusion (and, as I have said, they appear to me irre-fragable) are as follows:—

(a) The MS. containing this copy of the Sūratu'l-Mulūk contains also a number of other documents, of which Behā'u'lláh is undoubtedly the author. Considering the hatred which subsists between the Behā’ís and the Ezelís, it is extremely unlikely that writings of Behā'u'lláh and Šubh-i-Ezel should be included in the same volume.

(b) The cyphers یٰ, prefixed to most of the letters contained in this volume, as well as to MSS. of the Kitāb-i-Aḵdās and Iḵān (both of which are known to have been written by Behā'u'lláh), stand also at the head of this copy, and at the end of the other previously described copy of the Sūratu'l-Mulūk. Now these cyphers, as Baron Rosen points out, can hardly stand for anything else than the corresponding letters ب, ی, Behā, who in this case must be regarded as the author.

(c) The difference of tone which I remarked between that portion of the Sūratu'l-Mulūk addressed to the Sháh of Persia and the separate Epistle to the Sháh carried to Teherán in July, 1869, by Badí‘ (see Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 193–5, and B. Ⅱ, pp. 956–7) is admitted by Baron Rosen, “but,” he adds, “it would be rash to conclude from it that the two documents emanate from different authors, since we are still but imperfectly acquainted with the character of Behā and the circumstances of his life.” Baron Rosen also
considers (and I now agree with him) that the difference of style between the documents is not sufficiently great to justify my thesis.

(d) Baron Rosen points out a passage, occurring in the letter to the Queen of England, wherein kings and rulers in general are exorted to live in peace with one another, and to spend less on the maintenance of vast armies, so that the money thus saved may be spent for the benefit of their subjects. In this passage occurs the following expression:

"This did we counsel you in the Epistle which we sent before this on another occasion" (cf. B. ii, pp. 971–2). Well, a precisely similar injunction actually occurs in the Súratu'l-Mulúk, and there can, as Baron Rosen says, be little doubt that it is to this that Behá'u'lláh alludes. Baron Rosen gives the text of the two parallel passages side by side (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 147–8), and of these parallel texts I here subjoin a translation, that the closeness of their similarity may be made apparent to all.

From the Súratu'l-Mulúk.

"Fear God, O Kings, and transgress not the ordinances of God, and conform to that whereunto ye are commanded in the Book, and be not of the transgressors. Beware that ye oppress not anyone [even] to the extent of a single mustard-seed, but [rather] pursue the path of justice, for verily it is a straight path.

From the Epistle to the Queen of England.

"O concourse of Kings! Verily we see you increasing your expenditure each year, and laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is naught else than a great injustice! Fear the sighs of the oppressed and his tears, and lay not burdens upon the people beyond their endurance, neither ruin them to build up your palaces."
From the *Sūratu’l-Mulūk*.

"Next, be at peace one with another, and reduce your armies that your expenses may be diminished, and that ye may be of those who are in easy circumstances. And [even] if ye should raise up differences between yourselves, ye will not need great military forces, but only so much as will suffice for you to guard your domains and realms. Fear God, and act not extravagantly in anything, and be not of those who are prodigal! We know how ye increase your expenses daily, laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is beyond what they can bear, and verily it is a great injustice. Act justly, O ye Kings, amongst mankind, and be ye mirrors of justice in the earth; this is incumbent on you and befitteth your dignity, were ye of those who judge equitably."

The parallelism between these two passages, pointed out by Baron Rosen, is so evident that no one, I think, will be inclined to doubt that both emanate from the same pen, or that the first is alluded to in the closing sentence of the second. We may therefore take it as proved that the *Sūratu’l-Mulūk* was written by Behá’u’lláh, and that

From the *Epistle to the Queen of England*.

"Be at peace one with another; then will ye not need large armies or stores for their equipment, but only such a force as will suffice for you to protect your realms and domains. Beware that ye forsake not the counsel given you on the part of One Wise and Trusty! Agree together, O concourse of Kings; thereby shall the blasts of discord be lulled amongst you, and your subjects shall live in peace and those who are about you, did ye but know. If one amongst you arise against another, rise up against him: this is naught but evident justice. *Thus did we exhort you in the Epistle which we sent before this on another occasion.*"
it was written before the "Epistles to the Kings" (Alicah-i-Salatim) which form a portion of the Surat-i-Heykal.

Baron Rosen is now publishing the whole text of the Suratul-Muluk (together with the other 29 letters contained in the MS. described in Coll. Sc. i, pp. 191–212) in the Zapiisski of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Society of Archaeology, and until this appears it would be premature to enter into a full discussion of the document or the date of its composition. Still it may not be amiss to notice such indications of the period to which it must be referred as occur in the extracts given in Coll. Sc. i. Now, there are certain passages which, taken by themselves, would tempt us to detect a reference to Acre, and the fact that other passages negative this hypothesis shews us how cautious we should be in attaching too definite a meaning to the vague and mystical expressions in which these Babi texts for the most part abound. The first of these passages occurs on pp. 192–3 of the aforementioned volume, and is as follows:

أين يا ملوك الأرض اسمعوا نداء الله من هذه الشجرة المفتوحة التي تتسمب على أرض كنوب النعمان بريّة القدس وشجع ابنه لا تريد به العزيز المقتدر الحكم هذه بقعة الأرض باركها الله لواردتها فيها يسمع نداء الله من صرفة قدس فريضة

"O Kings of the earth! Hearken to the Voice of God from this fruitful, lofty Tree, which grows in the Land of the Red Sandhill, in the Desert of Jerusalem, and is vocal with the melody of Verily there is no God save Him,

1 Cf. Kur'an, xxviii. 30.
2 The Babi continually calls himself شجرة حقائق "The Tree of Truth" (cf. T.N., pp. 219, n. 12; 224, 225, 230, 294), and Beha'u'llah here (and I think elsewhere) applies the same term to himself. The allusion is to the "Tree on Sinai" (the Burning Bush) from which Moses heard the words أي قب نا الله "Verily I am God." See Kur'an, xxviii. 30.
3 It is probable, however, that the word al-kuda ("the Holy") may here have a less definite meaning.
the Mighty, the Potent, the Wise.’ This is the place which God hath blessed to those who approach it, and wherein is heard the Voice of God from a lote-tree holy and high.”

This passage certainly appears to refer to Acre, which might fairly be described as “in the Desert of Jerusalem”; which is actually called by the followers of Behá ‘بَقَعَةَ حَمْرَةٍ’ “The Red Place” (in reference, as I was informed by Behá’s sons, to a little hill hard by Behá’s dwelling, which is covered in the spring with red flowers); and which is situated amongst sand hills.

Here is another passage (apparently addressed to the Sultan of Turkey) in which allusion would seem to be made to Acre (Coll. Sc. i, pp. 197–8):

“Hast thou heard, O King, what hath befallen us at the hands of thy ministers, and what they have done unto us, or art thou of the heedless? If thou hast heard and known, why didst thou not withhold them from their action, and why didst thou sanction against one who responded to
thy command and obeyed thee [proceedings] which no
[other] king would sanction against the people of his
country? And if thou didst not know, then this is more
grievous than the first [case], if thou art of those who
fear God. Then will I tell Your Majesty of what befell
us at the hands of these oppressors. Know then that we
came at thy command and entered into thy city with con-
spicuous honour, but were expelled from it with dishonour,
wherewith no dishonour in the world can be compared, if
thou art of those who are informed. And they made us
go until they caused us to enter in unto a city which none
entereth save such as have disobeyed thy command and have
been of the [number of the] transgressors; and this though
we disobeyed thee not for so much as a moment! For
when we heard thy command we obeyed it, and were of
the obedient.”

Two passages in the above extract I have italicized,
because it is to them especially that I wish to refer. In
the Traveller’s Narrative, just edited and translated by
myself, which was inspired, if not written, by Behá’u’lláh,
we find it stated (text, p. 118; translation, p. 90) that
“throughout this journey” (from Baghdad to Constanti-
nople) “the governors and officials observed the utmost
consideration and respectfulness, while march and halt were
alike dignified and honourable.” It seems probable, then,
that by “the city” into which Behá’u’lláh and his com-
panions “entered,” in his own words “with conspicuous
honour,” Constantinople is meant.

As to the second passage italicized, it certainly seems to
describe Acre better than Adrianople; at least I am not
aware that the latter is specially used by the Turks as a
place of banishment for criminals or political offenders,
while the former certainly is. Hence Behá continually calls
Acre مجهَّز “the prison of Acre” (T.N. vol. ii, p. 146);
“a place of exile for murderers and robbers” (ibid. p. 73),
and the like; while Adrianople is generally entitled أرض سر “the Land of the Mystery,” and, moreover, according to
the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, pp. 121–2; vol. ii, pp. 92–3), the Bábís were there treated not only with indulgence but "respect and deference," so that one is disposed to doubt whether Behá could consistently describe it in the words here used.

A few lines lower, however (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 198), we find a passage, of which the translation is as follows: "And they brought us until we reached [what is] in their fancy the Land of Transgressors (بلدة العصاة), and when we reached it we found therein no house wherein we might dwell, wherefore we alighted in a place whereunto none entereth save every miserable stranger. Therein we abode for some few days; but the thing waxed grievous unto us by reason of the straitness of the place; wherefore we hired houses, abandoned by their tenants, because of their extreme coldness . . . . , which none inhabiteth save in the summer; but it was in winter-time that we took up our lodging there, neither had my family, nor those who were with me, clothing to shield them from the cold of that bitter weather."

Now the first part of this passage is still quite consistent with the supposition that Acre is referred to; and the complaint uttered by Behá of the absence of proper accommodation for the exiles on their arrival finds a parallel in one of the other epistles published in *Coll. Sc. vi* (p. 218, ll. 13–18), which describes the hardships endured by the Bábís on their arrival at Acre, where they were first imprisoned in the barracks. But the concluding words of this same passage supply a very strong argument against this theory, for it is evident from them that the Bábí exiles arrived at this "Land of Transgressors" in the dead of winter. Now there is no doubt that they were removed from Adrianople to Acre in *August*, 1868 (*B. i*, p. 526; *B. ii*, pp. 984 and 988, stanza 11 of Nabil’s chronological poem; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1; *T.N. ii*, pp. 378, n. 2, 380), so that they could hardly have suffered from cold on their arrival there! On the other hand, if Nabil’s poem is to be trusted, they reached Adrianople in Rajab, A.H.
1280,\(^1\) corresponding to December, A.D. 1863; and even though Nabil be mistaken in the year, as Baron Rosen is disposed to think (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 218, n. 1),\(^2\) it is still not unlikely that he may have given the month correctly.\(^3\)

This argument appears to me quite to overweigh the evidence of isolated expressions which, taken alone, would seem to point to Acre; for severe suffering from cold is not a thing about which there can be any mistake or forgetfulness, and it is impossible that any one could feel cold at Acre in August. And in one passage in the Epistle to the Emperor of the French (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 181, ll. 17-18) Behá does describe Adrianople as his "prison":—"Matters waxed more grievous to us daily, nay, hourly; until they brought us forth from the Prison" [Adrianople] "and caused us to enter into the Most Grievous Prison" [Acre] "with manifest injustice." And a few lines lower down on the same page (ll. 24-25) he actually alludes to the previous letters which he designed to send to the Kings (i.e. as it would appear, this same Súratu'l-Mulúk, which we are now considering) in these words:—"Verily when we reached the Prison we designed to convey to the Kings the letters of their Lord, the Mighty, the Laudable." If we could only be sure that here also "the Prison" (without an epithet) denoted Adrianople, and that Behá was consistent in his terminology, the matter would be proved beyond doubt!

There is, however another passage in the Súratu'l-Mulúk which gives us surer ground to go upon. It occurs on p. 195 of Coll. Sc. i, ll. 5-7, and runs thus:—

\[\text{ان يا أيها الملك قد مختص عشرين من السنين وكنا في كل} \]

\(^1\) Not A.H. 1281 as stated at p. 525 of B. i. See p. 308 infra.
\(^2\) See p. 307 infra.
\(^3\) Instances of this are pretty common, but one example will suffice. The Báb appears to have been born on Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (cf. B. ii, p. 993, and T.N. ii, pp. 218-222), but in the text of the Traveller's Narrative (vol. i, p. 2; vol. ii, p. 2) the date of his birth is given as Muharram 1st.

A.H. 1225 (cf. also Coll. Sc. vi, p. 252). It is easy to see that an anniversary is more likely to be correctly remembered than a date.
"O Kings! Twenty years have passed in each one of which we have been visited with some new affliction, and wherein there hath befallen us what hath not befallen any one before us, if ye will be of those who hearken."

Now since the Báb first proclaimed his doctrine in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), this passage would seem to have been written about A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863-64). It may, indeed, have been written somewhat later, since the "afflictions" of the Bábís did not begin till A.H. 1261, when the Báb's missionaries at Shíráz were subjected to very cruel treatment by Huseyn Khán, the Governor of Fárs (B. i, 521; T.N. ii, pp. 5-6), but it can hardly have been written earlier. The removal of the Bábís to Adrianople took place, according to Nábil, in Rajab A.H. 1280 (December, A.D. 1863), according to Baron Rosen (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 218, n. 1) in A.D. 1862 (A.H. 1278-9). The Suratul-Muluk would therefore seem to have been written about the beginning of the Adrianople period. It is, at any rate, difficult to suppose that it was written so late as A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), which was the beginning of the Acre period; while the allusions which it contains to the action of the Persian Minister at Constantinople and the support accorded to him by the French Ambassador (Coll. Sc. i, p. 194, l. 6 from the bottom et seq., and Coll. Sc. vi, p. 146, top), forbid us to suppose that it was written before the removal of the Bábís from Constantinople to Adrianople.

There is still another reason for referring the composition of the Suratul-Muluk to the Adrianople period. Stated briefly this reason is as follows: (1) The Epistle to the King of Persia appears, from internal evidence, to have been composed, or at any rate begun, before Behá left Adrianople. (2) Behá describes the Suratul-Muluk as having been

1 See pp. 307-8 infra.
written at a time when the Bábís had endured twenty years of persecution (pp. 280–1 supra), while in the Epistle to the King of Persia he speaks of the persecution having lasted more than twenty years. The natural assumption is that the former document was written at an earlier date than the latter, and consequently some time before the end of the Adrianople period.

The passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, which implies that it was written before Behá left Adrianople, occurs in Coll. Sc. vi, p. 213, last line, and p. 214, first line, and runs as follows:

فسوف يخرجوننا اولو الحكم والغنا من هذه الأرض التي سميتم بادرهن الى مدينة عفا

"And the lords of authority and wealth are about to send us forth from this land, which is named Edirné [Adrianople], to the city of ‘Akká [Acre].”¹

The other passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, alluded to, will be found in Coll. Sc. vi, p. 203, ll. 12–14, and T.N. i, p. 148; ii, p. 119, and runs as follows:

وابين طائفته بيستت سنه متتجاوزت كة درايام وليالي بسطوة

غصب خاقاني معدّب وأز هيبوب عواصف كه سلطاني هريك

بديار انتهاد اند

"But as to this sect, it is more than twenty years that they have been tormented by day and night with the fierceness of the Royal anger, and that they have been cast each one into a different land by the blasts of the tempests of the King’s wrath.”

Now even granting that the expression in the Súratu’l-Mulúk, “twenty years have passed,” be not absolutely definite, it is at any rate relatively so. When Behá speaks thus, we may doubt whether he reckons from the date of

¹ See Traveller’s Narrative, i, p. 146, where the passage stands somewhat differently, though the general sense is the same.
the Báb's 'Manifestation' (A.H. 1260), or the beginning of the minor persecutions (A.H. 1261), or the period of the great massacres and persecutions (A.H. 1265-8), but at any rate we may fairly assume that he is consistent in his method.

For the reasons above stated it appears to me probable that the Súratu'l-Mulúk was written some time—possibly a considerable time—before the end of the Adrianople period. It is worth noting in this connection the statement of the Ezelí author of the Hashét-Bihisht (see T.N. ii, pp. 358-9), that Behá began his propaganda by letters from Adrianople.

III. Beḥá’u’lláh’s Súra-i-Heykal, or 'Chapter of the Form,' and the Alwáh-i-Salátín, or 'Epistles to the Kings' which in part compose it.

In my first paper on the Bábis (B. i, p. 520) I mentioned and enumerated certain Epistles addressed by Beḥá’u’lláh to various potentates, to wit:

1. The Sháh of Persia.
3. Napoleon III.
4. The late Emperor of Russia.
5. The Pope.
6. The President of the United States.

In a footnote on the same page I remarked: "Of the second and sixth of these I do not possess a copy, and of the existence of the latter I am doubtful." I may now add that I believe the sixth to be altogether mythical, and that, as has been above shewn, the first Epistle at any rate, and possibly some of the others, were written not at Acre but at Adrianople.

In my second paper (B. ii, pp. 953-971) I gave a fuller account of these letters, and translated certain illustrative
passages from each. "Taken collectively," I wrote (loc. cit. p. 954), "these letters constitute what is known amongst
the Bábís as the Súra-i-Heykal, which I think includes
also some shorter letters addressed to sundry other people."

The whole text of this Súra-i-Heykal (for there can be
practically no doubt that it is this document) has now
been published by Baron Rosen in Coll. Sci. vi, pp. 148
et seq. It forms the second piece in the Institut MS.
marked No. 48/465, and contains, besides other matter,
several of the afore-mentioned Alwáh-i-Salátin or "Epistles
to the Kings," namely, (1) The Epistle to the Pope (Coll.
Sci. vi, pp. 172–8); (2) The Epistle to Napoleon III. (Coll.
Sci. vi, pp. 178–186); (3) The Epistle to the late Emperor
of Russia (Coll. Sci. vi, pp. 186–188), of which in my MS.
only a portion was given; and (4) The Epistle to the
Queen of England (Coll. Sci. vi, pp. 188–192). Whether
the Epistle to the Sháh of Persia, and the other letters
which follow it (pp. 270–2 supra), should be regarded as
forming part of the Súra-i-Heykal or not is doubtful.

Before proceeding to discuss Baron Rosen's text of the
Súra-i-Heykal, it seems desirable to give a short description
of the MS. used by me in preparing my description of the
Alwáh, in which the arrangement is somewhat different.

Description of the Kírmán MS. which formed the basis of my
account of the Alwáh-i-Salátin (B. ii, p. 954).

Contains ff. 40, each leaf measuring 17.5 \times 10.5 centi-
metres. Written throughout in a small and rather illegible
shikasta hand. Some marginal notes and glosses. Contents:

Ff. 1b–19b. The Kitáb-i-Akdas (formerly misnamed by me
Lauch-i-Akdas).

Ff. 20a–21b. A tarji'-band in praise of Behá.

Begins:

\[
\text{مس خدا جویم و خداویم کو نقد جانبر کف و بایم کو}
\]
Ends with the band or refrain:

جِزَّبِهَا نَبْسُتُ جَلَالُوُدَّاَه خَدَا
گَر تُو جُوْئِی خَدَا بِجوَز بِهَا

F. 21b. Three short prayers, which I give in extenso:

طلعت مبارک

ئی رِت فِاجْعَل ذَكْرَ مُؤْسِسِ وَجَعْبِ مُتَقَوْدَ وُرْنَاک
مسلكی و طنائف عَمْلِ واملی بین العالمین و السَّمَّد للّه مَحْبوب
العارفين.

طلعت مبارک صبّحیّّ نَرَیتِی بِخُوآنِد
شهد الّه اَنّه لا اله الا هو وان نقطة البيان عبده و بهانه و ان دلاً
الجِیّ حروف لنفسه كل بامرة من عنده يخلقون.

حَضَرَت نَقْطَه صبْحیّ نَرَیتِی بِخُوآنِد
هل من مَفْرَج (؟) غير الّه قل سبكان الّه هو الّه قل كل عباد

له و كل بامرة قائمون.

Ff. 22a–30a. The Lauh-i-Sultān, or Epistle to the King of Persia (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 195–216). To this is prefixed the following prefatory note:

این لوح خصوص حضرت سلطان درادره نازل این عبد خادم
خصوص آتسنجابان ارسال داشت که قرائت فرمایید (sic) و لغات
عربی به یعنی را گهر نظر ایبن عبد بود حسب المعرق الّه الّلٰه
معانی نوشته شد.
"This Epistle was revealed in Adrianople\(^1\) specially for His Majesty the King [of Persia]. This servant, the confidential attendant of their Excellencies,\(^2\) sends it for you to peruse. The meanings of sundry Arabic phrases which were in my mind have been written down agreeably to the command of God's Most Mighty Branch" (Ghusnu'llâh-i-A'zam, i.e. Behá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendí. See B. i, pp. 518 and T.N. ii, p. 393, n. 2). Then comes the heading—

هو الله تعالى شانه العظمة والاقتدار

followed by the text of the Lauh-i-Sultán, which closely agrees with Baron Rosen's text, even to the marginal glosses, but differs here and there from the text contained in the T.N., which has evidently been toned down in places to suit a wider audience and to avoid giving offence to non-believers.

Ff. 30\(^a\)-32\(^b\). The Lauh-i-Ra'ís (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 224–231), separated from the previous Lauh only by a break in the line of about half an inch and the invocatory words بسمه الإلهی.

Ff. 32\(^b\)-34\(^b\). The Epistle to the Pope (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 172–178), to which is prefixed the following heading:—

من أجزاء الهيكل قد نزل لرئس امرأته ممن لدن مالك البريغه

"Of the parts of the Heykal. Revealed for the Chief of Urúmiyya [sic!] on the part of the Lord of Creation."

Ff. 34\(^b\)-37\(^a\). The Epistle to Napoleon III. (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 178–186), headed:—

من أجزاء الهيكل ما نزل في الهيكل لملك باريس

"Of the parts of the Heykal. What was revealed in the Heykal for the King of Paris."

---

\(^1\) This is important, as confirming the conclusion already arrived at (p. 282 supra) concerning the date of this Epistle.

\(^2\) Apparently Behá'u'lláh and his sons (Aghšián), the "confidential attendant" being, in all probability, Aḵá Mirzá Aḵá Ján of Khášán called Khádimu'lláh. (See B. i, p. 519, and T.N. ii, Index, s.v. Khádimu'lláh).
Ff. 37a–37b. A portion of the Epistle to the late Emperor of Russia (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 186), headed:

"Of the parts of the Heykal. What was revealed in the Heykal for the Emperor of Russia." As I suspected (B. ii, p. 969), this proves to be only a portion of the Epistle in question. The whole is given by Baron Rosen.


Begins:

هو الاقدس الأعظم المقدم
بانتهار جناب آنا ميززا ممتع بالنازل شهد
يا ممتع قبض على دفع المقام وآخنه دراوذن كر شادة وظاهر كشته تفكيرما...

Ends:

أن ركب لهم عقلان الغيب يسمع ويبر و هو الفن الواحد
العزيز الوعد البيه، عليك وعلى الذين شربوا ما شربته بحب (؟)

العزيز الممنوع

Ff. 37b–38a. Another short letter addressed to the same person.

Begins:

نيب بافتخار آن جناب ارسل، مقصنت نازل شهد
هو المشتاق من افق البتنا
يا ممتع قبض على اشرط صني (؟ سهين) مالك اسماء اين ندا بشنو...

Ends:

كن في كل الأحوال متائشكة بعناية الله و متشيشتنا بذيله و ناطقة
بديثته مقطععاً من الذين كفرنا و أعزونا اذ اتى الله بنور منيب البيه
عليك وعلى ثابت فائز مستقيم.
FF. 38a–38b. A letter to Mírzá Muḥammad Taḵī of Yezd.
Begins:

در اعتراف میروزای محمد تکی نازل شده
هل الیات نزلت گل ای و بیت الناس هل انت انساعه بل تنقت
و مظهر الیات قد جائت الیات وانی المین باحمیه و الیات... [Text continues]

Ends:

لعمرى انه باب رحمة زکی طوبی لمن یقرئه فی العシャ و الاعراق
انا نسمع ذکرک في هذا المرآتی منهً ایدک جبل العلم و دنک
القدام والبياء علیک وعلى كل متقبل اقبل الى العزین الوکاب قد
انتهی و آنتم ان عسران زکی له الیابت.

F. 38b. Letter to Aḵá Mírzá Ḥuseyn.
Begins:

بافتخار جناب آقا میرزای حسین نازل شده
هو السامع الهمیث
قد حضر كتابتک لئم الظولوم وجدنا منه عرف اتباعک الى الافق
الاعلی فی يوم اوعرض علماء الألف و امرائها....... [Text continues]

Ends:

البياء المشرق من افق سما ملکوتی علیک وعلى الذین ما متعتهم
شیبات الاهل الادیان عن نیت الرییاق و ما خویفه مسطوہ كل ظالم بعيد.

FF. 38b–39a. Another letter addressed to the same person.
Begins:

اینما بافتخار جناب معظم الیه نازل شده
بسم الالمشیر من افق سما الیه الیه
انا كنا مشیاً فی البيت و ناطقاً بآیات الیه دخل العبید العید
بكتابك و عرنه شوى الظولوم......
Ends:

A letter to Aḵā Mīrzā Ibrāhīm.

Begins:

باختصار جناب آقا میرزا ابراهیم نازل شده
هو المهمان على الاسماء
حمد مقتنس از ذکرو بیان مقصود عالمیان ایشان اثق و منزست . . .

Ends:

البیاء عليك وعلى فلک كبير عليها من قبل المظلم و بشرها
برحمت الکتی سابقه من في السماء والارض و وسختم (؟)
الکتاب بذکر من علمک و عرْفک و اشهدک و هدایک الي سرای
المستقیم الکذی به ناحی قبائل الأرض كنها الام اتي الیا بقلب
سلام وسلم

Another Epistle.

Begins:

هذا كتاب جعلنا لانفسنا للذین ابیاوا الى الله فی تلك الیام الکی
فیها تغيرت البلاد ... .

Ends:

يشهد الله و الکذین طافوا حول العرش انتم فزم بلقانه و طفتم حول
کعبة أحدا و حصنتم تلقان و وجهه أنه لهو المقتدر على ما يشاء الله الک
هو العزیز العمان لعمرو قبیلنا منكم ما اردتم و تكون معكم في كلك
الاحيان و البیاء عليك من لدن عزیز مستعان و السلم

A prayer.

Begins:

يا البی كيف ادعوك بعد عصایي ننسک و اتفاک على مستواج
حكمك و ادباری عن مقاعد ممقاکك . . .
Having now described the contents of my MS., it behoves me to say something of the manner in which it came into my possession. While I was at Kirmán in July, 1888, some of my Bábí friends informed me that a poor ákhund, or teacher of their acquaintance, who was not a Bábí, had copied out for himself certain Bábí documents, but that, inasmuch as the possession of such was in itself somewhat of a risk, he would be glad to sell them for a small sum of money. Accordingly, on the evening of July 29th, this ákhund, Mírzá Ahmad by name, was brought by two of the Bábís to my lodging. Soon after his arrival he produced the MS. in question, and agreed to let me buy it of him. I observed, while turning over the leaves, that he had (as a safeguard to himself, in case the book should be found in his possession by Musulmans) written at the end of the Kitáb-i-Akdas, that it was the Book of “the accursed, misguided, misleading sect” of the Bábís. Fearing, lest he should get into trouble with my Bábí friends, if they should chance to see these words, I closed the book and laid it aside. Shortly afterwards I was led outside into the garden by one of the two Bábís, who wished to speak to me in private. On my return I found my anticipations verified. The other Bábí had, in my absence, taken up the MS. and seen the objectionable words, and was now pouring out the vials of his wrath on poor Mírzá Ahmad, who, shivering with fear and shame, was on the verge of tears. I did my best to make
peace, but with small success, until Mirzá Ahmad washed out the abusive paragraph, and, under the previous colophon—

"By the praise of God and His favour and grace. This is the precious Most Holy Book (Kitáb-i-Akdaš), which is [one] of the works of His Most Excellent Holiness Behá (may my life and the life of the worlds be a sacrifice to him), and was revealed by the Sun of the Horizon of Illumination, and sets forth laws and regulations for [God’s] servants and for all mankind. Request is made for the prayers of the reader. Vale. The month of Zi’il-Ka’dah, A.H. 1305 “ [July, 1888].

Now it is very seldom that we come across a Bábí MS. transcribed by one who is not himself a Bábí, and this perhaps accounts for the fact that in point of accuracy this MS. leaves much to be desired. Indeed, so inaccurate is it in places, that the sons of Behá, to whom I shewed it, would have destroyed it if I had not begged that it might be spared.

From this digression I now return to a consideration of the text of the Súra-i-Heykal, published by Baron Rosen (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 149–192), in which, for the present, I do not include the Epistle to the King of Persia, the La‘lú-i-Rá’is, and the other documents enumerated at pp. 270–2 supra.
The Súra-i-Heykal is divisible, as Baron Rosen points out (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 149), into two parts, of which the second part (p. 172, l. 15–p. 192, l. 2) contains in uninterrupted succession, (1) the Epistle to the Pope, (2) the Epistle to the “King of Paris,” (3) the Epistle to the Emperor of Russia, and (4) the Epistle to the Queen of England. Inasmuch as these were described in my second paper on the Bábís in the J.R.A.S. for 1889, I shall have but little to say of them here. The first part of the Súra, on the other hand, now first made available to Orientalists, deserves a fuller notice. It contains Behá’s formulation of his claims, and declaration of his divine nature and mission, coupled with reproaches addressed to such of the Bábís as refuse to acknowledge them, and angry denunciations of his rival and half-brother Mirzá Yahyá Subh-i-Ezel. Speaking broadly, then, we may say that the first part of the Heykal is addressed to the Bábí community, the second part to the rulers of Christian lands. Of this first part I can, perhaps, best convey some idea by translating from it certain selected passages, prefixing to each, the number of the page in Coll. Sc. vi, on which the original text occurs.

Selected passages from the First Part of the Súra-i-Heykal.

(P. 150, l. 5) “Blessed be He who hath caused to descend upon his servant the burden of the heavens and the earth; herein we do verily praise Him, and none knoweth it save the wise. Glory be to Him Who hath cast His Beauty under the claws of hatred amongst the wicked; verily we acquiesce in this, and none understandeth it save them who have understanding. Glory be to Him, Who hath entrusted Huseyn,¹ amidst the hosts of the enemy

¹ i.e. Behá’u’lláh. Though he is generally spoken of, when mentioned by name, as [Mirzá] Huseyn ‘Ali, it would appear from this and other passages, especially the opening words of the Súratu’-i-Mutúhk, and a passage in another
while the spears of violence and hatred reach his body every moment; verily, we thank Him for what He hath decreed against His afflicted servant who turns to Him and stands for Him.

"And when I saw myself at the culminating point of affliction, I heard a voice of the most wonderful and sweetest over my head; and when I turned my face I beheld the Ḥūrî of celebration of my Lord's Name floating in the air on a level with the head, and I saw her to be rejoicing in herself, as though the fashion of Paradise were apparent in her face, and the splendour of the Most Merciful were displayed in her cheek. And she was speaking between the heavens and the earth with a voice wherewith hearts and intelligences were attracted. And all the wounds within me and without me were made glad with glad tidings wherewith my soul was rejoiced, and the honourable amongst [God's] servants were filled with joy. And she pointed with her finger towards my head and [thus] addressed all who are in the heavens and the earth:—'By God, this is, indeed, the Beloved of the worlds, but ye understand not. This is, indeed, the Beauty of God in your midst, and His authority amongst you, did ye but know. And this is, indeed, the Mystery of God and His Treasure, and the Command of God and His Glory unto whomsoever is in the kingdom of command and creation, if ye will understand. Verily this is, indeed, he whom all who inhabit the realms of Eternity desire to meet, and beside them those who rest within the pavilions of splendour; but ye turn away from his beauty.'


¹ This celestial Ḥūrî or angel occupies a prominent position throughout the first half of the Sūra-i-Heykal, and seems to play a part analogous to that taken by the angel Gabriel in the revelations of Muḥammad.
"O people of the Beyán!" If ye will not help him, God will help him with the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and beside them the hosts of the Unseen, by His command, "Be," and it shall be! And He will raise up by His will a creation, whereof none knoweth save Himself, the Protecting, the Self-subsistential. These will He purify from the stain of vain conjecture and passion, and will raise up to the station of sanctity, and by them He will make manifest the signs of glory of His rule on earth: thus hath it been devised on the part of God, the Mighty [p. 151], the Loving.

"O people of the Beyán! Do ye deny him whom ye were created to meet, and do ye then rejoice in your seats? And do ye take objection to him, of whom one single hair is more precious in God's sight than whomsoever is in the heavens and the earth? Do ye then mock at us?

"O people of the Beyán! Produce what ye have that I may know by what proof ye formerly believed in the Manifestations of the [Divine] Command, and by what argument ye are to-day puffed up with pride. By Him, who created me from the Light of His Beauty, I have not found any more heedless than you, nor any blinder than you: verily, ye seek to justify your faith in God by the Epistles which are in your hands, [but] when verses are revealed and the lamp shines brightly, ye reject him by whose pen matters are determined in a Preserved Tablet. Ye read the verses and deny their Source and their Revealer: thus hath God taken away your sight, as a recompense for your actions, did ye but know it. Ye write the verses in the evening and at dawn, and then ye are veiled from him who reveals them! . . . .

1 The expression "people," or "church of the Beyán," is ordinarily used to denote the adherents of the old dispensation of the Bábí religion, or, in other words, Bábís pure and simple, as contrasted with Behá'ís.
"O Supreme Pen!"1 Hear the voice of thy Lord from the Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,2 in the bright abode of [the Divine] Unity, that thou may'st find thyself refreshed and fragrant by the strains of thy Merciful Lord, and that thou may'st be sanctified from sorrow by these gales, which breathe from the region of My Name, 'the Forgiving.' Then raise up in this Form [Heykal] forms of the [Divine] Unity, that they may tell in the kingdom of creation of their Lord, the Supreme, the Most Splendid, and may be of those who are illuminated by the lights of their Lord. Verily, we have appointed this Form [Heykal] the Source of Being amidst the new creation, that all may be assured that I am able to do what I will by My Word 'Be, and it is.' And under the shadow of each Letter of the Letters of this Form [Heykal] we will raise up a creation whose number none knoweth, save God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent."

Here begins that portion of the Sūra from which it derives its name of "Heykal." This word means "body," "form," "temple," "altar," and it appears to be used in somewhat different senses in different passages. In some cases, as in the above paragraph, Behá seems to apply it to himself, as being the corporeal "temple" which the Deity inhabits. In other places (e.g. p. 158, ll. 9–13) it would appear to denote this particular revelation—the Sūra-i-Heykal. In different parts of the Sūra the Eye, the Hearing, and the Tongue of the Heykal are addressed; and elsewhere, the four letters H. Y. K. L. composing the word, are severally and successively apostrophized in like fashion. Altogether, however vague may be the sense in which the term is employed, its occurrence is so constant, and the importance attached to it evidently so great, that the name of the Sūra

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1 By this expression Behá appears to denote himself, as the instrument whereby God's pleasure is made known to men.
2 Kur'ān, liii, 14.
is amply accounted for. Interesting as this is, it is so long and so obscure that I cannot here do more than notice a few of the most important and characteristic passages. Chief amongst these is one in which Mírzá Yahyá Subh-i-Ezel is accused of having tried to poison Behá. This passage I have translated in full at pp. 368-9 of vol. ii of my Traveller's Narrative. As a comment on it I will therefore here give the Ezeli account of the same transaction, translated from a MS. which I recently obtained of a very rare and interesting work entitled Hasht Bihišt, composed, as I was informed, by the late Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kirmán, an ardent partizan of Subh-i-Ezel's. It will be seen that not only the charge of attempted fratricide, but also the charge of bringing a false accusation of the same against the victim of the attempt, is brought by both factions of the Bábís against the chief of the rival faction. Which version, if either, may be true, it is impossible to decide, but at least the fierce animosity which subsists between the Ezelís and the Behá'ís will be sufficiently apparent from a perusal of either.

[Translation from the Hasht Bihišt]: "The first juggle and trick of sorcery which he [i.e. Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí Behá'u'lláh] outlined was this, that he brought to Hazrat-i-Ezel a dish of plain food, with one side of which he had mixed some poison, intending to poison His Holiness. For hitherto the apportioned breakfast and supper of His Holiness the Fruit [Hazrat-i-Thamara, one of the titles given to Subh-i-Ezel by his followers] had been from the house of Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí. When that poisoned dish was placed before His Holiness, Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí pressed him to partake of it. By a fortunate chance the smell of onions was perceptible in the food, and His Holiness, being averse to onions, refused to taste it. Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí continued to press him urgently to eat. He replied, 'Since it smells of onions, I will not eat it; if it is [so] good, eat it
yourself.' From this answer Mirzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí supposed that His Holiness had divined his evil design, and, simply with the view of disguising [the truth] and putting a better appearance on the matter, ate a little from the other side\(^1\) of the dish, in order that the suspicions of His Holiness might perhaps be dispelled and he might eat of the poisoned side. But His Holiness, because of the smell of onions, would not eat. Now, inasmuch as the poison had to some extent diffused itself to the other side,\(^1\) it produced some slight effect on the aforesaid Mirzá [Ḥuseyn 'Alí], causing in him sickness and vomiting. Then he summoned the physicians, gathered his own people round him, and privately informed them of his state, declaring that Ḥasrat-i-Ezel had poisoned him. Next day, when His Holiness the Fruit went to the bath, Muḥammad 'Alí the barber of Isfahán (whose ears had been cut off for theft and other crimes by the governor of Isfahán, and who, having fled thence to Baghdad, had become one of Mirzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí's chosen associates, and the source of manifold evils and mischiefs) came forward in the bath [as though] to shave with his barber's razor the sides of the head and the lower part of the throat of His Holiness. His Holiness, however, divining with great acumen his evil design, refused to be shaved; and, as soon as he came out from the bath, chose another lodging in Adrianople, and withdrew himself from these persons." This narrative may be most instructively compared with Behá's version contained in the Súra-i-Ḥeykal (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 154–5; T.N. ii, pp. 368–9). I now proceed to give translations of a few more passages from the Súra-i-Ḥeykal.

(P. 155, l. 20) "O Pen of Eternity! Grieve not at what hath befallen thee, for God will raise up a people who shall see with their eyes and shall remember

\(^1\) i.e. the unpoisoned side.
what hath befallen thee. Withdraw the pen from the mention of these; then wield it in commemora-
tion of the King of Pre-existence. Leave the things
of the contingent world; then drink of the pure
sealed wine of My celebration. Beware that thou
busy not thyself with the mention of those from
whom thou shalt obtain naught but the savours of
hatred; those of whom love of supremacy hath so
taken possession that they destroy their souls to
increase their celebrity and to perpetuate their name.
These hath God inscribed as the slaves of names in
a Preserved Tablet . . . . .

(P. 156, l. 3) "O Form [Heykal]! Stretch forth thy hand
over all that is in the heavens and in the earth, and
take the reins of command in the grasp of thy will:
verily We have set on thy right hand the dominion
of all things: do what thou wishest, and fear not
those who know not" . . . . .

(P. 158, l. 3) "Beware that ye shed not blood! Draw the
sword of the tongue from the sheath of utterance,
for therewith thou shalt subdue the cities of [men's]
hearts. Verily, We have taken away the command
to slay from your midst:1 verily My mercy hath
preceded all contingent beings, if ye would know
it" . . . .

(P. 159, l. 12) "O Form of the [Divine] Command! If
thou findest none advancing towards thy gifts, grieve
not! Thou wert created for Myself: occupy thyself
with celebrating me amongst my servants: this is
what hath been apportioned to thee in a Preserved
Tablet."

(P. 160, l. 15) "And amongst the infidels is he who dis-
believed within his soul and arose in war, saying,
'These verses are spurious:' thus in bygone time
said men who have passed away, and Lo! in hell-fire
do they [now] cry for help."

1 i.e. the Jihad, or religious warfare, is abolished in this dispensation.
In the last word of this sentence—*yastaghithán*, "they cry for help"—allusion is probably made to the *Mustagháth* (He from whom help is sought) of the *Beyán* (see B. i, p. 515). The sum of the letters composing this word is 2001 (م = 40, س = 60, م = 400, غ = 1000, ی = 1, ث = 500), and it is implied in certain passages of the Persian *Beyán* that ‘He whom God shall manifest’ will or may delay his advent till this number of years have elapsed since the beginning of the Bábl’s mission. To these texts the Ezélís specially appeal in justification of their rejection of Behá ’u’lláh’s claim to be the Promised Deliverer, while they are reproached by the Behá’ís for suffering themselves to be "veiled" by this word from the truth. Thus Na’ím of Abádé says in one of his poems:

"There is no other ‘Helper’ (Mughíth) for the world than Behá,
He who is the ‘Help’ (Ghiyáth) for every seeker after help (Mustaghíth).
Tell to those foul and benighted ones (i.e. the Ezélís)
This message from the strains of the birds of Eternity:
‘Hear, O thou who tarriest expectant of “Help” (Ghiyáth),
Verily this is the cry of Him whose help is sought (al-Mustagháth).’"

I will here quote two passages from the Persian *Beyán* which bear on this point. The first occurs in *Váhid* ii. ch. 17:—
Many a Fire shall God convert into a Light by Him whom God shall manifest, and many a Light shall he make a Fire!¹ And if he appear in the number of Ghiyáth [=1511],² and all shall enter in [to his faith], not one will remain in the Fire. And if he come ere Mustagháth [=2001], and all shall enter in, not one will remain in the Fire, but all will be converted into Light. Seek this favour from Him whom God shall manifest, for this is the Greatest Favour and the Most Great Salvation: that ye tarry not as other churches, even like the Letters of the Gospel,³ who still await 'him who shall come, by name Aḥmad,'⁴ while two other Books⁵ are revealed. But if He come not ere [the lapse of a number of years equivalent to] these two Names, [still] He will certainly come, and there is no escape for Him [from this].”

The second passage occurs in Vahíd iii. ch. 15:

¹ Light (nár) and Fire (nár) in the Beyán mean belief and unbelief, or believers and unbelievers.
² i.e. Within this number of years after the ‘Manifestation’ of the Báb.
³ i.e. the Christians.
⁴ The words wherewith Christ is alleged by the Muḥammadans to have foretold the mission of Muḥammad. See T.N. ii, p. 298, n. 16.
⁵ i.e. the Kur’án and the Beyán.
And so likewise if all the believers in the Beyân believe in Him whom God shall manifest, none will remain in the Fire, and none will be adjudged an unbeliever. But watch for the Manifestation, that there may not be an interval of so much as a moment between the Manifestation and the belief of all who believe in the Beyân. For even so long as until [the number of years represented by] Mustaghâth it is not meet that they should remain [in expectation], if caution should lay hold of their skirts, for such caution hath been and is in Fire. But it is hoped of the Grace of God, the Pitiful and Compassionate, that at the time of the Manifestation He will by His high commands [contained] in His Epistles awaken all His servants from sleep and will not suffer them to remain in the Fire until the period determined in the Beyân, which is till [the fulfilment of the number of] Ghiyâth or Mustaghâth. For none hath

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1 One MS. here inserts بئدر which, however, seems redundant.
2 Two MSS. read بگذار، which very materially alters the meaning of what follows. The reading here adopted, however, seems to me the best.
3 One MS. has پید.
4 Or, if we adopt the other reading, “will suffer.”
5 Here the fire of expectation and unsatisfied longing seems to be meant.
knowledge of the [time of the] Manifestation save God: whenever it takes place all must believe in the Point of Truth and render thanks to God; though it is hoped of His Grace that it will not reach to [the number of] Mustaghāth, and that the word of God will be raised up ere this. And His verses only, and the very nature of His being in itself, are the proof [of His truth], since all else is known by Him, while He cannot be known by aught but Himself. Glorious is God beyond what they attribute [to Him]!"

I now continue my translation from the Sūra-i-Heykal:

(P. 160, l. 17) "Say, 'Woe unto you by reason of that which issueth from your mouths! If the verses be spurious, then by what proof did ye [formerly] believe in God? Produce it, if ye know. Whenever We have revealed unto them signal verses they have denied them, and when they saw that whereof all creation was unable to produce the like, they said 'This is sorcery.' What ails these people that they say that whereof they have no knowledge? Thus spoke the church of the Furqān when God brought His religion: are they not indeed an unbelieving people? And they forbade men from presenting themselves before the Beauty of the Eternal or eating with his friends; and some amongst them said, 'Approach not these! Verily they bewitch men and lead them astray from the path of God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent.' By God the True One, verily he who is unable to

1 Cf. Kur'ān v. 110; vi. 7; xi. 10, etc.
2 i.e. the Muḥammadans. Behá here accuses the Ezells of being as obdurate in their rejection of himself as the Muḥammadans were in their rejection of the Báb.
3 i.e. the Muḥammadans.
4 i.e. from going to visit the Báb.
5 Cf. T. N. ii, p. xxxviii. This alludes to a vulgar belief prevalent amongst Persian Muḥammadans that the Bábís bewitch their guests by means of some enchanted substance mixed with their food or tea, so that whoever eats or drinks with them becomes a Bábí. This superstition is referred to in the Tārikh-i-Jadid.
speak before us saith what none of those of yore said, and hath stooped to do what none of those who have disbelieved in [God] the Merciful have done throughout all the ages: to this their words and deeds bear witness, if ye will judge aright. Verily he who refers God's signs to sorcery hath not believed in any one of God's apostles: his efforts have gone astray in futile life, and he hath become of those who say what they know not. Say: 'O servant, fear God who created thee and fashioned thee, and seek not to emulate God: be just in thy soul, and be of those who act equitably.' Verily, such as are given knowledge from God, these will find in their [*i.e. the Ezelis*] very objections strong arguments wherewith to confute them and to establish [the truth of] this Apparent Light. Say: 'Do ye say what the infidels said when there came unto them the Reminder from their Lord?' Woe unto you, O concourse of fools! Evil is that which ye acquire!"

The whole of this most interesting passage is directed against Ezel and his followers, and it contains the gist of the Behá'í argument. The Báb laid down the doctrine that the production of 'verses' (*áyát*), or inspired words, was the one and only proof of a divine mission. To this proof alone did Muḥammad appeal: to this proof alone did the Báb appeal: and of 'Him whom God shall manifest' this proof alone was to be expected or required. On this ground the Behá'ís assert that no unprejudiced Bábí can remain (like the Ezelís do) in the old dispensation. They believed in the Báb because of his 'verses'; Behá has produced similar 'verses'; therefore they cannot fairly refuse

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1 By the 'Reminder of God' (*ذکر الله*) the Báb seems to be meant. This is clearer in another passage of the *Súra-i-Haykal* (p. 167, ll. 3–5), of which this is the translation:—"Do ye ask the Jews whether the Spirit [*i.e. Christ*] was of a truth from God? Or [do ye ask] idols whether Muhammad was a prophet? Or [do ye ask] the church of the *Púr'án* [*i.e. the Muḥammadans*] concerning the Reminder of God (*ذکر الله*), the Mighty, the High?"
to believe in him. Hence the Behá'ís are of no people more impatient than of the Ezelís, who, accepting their premiss, that such 'verses' are the sign of a divine mission, deny their conclusion that Behá is divinely inspired. Two passages addressed to Subh-i-Ezel in the Kitáb-i-Añdas and the Lawh-i-Naṣir serve admirably to illustrate and elucidate this portion of the Súra-i-Heykal. The text and translation of these I have given in the footnotes on pp. 93-4 and 96-7 of vol. ii of my Traveller's Narrative, and I will not therefore repeat them here.

Having now devoted nearly as much space as I can spare to the Súra-i-Heykal, I must content myself with noticing a few of the most important passages in what remains of the first part.

On p. 161, ll. 21-22, Behá says, speaking of his own 'Manifestation,' "When the Light of the horizons shone forth from the horizon of 'Irák." By 'Irák Behá in his writings always means Baghdad, so that we are led to infer from this passage that his 'Manifestation' took place there. In the Traveller's Narrative we are told that it did take place there (vol. ii, p. 63, vol. i, p. 80-81), and further (loc. cit. and vol. ii, p. 55) that it took place in the month of Muharram in the year A.H. 1269 (Oct. 15-Nov. 13, A.D. 1852), which statement appears impossible, inasmuch as Behá was arrested in August, 1852, and imprisoned for four months at Teherán ere he was suffered to depart to Baghdad. Nábil, on the contrary, in the chronological poem published in my second paper on the Bábis, in the J.R.A.S. for 1889 (pp. 983-990), says that Behá's manifestation took place at Adrianople when he was 50 years old. As Behá was born on the second of Muharram A.H. 1233 (Nov. 12th, A.D. 1817), he would attain his fiftieth year in Muharram A.H. 1283 (May-June A.D. 1866). Amongst the Behá'ís themselves, then, there is as much as fourteen years difference as to the date of so important an event as the 'Manifestation' or annunciation of the divine mission of Behá! How can we account for this discrepancy, and which date must we accept as the more probable?
The facts, so far as they are yet known, are these. The *Suhratu’ll-Muluk*, the *Su’lla-i-Heykal*, the *Kitab-i-Akdas*, and, in short, all the writings wherein Beha clearly advances a claim to supremacy, contain internal evidence to prove that they were not written before the Adrianople period. The *Ikan*, which is the only one of Beha’s works certainly known to have been written at Baghdad, contains no declaration of such a claim. On the contrary, it is entirely filled with praises of the Bab, and arguments in favour of his religion; the Beyan is throughout spoken of as the last revelation; and there is no hint of any idea in Beha’s mind of claiming the supremacy, save the expression of a hope that the “people of the Beyan” will not in their turn become as obdurate against new Truth as were the Muhammadans. Immediately after the expression of this hope, Beha complains of the envy and aversion wherewith certain persons (presumably Babis) regard him, which secret envy and aversion on the part of pretended friends are, he says, far harder to bear than the open persecution of declared enemies. He adds that he never sought precedence over any one in any matter (با إحدى در امرى اتخار نعومد وبنتسي برترى كجستم); that soon after his arrival in Baghdad he voluntarily retired alone into the solitude of the deserts to avert discord and strife; that he remained in this seclusion for two years, and only abandoned it at the command of his chief [evidently Subh-i-Ezel]; and that since his return, which took place two years previously, he had experienced such unkind treatment that nothing would induce him to remain at Baghdad save the reflection that he too might be called upon to lay down his life for the Bab. Now, according to Nabil’s poem (stanza 6), Beha returned to Baghdad from his two years’ retirement at the age of forty, i.e. in A.H. 1272–3 (A.D. 1856), so that the Ikan must have been concluded (for the passages referred to above occur at the end of the book) in A.D. 1858. We have, therefore, the best of reasons for believing that, during the first half of the Baghdad period at any rate, Beha still fully acknowledged, in appearance at least, the supremacy of
Şubh-i-Ezel; and consequently we must regard the early date given for his 'Manifestation' in the Traveller's Narrative as fictitious. The evidence, in short, as far as it goes, entirely accords with the assertion of the Ezeli historian (in the Haqht Bihisht) that Behá's claim was first publicly advanced in Adrianople. Now the author of the Traveller's Narrative, who may very probably have been one of Behá's own sons, and who, at any rate, wrote under his immediate sanction, and had every means of ascertaining the facts, must have known this, and must therefore have deliberately and purposely antedated the 'Manifestation.' His reason for so doing is, I think, not far to seek. He desires to curtail as far as possible both the extent and the duration of Şubh-i-Ezel's authority, and to give colour to his assertion that Behá was from the first recognized by the Báb as that Greater Deliverer whose advent he announced. Having accounted for the (according to him) temporary and nominal supremacy of Şubh-i-Ezel by describing it (T.N. ii, pp. 62-3) as a precautious measure designed to divert attention and danger from Behá'u'lláh during his continuance in Persian territory, he is compelled, in order that his theory may appear consistent with facts, to represent this supremacy as ceasing on the arrival of Behá'u'lláh at Baghdad.

I have had occasion to refer several times to the little chronological poem of Nabil's, which I published with a translation in the J.R.A.S. for 1889 (pp. 983-990). Baron Rosen has found reason to doubt the accuracy of the date therein given for the arrival of the Babí exiles at Adrianople. Commenting on a passage in Behá's Persian letter to the Sultán of Turkey (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 218), in which the sojourn of the Babís at Adrianople is described as having lasted six years, he says: "Ce renseignement est important. Behá dit positivement que le séjour des secrétaires à Andrinople a duré six années. Leur départ forcé de cette ville ayant eu lieu, d'après le poème chronologique publié par M. Browne, II. 984; cf. I. 525, en Août, 1868, ils ont dû être internés à Andrinople en 1862, et non en 1864, comme
le veut le poème cité. La date du départ est confirmée par une dépêche du gérant du consulat de Russie à Andrinople datée du 26 Août, 1868. Elle confirme en même temps la date de l’arrivée, car il y est dit que le gouvernement turc en 1862 fut contraint d’interner les émigrés babys, et qu’Andrinople fut choisi à cet effet. La différence n’est pas très-considerable, mais elle prouve que la chronologie du petit poème de Nabil n’est pas rigoureuse.”

Baron Rosen’s discovery of this official document is an important one, and, as regards the date of departure, it is confirmed by the State papers of the Cyprus government (see T.N. ii, Note w, especially p. 378, n. 2). According to one of these, the fermán of banishment was dated July 26th, 1868; while in another, the date of Şuh-i-Ezel’s arrival in the Island is given as September 5th, 1868. According to Nabil’s poem, Behá reached Acre on August 31st of the same year, so that the approximate date of departure from Adrianople may be regarded as absolutely certain. The date of arrival at Adrianople is much more difficult to determine. It is true that, in the passage noted by Baron Rosen, Behá describes the period of his sojourn there as six years, but then in the chronological table, prepared for M. Toumansky, by the Bábís of 'Ishkábád (Coll. Sc. vii, p. 252), the duration of that period is stated as “about 5 years.” Now the dates and figures given by Behá can only be regarded as approximate; thus, for instance, in the Epistle to the King of Persia (Coll. Sc. vii, p. 199, last line), he says that he remained twelve years at Baghdad, while in a passage in the Súratu’l-Mulük (Coll. Sc. i, p. 202, l. 18) he says eleven years. Now, taking even the lower of these figures as correct, Behá cannot have reached Adrianople much before the date which Nabil gives, since he only reached Baghdad some four months after the attempt on the Sháh’s life, i.e. early in A.H. 1269 (beginning of A.D. 1853). If, therefore, the date of his arrival at Adrianople was (as stated in the Russian consular despatch) 1862, he cannot have been more than nine years at the most in Baghdad, seeing that the journey thence to Constantinople
took four months, and that he was detained four months more in Constantinople. Without having seen the text of the Russian consular despatch it is impossible to speak with confidence, but the easiest hypothesis seems to me to be that the Turkish government decided in 1862 to remove the Bábís from Baghdad to Adrianople, but that the actual transfer was not effected till Rajab a.H. 1280 (Dec. 1863). The data given by Nábil will admit of this construction, since it is not stated that Behá had attained his forty-eighth year (which he did on Muḥarram 2nd, a.H. 1281), but that he was in his forty-eighth year. This seems to me, provisionally, the best solution of the difficulty, though, perhaps, I am partly influenced by a desire to vindicate Nábil's accuracy.

Lack of space forbids me from noticing several other interesting passages and allusions in the first part of the Súra-i-Heykal, but, before passing on, I have a few words to say about the second part, consisting of the Epistles to the Pope, Napoleon III., the late Emperor of Russia, and the Queen of England. I have collated the text of these given by Baron Rosen (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 172-192) with the text of my Kirmán MS. (containing the whole of the first two and part of the third Epistles) and with the separate transcript which I received from Shíráz of the Epistle to the Queen of England. Baron Rosen's text is, on the whole, much the best; though, apart from mere careless omissions and mistakes occurring in my MS., the agreement is very close, and the only variant afforded by my text which seems to me worth mentioning is forастار on p. 177 at the beginning of line 21. Baron Rosen has seen that his text requires emendation here, but conjecturesيا ملاقات

Two more points remain to be discussed, and I pass on from the Súra-i-Heykal. They are these:—(1) Were the four Epistles which constitute the second part of it written at the same time as the first part, or are they to be regarded as a later appendage? (2) What chronological relation subsists between the Súra-i-Heykal and the three long
Epistles (to the Sháh of Persia, the late Sultan of Turkey, and the “Ra’ís,” which follow it in the MS. described by Baron Rosen? These questions I propose to discuss together as briefly as possible.

We have seen (p. 282 supra) that the Epistle to the King of Persia purports to have been written before Behá left Adrianople, but after he knew that he was to be transferred to Acre. This fixes the date of its composition pretty closely, since on the one hand the fermán of banishment bore as its date July 26, 1868 (and Behá can hardly have been made acquainted with the intentions of the Turkish government before this), and on the other hand Behá was at Acre ere September of that year had yet begun. Though the Epistle may very likely have been finished at Acre, it must have been begun, therefore, in August, 1868.

Of the four Epistles comprised in the second portion of the Súra-i-Heykal it is only in the Letter to the Queen of England that I can find any internal evidence of the date of composition. This begins:—“O Queen in London! Hear the voice of thy Lord, the King of creation, from the Divine Lote-tree: ‘There is no God but Me, the Mighty, the Wise.’ Lay aside [all] that is on the earth, and adorn the head of dominion with the diadem of celebration of thy Glorious Lord: verily He hath entered into the world in His most great Glory, and what was recorded in the Gospel hath been fulfilled. The land of Syria hath been honoured by the approach of its Lord, the King of men ... etc.” These concluding words seem too definite to allow us to suppose that they were written elsewhere than at Acre.

The Persian Epistle addressed apparently to Sulútán ‘Abdu’l-Áziz must also have been written at Acre, inasmuch as it contains a detailed description of the arrival of the Bábís and their inhospitable reception at that place.

The Láuh-i-Ra’ís contains certain expressions and allusions which seem to indicate that it too was written at Acre. These are as follows:
(P. 226, II. 6–13). "O Dove! Hear the most glorious Voice [nīdā'dā'īl-ābḥā] in this night wherein the captains of war\(^1\) assembled over us, and let us rejoice greatly. O would that our blood might be shed on the surface of the earth in God's way, and that we might be cast upon the dust, for this is my desire and the desire of him who had me in view and who hath ascended into my most wondrous and marvellous kingdom.\(^2\) Know that one morning we found the friends of God in the hands of the malignants: the troops had occupied all the gates, and forbade men from entering or going forth, and were of the oppressors. And the friends of God and His family were left during the first night without food: thus was it ordained unto those for whom was created the world and what is therein."

The words italicized in the above passage appear to refer to the arrival of Behá and his followers at Acre, which is described in very similar words in the Persian Epistle to Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz as follows:

(P. 218, II. 13–18.) "And after [our] arrival [at Acre] the captains of war [or zaptiehs, as above] encompassed all [the Bábís], men and women, small and great, and lodged all in the soldiers' barracks. On the first night they kept them all without food or drink, for the zaptiehs had occupied the gate of the barracks and prevented all from going out, while none bethought himself of these poor people, so that they even craved water and none responded. Some while has [now] passed, and all are [still] imprisoned in the barracks."

Again in the Lawḥ-i-Ra'is we have the following passage, apparently referring to an incident of the voyage from Gallipoli to Acre:

\(^1\) "شیخة العسكریة". Perhaps we should rather translate "zaptiehs" or "military police."

\(^2\) The Báb appears to be meant.
(P. 229, l. 7 et seq.) "Thank God for that He hath helped thee [to attain] to His knowledge, and caused thee to be beside Him on the day whereon the infidels encompassed the people of God and His saints and drove them forth from the[ir] houses with evident injustice, and desired to effect a separation between us on the shore of the sea . . . ." Unless I am much mistaken the incident referred to is that described at B. i, p. 516 and T.N. i, pp. 126–7, and ii, pp. 100–101 and footnotes.

We may therefore fairly conclude that the La'ā-i-Ra'īs also was written at Acre soon after Behá'u'lláh's arrival there. It contains several interesting allusions, some of which are at present not clear to me. One of these (p. 226, ll. 20–21), which I formerly (B. i, pp. 962–3 and n. 1 on the latter) regarded, without due reflection, as an allusion to the death of the 'Martyrs of Isfahán,' must refer to some other event, since this took place several years subsequently to the date to which the Epistle must be referred. The allusion (p. 226, l. 18) to "one of the friends who sacrificed himself to myself, and, for love of God, cut his throat with his own hand," seems to be to Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far of Tabrīz (T.N. ii, pp. 100–101, and n. 1 on former, and B. i, p. 516); and it is probably the same person who is addressed (p. 227, l. 15) as ان یا ذبیحی. This conjecture (which I regard as almost a certainty) suggests another, which I offer as a mere hypothesis. The latter part of the La'ā-i-Ra'īs (p. 226 seq.) is addressed, not to the infidel "Ra'īs," but to some believer, concerning whom we gather (1) that he had come to visit Behá at Adrianople "on the day whereon the fire of injustice was kindled and the raven of separation croaked" 1 (p. 227, ll. 9–10) and had been with him as a "partner" in his "afflictions on the night wherein the hearts of the believers were troubled"; (2) that he had "entered in" [to Adrianople] "in love for" Behá, and

1 i.e., as I suppose, when the final breach occurred between Behá and Ezel. (See pp. 296–7 supra).
had "gone out" at his "command" (p. 227, ll. 11–12); (3) that his heart was "melted with separation from God" (sc. Behá'u'lláh), in which, however, he is enjoined to be patient, for he shall again stand in Behá's presence and converse with him (p. 227, ll. 20–22); that he had borne grievous affliction for Behá's sake "the like of which few men have borne" (p. 228, l. 8); and that he had written to Behá a letter to which this is an answer (p. 228, ll. 18–19, and p. 229, l. 12). I think that no one who, bearing these points in mind, reads (at pp. 493–5 of B. i.) the account given to me by Hájí Mírzá H—— the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shíráz, of the circumstances which led to his banishment and that of his colleague Hájí Mírzá H—— 'Alí to Khartúm, will fail to see that these circumstances accord singularly well with the hypothesis that the latter part of this Epistle is addressed to one of these two missionaries. Thus (1) they went to Adrianople to visit Behá "about 1866 . . . before he was sent to Acre"; (2) on leaving "they were instructed (by Behá) to proceed to Cairo to . . . avert a threatened schism" (i.e. in all probability, to persuade the Bábís there to reject Šubh-i-Ezel and accept Behá). They travelled thither with Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far of Šabríz, who cut his throat "for love of God" (cf. T. N. ii, p. 100, n. 1).1 On their arrival there, they were arrested and exiled to Khartúm, where for some time they could neither ascertain whither Behá had been removed from Adrianople, nor find means of communicating with him. At length, however, they succeeded in sending a letter to Behá, from whom after some time they received an answer "telling them that they would shortly be released and rejoin him at Acre" (B. i, p. 494), which actually occurred some time later.

Having thus examined such passages in the Epistles included in and connected with the Súra-i-Heykal as throw

1 I mention this point because if, as I have conjectured above, Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far be addressed in the words ٍٍٍٍ, it is natural enough that he should be associated in Behá's mind with the missionaries who were his fellow-travellers.
light on the date of their composition, I may, I think, conclude—

(1) That the Epistle to the King of Persia was at any rate begun at Adrianople about August, 1868, when Behá first learned that the Turkish Government had decided to send him to Acre.

(2) That the Persian Epistle to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Aziz and the Lawh-i-Ra'ís were written at Acre.

(3) That the Epistle to the Queen of England was also written at Acre.

If I am correct in these conclusions, either the different portions of the Súra-i-Heykal, in the more limited sense of the term were not written at the same time but were subsequently put together in this form,¹ or the whole Súra-i-Heykal was composed at a later date than the Epistle to the King of Persia, and this would therefore properly stand first in order, as it does in my Kirmán MS. It seems to me not unlikely that the Epistles to the Pope, the Emperor of the French, and the Czar of Russia were written at Acre about the same time as the Epistle to the Queen of England; and that the first half of the Súra-i-Heykal, addressed to the Bábí church, was composed at Adrianople soon after the schism took place. Behá, after formally advancing his claim and rejecting Subh-i-Ezel's supremacy, almost must have addressed to the Bábís in Persia and elsewhere whom he desired to win over to his cause a circular letter of some sort. What more likely from its general drift and nature than that the first half of the Súra-i-Heykal should be this circular letter?

Having already devoted so much space to the Súra-i-Heykal, I must necessarily forego, for the present, the pleasure of giving as full an account of the remaining

¹ The possibility of such recension or re-arrangement must always be borne in mind. Thus the sanctity of the sacred texts is now considered to be violated by the publication of a "revised version" by the very considerable alterations and suppressions made in the text of the Epistle to the King of Persia by the author of the Traveller's Narrative.
letters included in the MS. described by Baron Rosen as their great interest merits. A brief notice of each must suffice for the present.

IV. THE PERSIAN EPISTLE TO THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.


Of all the documents published by Baron Rosen this is, perhaps, the most interesting, since it contains a pretty circumstantial account of several incidents connected with the transference of Behá and his followers from Adrianople to Acre, and the treatment they underwent during the early days of their sojourn at the latter place. Many of the details which Behá here gives are fully confirmed by the information which I was able to obtain in Cyprus from official documents and other sources. Thus Behá says (Coll. Sc. vi, p. 219, ll. 1-2), that he and his followers thrice changed ship between Gallipoli and Acre, and Subh-i-Ezel informed me that he and the other Bábís were brought from Adrianople to Gallipoli, put on board ships, conveyed to Alexandria, and there transshipped into vessels bound for their respective places of exile (see T.N. i, p. 101, n. 1). Behá also mentions that four of his followers were separated from him and taken elsewhere, and that one of them, named ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffár, threw himself into the sea. Confirmation of this statement is afforded by the Cyprus official records, which show that four of Behá’s followers, to wit, the above-mentioned ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffár, together with Mushkín Kalam, Sheykh ‘Alí Sayyáh, and Muḥammad Bákír, were sent to Famagusta with Subh-i-Ezel (cf. B. i, p. 516, and T.N. ii, pp. 376-389). The independent corroboration of Behá’s statements thus afforded gives us confidence in the other details which he mentions—the imprisonment of himself and his followers in the barracks at Acre, the hardships to which they were subjected, the badness of the bread supplied to them, the message to the Sultan given by Behá at Gallipoli to the Turkish colonel ‘Omar, to whose custody
he was entrusted, etc. Behá mentions, amongst other things, that most of his followers were ill from the confinement to which they were subjected; that two had died soon after their arrival; and that the Turks would not suffer their bodies to be buried until a certain sum of money was paid. Is it not possible that the deaths here alluded to are those of the Khayyát-báshi and Hájí Ibráhím, who, as the Ezelís declare (T.N. ii, p. 362), were assassinated by the Behá’ís in the caravansary of the corn-sellers and buried in quicklime under the platform? If so, we may hope that the version contained in this Epistle is the true one, and that the suspicions of the Ezelís are unfounded.

The Epistle also contains (pp. 220–221) a rather fine description of a puppet-show which Behá saw as a child in Teherán. In simple and graphic language he describes the sense of wonder and admiration produced in his young mind by the mimic pageant. Then he continues (p. 221, ll. 4–10): “The audience [of the mimic Sultan] came to an end, and they drew the curtain of the tent. Twenty minutes later a man emerged from the tent carrying a box under his arm. I asked him what the box contained, and what the pageant was. He told me that all these things, exhibited together with their accessories, which I had seen, and the nobles, the ministers, the splendour, the pomp, power, and majesty which I had beheld were now in the box. And by my Lord who created all things by a word on His part, from that day forth all the things of the world have appeared and do appear in my eyes even as that [mimic] pageant, neither have they had, nor will they have, so much consideration as a grain of mustard-seed.” Allusion is made to a “great fire, which burnt most of the city” [probably Constantinople], and a fierce plague which broke out—these events being regarded by Behá as Divine chastisements for the Sultan’s unbelief and hard-heartedness. We, for our part, may regard them as points which may help to determine more closely the date when the Epistle was written.
V. The Epistle of Fú'ád Páshá.

(Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 231–3.)

I have already (p. supra) given my reasons for believing that the person whose death Behá exultingly celebrates in this document was Fú'ád Páshá. An additional reason for this belief I find in the following passage (p. 232, ll. 16–20), which, as it seems to me, contains a punning allusion to the Páshá's name:

كذلك اخذناه بقهر من لدننا ائ ریگ شدید العقاب نادیه ملک
عن يمين العرش هؤلاء ملانكة شداد هل كت من مفر قيل الاجنیم
التي منها يغلى الفؤاد واستقبل روحه ملانكة العذاب تقبل ادخلا
هذه هاوية النعت وعدتها بها في الكتاب وكنت تذكرها في الليالي
والليام

"Thus did we overtake him with vengeance on Our part; verily thy Lord is stern in chastisement. An angel called to him from the right hand of the Throne: 'These are ruthless angels: hast thou whither thou may'st flee?' It was answered: '[No,] save Hell, wherewith the heart [Fú'ád] boils.' To meet his soul came forth the tormenting angels. It was said: 'This is Hell, wherewith thou wert threatened in the Book, and which thou wert wont to deny in the nights and in the days.'"

The whole Epistle affords a fine specimen of Behá's comminatory style, but this one extract must for the present suffice.

Of the two other Epistles contained in this precious MS. the first (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 233–5) is in Persian, and presents no remarkable features of interest. The second (pp. 235–243) is of great interest, but also, as Baron Rosen points out, of singular obscurity and difficulty. It contains Behá's answer to one of the Báb's original apostles, or "Letters of the Living," who had asked certain questions touching
the nature of the "First Point" (i.e. the Báb). I cannot
better describe the letter than by quoting Baron Rosen's
own words:—"Cette pièce est la dernière du recueil et
donne des explications qui seraient très satisfaisantes si
elles étaient plus claires. Telles qu'elles sont données par
Béhâ, elles ont grandement besoin d'un commentaire.
Ce qu'on voit bien, c'est que Béhâ répond à la question un peu
malgré lui. Mais il ne pouvait l'éviter, car le curieux,
cette fois, était un membre de 'la première Unité,' une
des 'Lettres du Vivant': 'Si tu n'étais pas de la première
Unité,' lisons-nous, 'je te punirais, car tu as posé une
question concernant Dieu, qui t'a créé, qui t'a nourri, qui
t'a tué et qui t'a ressuscité dans ton corps ici présent par
le Point de l'Exposition pendant cette manifestation unique
dans son essence.' Béhâ, il faut bien le dire, s'est tiré
d'affaire avec une adresse admirable. La réponse est un
véritable chef-d'œuvre de phrases bien sonnantes, très
édifiantes, très respectueuses envers le Báb, mais en même
temps très peu précises."

I have only one remark to make on this piece, or rather
on a note appended to it by Baron Rosen. He says (p. 242,
n. 1), alluding to a passage in the text:—"Cette date est
singulière. L'an 1270 correspond à 1853/4. Le texte
parait faire allusion à la manifestation du Báb, mais la date
s'y oppose." The solution of the difficulty is that the Báb,
as I pointed out in B. i, p. 507, generally dates the
commencement of his mission, not from the flight of the Prophet
(hijra), but from the time when he was first commissioned to
preach the doctrine of Islam, which time he places ten years
earlier. Many passages in proof of this might be adduced
from the Persian Beyán, but one (the same which I pre-
viously quoted) will suffice. It occurs in the seventh
chapter of Vâhid ii. and runs as follows:

وازحم ظهور شجرة بيان الى ما يقرب تيامنت رسول الله هست
ك در قران خداوند وعده فرومود ك اول آن بعد از دوشامت يازده
دتيقه ازشب پچه يا جمادی انوزل سنة كه سننه بعدت ميشون
And from the moment of the 'Manifestation' of the Tree of the Beyán until its disappearance is the Resurrection of the Prophet of God, which God hath promised in the Kur’án; whereof the beginning was after two hours and eleven minutes had passed of the night of the fifth of Jemádi-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1260, which was the year 1270 of the Mission [of Muḥammad]. [This was] the first day of the Resurrection of the Kur’án, and till the disappearance of the Tree of Truth [i.e. the Báb] the Resurrection of the Kur’án continueth."

**Lieutenant Toumanovsky's Researches and Acquisitions.**

The sixth volume of the *Collections Scientifiques* concludes with a brief, but most interesting, postscript, dated October 15th, 1890, wherein Baron Rosen gives a short account of the discoveries made and the new MSS. acquired by M. Toumanovsky, a young artillery officer, who had spent some months at 'Ishkábád during the summer of 1890, with the intention of entering into relations with the Bábí community there (which, as it appears, is pretty numerous), and learning more of the history, condition, doctrines, and literature of the sect. His plans were crowned with the fullest measure of success; he was welcomed effusively by the Bábí of 'Ishkábád, and received from them a rich store of information, books, and photographs. The MSS. which he obtained were as follows:

(1) The *Táríkh-i-Jadíd*, described by me in *B. i*, p. 496, *B. ii*, pp. 1002–3, and, more fully, at pp. 192-7 of vol. ii. of the *Traveller’s Narrative.* Baron Rosen remarks (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 244) that according to the Bábí of 'Ishkábád this work was composed by Mánakjí, who, till lately, acted as representative of the Zoroastrians of Bombay at Teherán, and watched over the interests of their down-trodden brethren of Persia. As he died about a year ago, I may now say,
without indiscretion, that I too heard from many Bábís that he was the author of the work in question, though by some it was asserted that his mirzá, or secretary, had a considerable share in its production. I have lately had occasion to go through the whole work again (having already transcribed and collated it throughout) and to make a translation of it, which I hope soon to publish, and my estimate of its value is increased, inasmuch as many of the events which it chronicles appear either to have been copied from a work composed by Háji Mirzá Jání of Káshán (who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in A.D. 1852), or to have been supplied by eye-witnesses.

(2) An Epistle called مغصود, with commentary, dealing mainly with ethical questions.

(3) Two most interesting Epistles from Behá'u'lláh, the first addressed to the Bábís of Ishkábád in particular, the second to the Bábí church generally. Both of these Epistles (of which the text is given in full by Baron Rosen) refer to and were called forth by the following strange episode, which, as Baron Rosen affirms, created a certain sensation even at St. Peters burg.

"On September 8th, 1889, at 7 a.m., two Persians, Mashhadi 'Ali Akbar and Mashhadi Huseyn, both fanatical Shi'ites, hurled themselves, dagger in hand, on a certain Háji Muḥammad Rizá, of Isfahán, who was peaceably traversing one of the most frequented streets of Ishkábád, and inflicted on him 72 wounds, to which he succumbed. Háji Muḥammad Rizá was one of the most respected of the Bábís of Ishkábád. The crime was perpetrated with such audacity, that neither the numerous witnesses of the tragedy, nor the constable who was present, were able to save the victim of this abominable attack. They yielded themselves up to the police without offering any resistance. They were placed in a cab for conveyance to the prison; during the journey they fell to licking up the blood which dripped from their daggers. The trial, conducted with much energy by the military tribunal, gave as its result that Muḥammad Rizá had fallen a victim to the religious
fanaticism of the Shi'ites, who feared his influence; those of 'Ishkábád, acting on the orders of Mullás who had come for this purpose from Khurásán, resolved to put a stop to the Bábí propaganda by killing Háji Muḥammad Rizá. But, knowing very well that the crime would not remain unpunished, they drew lots to determine who should sacrifice themselves for the Shi'ite cause. Thus it was that the persons above mentioned became the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá, who had done them no harm. The sentence of the tribunal was severe—'Alí Akbar and Ḥuseyn, together with two of their accomplices, were condemned to be hanged, but the death-penalty was commuted, by His Imperial Majesty, to hard labour for life.

"This sentence was hailed by the Bábís with an enthusiasm easy to understand. It was the first time since the existence of the sect, i.e. for nearly fifty years, that a crime committed on the person of an adherent of the new religion had been punished with the utmost rigour of the law. The impression produced on the chief of the sect, Béhá, appears to have been equally profound. The two "revelations" which we shall submit to the reader sufficiently prove this. They are also interesting from another point of view: they are almost the only Bábí documents of which we can understand all the meanings, all the allusions."

The documents in question are indeed full of interest, but I must necessarily limit myself to translating one extract from the first of them, which is addressed to the Bábís of Ishkábád in general, and to one of them named 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ardabil in particular.

(P. 249, l. 2). . . "Your deeds have rejoiced me, and your patience in affliction. Ye were slain and did not slay. . . Ye have done that whereby the breaths of patient suffering are diffused through creation. In truth the Glorious State [of Russia] (may God strengthen it!) hath displayed justice, and justice is the cause of the supremacy, majesty, and power of Kings. Well is it with him who is
adorned therewith, and hath drunk of its cup, and hath been illuminated with its effulgences! This society [i.e. the Bábí] must unceasingly regard this condition. God (glorious is His Glory!) hath ever loved and doth love constancy, and in diverse epistles hath enjoined it on all. This succour on the part of the Glorious State [of Russia] and this manifestation of justice and equity will, please God, obliterate the injustice and violence of the world. We enjoin it on this society not to forget this [act of] justice, and to pray God from the bottom of their hearts to perpetuate and render permanent the works of him who holds the standard of justice by the maintenance of [his] dominion and power.

(4) Five loose leaves, containing:—(a) A poem of 72 verses, praising the Emperor of Russia for his justice in punishing the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá; (b) Two religious poems by a Bábí poet named Rúhání, whom M. Toumansky thinks may be identical with the poet ṭarha mentioned by me in B. ii, p. 1008. (c) Another religious poem beginning :texto done. This poem is included in a small MS. of Bábí miscellanies copied for me at Kirmán, and since Baron Rosen only gives the first beyt, and even this offers no less than three variants from my text, I shall publish the whole in the Appendix to this article. If I remember aright I was told that Nābil was the author of it, but it is evidently modelled on the two poems, written in the same rhyme and metre (Kāmil-i-muthamman-i-sālim), which tradition ordinarily ascribes to Kurratu'l-'Ayn. Of these two poems I have published the text and translation (the first in B. ii, pp. 936-7 and 991; the second in vol. ii. of the Traveller’s Narrative, pp. 314-6), and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding to them this further specimen of the Bábí poetic genius. (d) An account of the Bábí law of heritage, the division of the year, and the names of the months, drawn up for M. Toumansky by the Bábís of
'Ishkábad. (c) A short chronological notice of the principal events in the lives of the Báb and Behá, also prepared for M. Toumansky. To this I have already had occasion to allude (p. supra).

(5) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the Bábí work mentioned by me in B. ii, p. 944, as Muduniyyát ("Civilization"). Its full title is given by Baron Rosen as أسرار الغمیة لسباب المدينة. At the end of this is given the text of an Epistle in pure Persian, free from all admixture of Arabic, written by Behá'u'lláh to a follower of the Zoroastrian faith. Of this epistle, and of another similar one, I obtained copies at Acre which are now amongst my MSS. One of them, if not both, was addressed, as I was informed, to the late Mánakji (already mentioned as the author of the Ṭārikh-i-Jadid), whose full name appears to have been Mánakji Limjí Hadarja, and who came from India to Persia in the summer of 1854.\(^1\)

I have now completed my notice of Baron Rosen's most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bábísm. Lengthy as this notice is, I have had to omit much of which I should like to have spoken; yet, I trust, I have sufficiently made clear the extreme value of the materials which he has made accessible to scholars, and the exceptional claim which he has on the gratitude of all Orientalists.

\(^1\) See *Z.D.M.G.* for 1881, vol. xxxiv, p. 328.
APPENDIX.

I. A Poem attributed to Nābīl.

[Metre—Kāmil-i-muthamman-i-sālim: Mutafā‘ilun (ب-ب-ب) 8 times.]

هو الحقيقة

طلعت البدر بشرتي كه جمال حتى شده برما
بنز أصبا تو بصفرش بيغرود زنده دان صلا
هلته أي طوائف من نحوه زعاييت شي هو مقتدر
هو مستخبر شده مشتهر مناديًا ماجيًا
شهده طلعت بدمي عيان كه ببا كند كلثم بيان
زغمان وهم جهانينان جبروت اقدس اعتناء
برير شوكت وعز وشان به نمست آن شو بي نشاب
بزن أين صلا ببلباشاشان كه غروع مصغي ولا
جه كسامي طريقي مرا ريد كنمش ندا كه خبر شورد
كه هر آنها عاشتي من شود نرهد زجمنت وأبتال
كسى ار نكرد اطاعتم نكجرفت حبل وليتم
كنمش بعيد زساحتم دهمش زقهربايد لا
صدم زعالم سربدم أحمد زكرشور لاحدم
بي اهيل اننده آدمم وهموا الى لمقبلا

1 When is short in scansion, or is commonly written جه by modern Persians.
"Good news, O apparitions of holiness, for the Beauty of God is divulged!

O Zephyr! convey to the quickened of heart a summons to his presence!

Ho! ye peoples who expectantly await the Grace of the Mighty King,
The glorious moon is publicly apparent, resplendent and beautiful.
The Apparition of the Eternal hath appeared to set up the standard of the Beyán;
Exalted beyond the conception of worldlings’ fancy is the Most Holy Realm of Power!
That Signless King hath sat on the throne of majesty, might, and state;
He hath thus greeted the sufferers of affliction:—‘O band who pretend to [my] love!
When anyone treads my path I will cry to him, that he may know,

1 It would appear that this should be بلبل بالن.
That whosoever becomes enamoured of me shall not escape suffering and sorrow.\(^1\)

Should anyone not obey me, not take hold of the rope of my protection,

I will drive him far from my presence, I will give him in my wrath to the wind of Not [-being].

I am Eternal: I am from the World of the Everlasting: I am One: I am from the Land of the Unlimited:

I am come after the children of the Spirit, and unto me do they advance.

Kindlings of the Fire of my Will! Lo, am I not your Lord?

Pass to the place of the holy ones; hear the shrill cry of "Yea! Yea!"\(^2\)

I am that Manifestation of the All-Protecting! I am that Ark of Safety!

I am that Impersonal Personality, and I have appeared in my Glory!

I am the uplifted Tree of Life! I am the Hidden and Apparent Fruit!

I am the King of the Kings of the Beyán, and by me is the Beyán exalted!\(^3\)

O witnesses of my fiery Apparition! Hasten towards my country!

Make your heads and lives my sacrifice; for I am the Monarch of Kerbelá!"\(^4\)

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4 i.e. I am the Imam Huseyn returned again. Cf. B. ii, p. 932, and footnote 1.
II. A Tarkîb-band in praise of Behā.

(Authorship Uncertain.)

[Metre: — Khâşîf-i-makhbûn : Fâ'ilâtun, mafâ'ilun, fâ'ilan (— —) (— —) —), twice.]

من خدا جویم و خداپیم کو
جذز توان ازدو کون بیگانه
سران دارم ای کسیم کی
تای زدم در طریقت عشق قدم
گرموم در رهش شهید چه بات
تما گنادی در تو گردریدم
خانه دل زمین کردم پاک
من نگمومی سخن و گرگرگوم
جزبیا نیست جلوله گاو خدا
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو زبها

ازدرو بام یا اولو الابصار
برده افگنسد مهرب رخسار
صد جوی عیسی بهکریان و گنار
هیچ یکی موسی نشتست اند هزار
وی تو معمود اولیا ی کبار
ما سوا نمی چان کند نثار
آتیه منصور گفتند برسردار
تو ژنان زمین گفت این گفتار
ژریا نیست جلوله گاو خدا
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو زبها
شایای آتش‌نیمایی نیست توهینی
گوهری مخزی جمال توئی
خلوت قرب را تو خلصوی

حس و عشق و عاشق و معشوق
نیست غیر از (تو) هستین دیگر
خالقی خلیق و قاسم ارزاق
دب میرتا شیرک و نظیر
خلقت را با تو همسری خاطست

جز‌با نیست جلوه‌گاه خدا
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو ز بیا

جلوادی جمال رفاهی
ای تو مسرات حسی یزدانی
ای تو آورده در شبی معمری
ای بدرگاه عرش مرتبه ات

فخر جمشید از تو صفات رحمانی
مشتراند تو وصف قبه‌اری
ظاهران در خیلت از سناره‌دار
به رسیده ایستاده هزار

بیرساروی از برای تربانی
جان طلب کن بیا بیک نگنی
بلبل روحم این خوش اینانی

بجه‌مای رخست دگد دارد

ای بدرگاه عرش مرتبه ات

یهیا نیست جلوه‌گاه خدا
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو ز بیا

نیست غیر از تو در نظر مارا

برهت تا زمر نمودم پای

1 MS. خلوقی
2 MS. om. تو
چند گردن‌ناهایی صنم تا چند
هردم آید ز تیر تهدی‌گانست
لب شیری بکشید و ابرو کرد
هرشب از زورت مهبت رزید
بهره آنچه افسانه نظرگردد
دمبد این ندا بگوش آید
جزب‌ها نیست جلوه‌گاها خدا
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو زبه

تا کی کورست دیده خفیش
تا بگیر رزق جهد و تلش
علم دیدن پیشکه کن نه عقل معاش
یاز تطلاع ببرپریت فرائش
که بود روح قدیس فرائش
قلب ایزدی شده نقاش
سیاپتی تشنگان اشغراش
هستشان زین تکلم استیشان
گرتو جوئی خدا بجو زبه

آیه‌ای آنها بشان به‌هاست
طمعه جان دشمنان به‌هاست
بهر و بخش دوستان به‌هاست
وعدد دوستان زمان به‌هاست

1 MS. مرا, but I think this emendation is needed.
2 MS. أغزَفا, contra metrum.
3 MS. غفلت.
4 MS. omits.
آن نشان‌ها که در خبر آمد
کتاب انبیا و معجزه‌ها
ьюсу و عیسی و حواریان
از سر صدی دانم اورتات
ژیبی نیست جلوه گاوی خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجز به‌ها

بکشا ای لب که پیسته بندد لب
ای دو صدیوسن فتاده أسیر
داني آی شه که برسم از اعا
میسند اینکه از تناول ده‌ر
هشتن چن که تا برون آیم
تس و جان می ار بروت ده‌ر
نیستم غمیسی لعل تو مشروب
په‌ر تجیید ذات اندس تو
ژیبی نیست جلوه گاوی خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجز به‌ها

او تو مقصود بعثت خاتم
ای در آنجا که مکبر قردن
جان جبریل جسم تو محرم

1 MS. امان، but, unless we can take this in the sense of امان (a trust) some emendation seems missing.
2 MS. پیرن، contrary alike to sense and metre.
3 MS. خداست، by an obvious slip.
4 MS. بذب. An emendation is clearly needed, but I am by no means certain that I have hit on the right one.
5 This word is very carelessly written, and might be read بکفانند.
Translation.

"I seek God, and where is my God? [I hold] the coin of life in my hand, but where is my price [or Behá]? Save for Thee I am a stranger to both worlds; by God! save Thee where have I a friend?

O Idol! Fain would I approach thy street, but where is strength for me [to do so]?

Since I set my footsteps in the Path of Love, where [does there exist] a single grain of anxiety as to my annihilation?

What matter if I die a martyr in His cause? Where will be my blood-wit save [with] the Beloved?

Since I became a beggar at Thy door, what do I care for sovereignty?

I have purified the house of the heart from all else [but Thee]: where is there in my mansion anyone but the Beloved?

1 MS. گ، which seems to me to give no good sense.
2 MS. om. ۰.
3 For گ see first footnote on preceding poem.
4 This line seems to me corrupt, but I cannot suggest an emendation.
5 The words "Beháyam kú?" have a double signification: either "where is my price?" in the sense of "where is my equivalent for this coin of life?"—"Where is an object on which I may worthily expend it?"—or, "where is my Behá?"
6 Páyam kú? Strength, endurance (بیت و عاطف) is a recognised and not uncommon meaning of pd.
7 i.e. my blood-wit or compensation will be nothing less than the Beloved.
I speak not, and, should I utter speech, what should I assert
save this maxim?—

'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou sekest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"Again hath the splendour of the Beloved shone from door
and roof, O men of vision!
The Moon of his Countenance hath arisen, and in shame the
sun hath cast a veil on its cheek.
By His life-fostering lip live a hundred such as Jesus in
every nook and corner.
Crying 'Show me' by the Sinai of His aspect sit a thousand
such as Moses.
O Thou, the Adored of the mighty prophets! O Thou, the
Object of worship of the greatest saints!
Come forth but one step, that at thy feet all beside Thee
may cast down the coin of life!
Where is an adversary, that he may hear from me that
which Mansúr cried on the cross?
Open the ear of the heart, that thou mayest hear this cry
from all atoms—

'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou sekest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"Thou art the King of the realm of the Everlasting! Thou
art the Manifestation of the Essence of the Lord of
Glory!
Thou art the Pearl of the store-house of Beauty! Thou
art the Coin of the treasury of Glory!
Thou art a Void for the Divine communing! Thou art the
temple of Glory of the Prophet and the [Prophetic]
Family!
Thou art Beauty and Love, Lover and Beloved; nay, Thou
art alike Separation and Union!

1 Kur'án, vii, 139.
2 Hüseyn Mansúr the wool-carder (halláj), the celebrated Súfí who was
hanged or crucified for crying out in one of his mystical raptures Ana 'l-Haqq
("I am the Truth," i.e. "God.")
3 I am uncertain alike as to the correctness of the reading and the true sense
of this line.
Save Thee there is naught else which truly exists: Thou art for ever changeless.
The Creator of creation and the Distributor of provision in power and bounty without doubt art Thou!
Thou hast no peer or partner, since Thou art the Lord without compare!
For creatures to assume equality with Thee is an error, for Thou [alone] merittest this description—
   'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
   If thou seest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"O Thou, the Mirror of Divine Beauty! The Temple of Glory of the Beauty of the Lord!
O Thou, who, on the Night of Ascent, did'st entertain the Seal of the Prophets as Thy guest! ¹
O Thou at the approach to the throne of whose rank Gabriel² prides himself on holding the office of gate-keeper!
Latent in Thee [is] the quality of compelling might; apparent from Thee [are] the attributes of Mercifulness!
O Thou in whose retinue, surpassing the stars in number, are servants like the Moon of Canaan!³
At the end of Thy street stand a thousand like Ishmael⁴ [ready] for sacrifice:
Demand [my] life, O Behá, only with a glance, that I may readily lay it before Thee!
In love for Thy Countenance again hath the nightingale of my soul this melody—
   'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
   If thou seest God, seek Him from Behá.'

¹ This alone is tantamount to a declaration of Behá's Divine Nature, since, according to Shi'ite belief, Muḥammad was God's guest on the night of his ascent to Heaven.
³ i.e. Joseph.
⁴ According to Muhammadan belief it was Ishmael (Iṣma'il), not Isaac, who was destined by Abraham for sacrifice, wherefore he is entitled یسحاق 'the sacrificial victim.'
"In our sight there is none but Thee: save Thee to whom
should we look?
Since I made my head a foot in Thy Path I reck no longer
of foot or head.
How long, O Idol, how long shall yearning for Thy Face
drive us from door to door?
Each moment from the shafts of thine eyelashes doth the
arrow of injustice smite our hearts.
He opened His sweet lips and [raised] his eyebrows, making
bitter [by contrast] sugar-cane in our mouth.
Every night, through separation from Thy moon [-face]
stars¹ rain from our eyes till morning.
On whatsoever I cast my glance the Beauty of Thy Face
shines forth on me.²
Each moment this cry comes to my ear, as to [that of]
Moses, from every tree—
'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"The Sun of Truth has shone forth unveiled from Thee, but
the eye of the bat is blind.
O thou who liest in pledge to this low world, how long wilt
thou strive and seek [but] for [worldly] provision?
Take religion in thine hand, and forsake the world: make
the study of religion thine employment, not the
understanding of a trade.
How long shall thy pillow be of folly and heedlessness; or
thy couch of the conformity of blind imitation?
Go to the court of a throne whereof the rank is such that a
Holy Spirit is its carpet-spreader.
Look! Of the countenance, so gracious is it, the Divine
Pencil must have been the limner!
If thou desirest the Grace of God, wound not the breasts of
his servants!

¹ i.e. tears.
² Kur'an, ii, 109.— "And whithersoever ye turn there
is the Face of God."
The dwellers in the sanctuary of Divinity are familiarized with this utterance—

"The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou seest God, seek him from Behá."

"The Seclusion of the Placeless is the place of Behá; the
verse 'only' is in reference to Behá;
The flame of the fires and the draught of Zakkium are food
for the souls of the foes Behá.
Kawthar, and Salsabil, and Tasnim too are the portion and
share of the friends of Behá.
The justice and fairness of which Mustafá made promise to
friends is [fulfilled in] the time of Behá.
Those signs which have come down in tradition are all, in
truth, the signs of Behá.
The books of the prophets and their miracles, go, see! all
are Behá's!
Moses, and Jesus, and the apostles are, in truth, amongst the
followers of Behá.
This saying, uttered with all sincerity, is ever the portion of
the tongues of Behá's servants—

"The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou seest God, seek Him from Behá."

"Open Thy lip, that the pistachio-nut may close its lips:
shew Thy cheek, that the day may become night.
O Thou, in the dimple of whose chin two hundred helpless
and hapless Josephs are fallen captive!

1 The word ان (only) occurs in so many passages of the Kur'an that it is
difficult to conjecture which is here intended. I think, however, that Kur'an vi,
109, may be meant—'Tell us ayaat of God. Say, 'signs [ayaat] are in God's
hands alone.'"

2 The name of a foul and bitter tree which grows in hell. See Kur'an,
xxxvii, 60; xliii, 43; liv, 52.

3 The names of three celestial rivers.

4 i.e. Muhammad, called al-Mustafá "the Elect."

5 The gaping of the shell of the pistachio-nut is continually taken by Persian
poets as the emblem of a smiling mouth. Hence the meaning of this line is
"Relax Thy mouth in a smile that all other smiles may seem in comparison of
no account."
Thou knowest, O King, what suffering and hardship befall me at the hands of mine enemies for [my] love of Thee;
Suffer not that, though the tyranny of fate, my moon should be eclipsed, [or] put away.
Exert Thine influence, that I may come forth from the pit of nature, like the moon of Nakhshab.
Though they should melt my soul and body in the crucible of time like gold,
My source [of inspiration] shall be naught but Thy ruby [lip], my religion shall be naught but union with Thee.
For the glorification of Thy Most Holy Essence every moment this word raises me to ecstasy—
'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá: If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'

"O Thou, who wert the object of man's creation! O Thou, who wert the purpose of the Prophet's mission!
O Thou, whose body is admitted where the soul of Gabriel would be consumed!
No, [I spoke] at random: it is not right [to talk of] body and soul in connection with Thee, for Thou art free from Time and Eternity!
O Thou, like unto whom in eloquence and grace Mother Time hath brought forth none in Arabia or Persia!
O Thou, whose hand is the solver of difficulties! O Thou, whose lip makes plain whatever is doubtful!
Since I became Thy servant [apart] from all others, so that I might be here the companion of grief,
[And] since I opened mine eyes on Thy face, involuntarily this utterance breathes forth each moment from my lips—
'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá: If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'"
Of Assurbanil, son and successor of the first Tigranes, we know little. The so-called synchronous history devotes a few lines to his reign, from which, however, we learn nothing more than that in his time the peoples of Assyria and Babylon were united in the bonds of friendship and alliance, and that he took to wife a Babylonian lady, daughter of the upstart Rammânaplûiddinna, King of Babylon (W. A. I., ii. 65, 25). Two only of Assurbanil's inscriptions seem to have come down to us. Of these the more important runs in seven partly defaced lines across the back of a nude female torso carved in stone a little under life-size. This monument—of the highest interest from an archaeological point of view—was found at Kouyunjik, and is now preserved (No. 849) in the British Museum.

The first three lines of the inscription present the remains of the genealogy of the king. Then follow two mutilated and extremely obscure lines, and the closing words invoke the vengeance of the gods of Martu upon whosoever shall alter the name and writing.

That an Assyrian king should thus make a public appeal to the gods of the Amorites is in itself remarkable; but it is not more so than the style of the figure considered as a work of art. The type, it is true, will not appear very select to those accustomed to Greek models; but the forms of the female nude have evidently been carefully studied,

1 See below.
and are reproduced with an emphasis which in parts approaches exaggeration.

Now it is in the representation of the draped human form that the Assyrian artists may be said to have excelled. Their freedom of treatment, however, was confined within the limits of a convention that had become fixed at a comparatively early date, and was followed for centuries without material modification. For instance, the bas-reliefs of Assurbanipal present, roughly speaking, the same characteristics as those of Assurnasirpal. In both we admire the picturesque composition of a variety of incidents, and the vigour and naturalness of the representation of motion; but the later artists have not advanced far beyond their predecessors in the direction of freedom and realism; there is nothing to suggest that an interval of two centuries lies between them. Moreover, the nude never appears prominently in Assyrian sculpture. Occasionally, as on the bronze gates of Balawat, we see a row of impaled captives garnishing the wall of a conquered town; but the fancy of a naked goddess occurred but rarely to the formal Assyrians. In fact, the attenuated and closely-draped Ištar, who appears on cylinder-seals and, more rarely, on bas-reliefs, would hardly be recognized as a goddess at all, if it were not for her accompanying symbols.¹

These considerations suggest—though they do not involve—the conclusion that we have here to deal with the product of an art foreign in sentiment and method to that of Assyria. The fact that the name of the god whose vengeance is invoked has been obliterated must make it for ever impossible to determine with certainty the meaning and purpose of the statue; but we know that Assyrian kings—Sargon, for example, and Tiglathpileser III.—followed Syrian fashions

¹ Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez (Histoire de l’Art, ii. 505) reproduce two cylinder-seals, on which Ištar is seen standing naked and emaciated in the presence of worshippers; but, in the first place, such a device is very unusual, and, in the second, the figure of the goddess bears no resemblance whatever to the statue under discussion. However, there are two little undraped figures from Nimrud (reproduced on pp. 507 and 508 of the same work), which are more in the style of the statue; but it is by no means certain either to what period they belong, or what they represent. Perrot and Chipiez take them and the statue as well for figures of Ištar.
in architecture, and it may be that influences—religious as well as artistic—from the same quarter have been at work here. In that case the statue may either have been made for Aššurbêl-kala on some occasion or for some purpose unknown to us, or it may have been carried away with the booty of some victorious expedition to the West to find a new shrine and new votaries in Assyria.

The inscription has been published—but from a very imperfect and incorrect copy—in the first volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 6, No. vi. I have given an amended edition based upon an independent study of the stone.

Translations have been attempted both by Oppert (*Expédition*, i. 288), and by Menant (*Annales*, 54); but their renderings, made from the hopelessly corrupt text of W. A. I., contain little that is certain except the king's name.

**Text.**


**Transliteration.**

1. é-kal Aššur-bêl-ka-[la] . . . . . śar kiš-[ša-ti]

2. apil Tukul-ti-apil-El-šar-ra . . . . . . . [šarru?]  
   dan-[nu] . . . . .
3. apil A-šur-riš-i-ši šar kīš-[ša-ti šar Aš]-šur-ma
4. a-lam ga-a-tē an-na-tē ki ........ [nari?] ālāni
5. u ar-ru-tē ina muh-ḥi-ši a-ḥi-ē ........
6. mu-ni-kir šiṭ-ri-ia u šumi-ia Za ........... ilāni

Translation.

1. The palace of Aššurbelkala ............... king
    of the whole (world), [King of Assyria],
2. son of Tiglathpilesers ...... the strong [king] .........
3. son of Aššur-riš-iši, king of the whole (world), king
    of the same Assyria:—
4. an image these hands .............. the inscriptions (?)
    of the cities
5. and cursings with the crushing of the side ..........  
6. Whosoever alters my writing and my name the god
    Za ...... [and] the gods of
7. Martu with the crushing of the back shall crush him.

Notes.

4. alam gâtē. I propose this reading with great hesitation;
    but for alam with the meaning ‘image’ see W.A.I. iii.
    70, 52, where 𒂗𒆠 is rendered by 𒊔𒉦𒈬 ša-al-mu, and cf. Arab. ʿalā. With regard to gâtē for
    kâtē, the substitution of g for k (a common feature of
    Babylonian phonetics) is not unknown in Assyrian
    texts even of the first period. For example, in the
    great inscription of Tiglathpileser I. the forms
    gurunatē, gurunte (from the root 𒌕Daniel_10:23) occur in three
    places, viz. II. 21, III. 58 and IV. 19.
    Mr. Pinches suggests the restoration of 𒍧𒍢Daniel_10:23
    before 𒍢Daniel_10:23 before.
5. *arrutē* I take to be the plural of *arru(m)* in the sense of ‘curse’ or ‘cursing.’ Cf. W.A.I. ii. 27, 39, with W.A.I. v. 30, 65 *muhhīṣi* appears to be a noun of the type *mēṣī* from the root *mahāṣu*. Both *muhhuṣu* and *muhhuṣṣu* are quoted by Strassmaier (A.V. p. 674); but in the former case he seems to have mistaken what is evidently the 3, pl. permansive ii. 1, *(ina lēb-bi-šu-nu mu-uh-šu-u)*, ‘in their midst they are smitten,’ K. 680, 10) for a verbal noun of the type *mēṣī*.

With *muhhīṣi aḫi* ‘the crushing of the side (of the body)’ cf. *murus aḫi* ‘the disease of the side,’ with which among other plagues Ištar is smitten in Hades, W.A.I. iv. 31, obv. 1. 71.

It is possible that the partially defaced character after *muhhuṣu* should be read *muhhuṣu*.

6. The name of the god Za............., if we suppose it to have been that of an Assyrian deity, might perhaps be restored as *za-za-za-za* ZA-GA-GA, which we find explained by *za-za-za* NIN-IB, W.A.I. ii. 57, 53 and 70; but, on the whole, it seems more probable that some god of the Phœnicians (or Amorites) was referred to.

7. *za-za* is equivalent to the characters *za* (which have usually been read *nāhar-ri-i*, and explained to mean the ‘West-country,’ that is Phœnicia. Both the reading and the explanation appear to be founded upon a statement made by Norris, which, however, as it stands, is far from being conclusive, viz. ‘I have also a note that *za* is ‘west,’ but I have mislaid the reference” (Dict. I. 28). On the other hand, the occurrence on one of the tablets from El Amarna of the
unequivocal form \[\text{[script]}\] \(A\text{-mu-ur-ri} \) side by side with \[\text{[script]}\] \(\text{[script]}\) seems to show that at least in this case \(\text{[script]}\) must be read \textit{mur} (Sayce, \textit{Records of the Past}, v. p. 98). And if this be so, suggests the further possibility that the \[\text{[script]}\] \(\text{[script]}\) \(\text{[script]}\) of our own text should be read not \(A\text{-har-ri}, \) 'the land of the West,' but \(A\text{-mur-ri}, \) 'the land of the Amorites.'

With \textit{mihiš širi} 'the crushing of the back (?)' cf. the phrase \textit{mahiš muḫḫi Zī}, which occurs in a mutilated passage of a hymn to Marduk (K. 8717 \textit{obv.} 1. 15), and which Brünnow renders doubtfully by 'crushing the head of the Storm-god' (Zeitschr. 1890, p. 61).

\[(b.)\]

The other inscription is only a fragment, and therefore, though it contains Aššurbirdkalā's name, cannot with full certainty be ascribed to him. It seems to be an address or dedication to Rammân, and closely resembles in point of style the opening address to Ninib of the great inscription of Aššurnasnīrpal. It is published by Layard on page 73 of his volume of \textit{Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character} (where it is described as coming from Kalah Sherghat); but not a few of the signs have evidently been misunderstood, and, in consequence, erroneously transcribed. I have endeavoured to correct and—here and there—to restore the text, as follows:

\textit{Text.}

1. \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\]

2. \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\]

3. \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\] \[\text{[script]}\]
Transliteration.

1. a-na Rammâni ašarid šam-ê irši-ti .......
2. ûmê ez-zu-tê ša a-na ri-gim ......
3. i-ru-bu ra-aš pu-ul-ḫi šad-šu ........
4. nam-ri-ri ilu ša ina ba-li-šu purussi šam-ê irši-tim
5. ul iš-ša-ka-nu nû-ri la na-mar gab-bu ......
6. tê-ni-šê-tê a-na mu-ri-m mar-ka-as šam-ê irši-tim ........
7. bêli-šu Ašsur-bêl-ka-la ša ilu ina puḫur Ašsur za-kar šumi-šu
8. iz-kur maš-šu-u šakkanak ilâni ...........

Translation.

1. To Rammân, prince of heaven [and] earth ........
2. glorious days, who for the fame ........
3. entered, who inspires fear, broad ........
4. brightness, the god without whom the decisions of heaven [and] earth
5. come not to pass, the lights shine not, all [of them] (?) .......
6. mankind, to make fast the boundary of heaven and earth ........
7. his lord, Ašsurbêlkala, for whom god throughout the whole of Assyria the renown of his name
8. has noised abroad, the hero, governor of the gods .......
Notes.

4. Cf. the annals of Aṣṣurnaṣirpal, W.A.I. i. 17, 3, ilu ša ina balušu purussat šamič iršītim la ipparsu.

5. nuri la namar. This amendment I propose with great hesitation. The form of the phrase nuri la namar 'the lights (are) without shining,' that is 'shine not' would be parallel to that of such familiar expressions as rubū la šanan 'a prince without an equal,' ašar la amaru 'a place that is not seen.'

6. ana murim, etc. This phrase also occurs in the annals of Aṣṣurnaṣirpal, l.c. 2. My rendering is conjectural; but that the root idea of murim is that of 'shutting' or 'making fast' is evident from the following glosses: W.A.I. ii. 23, 19, [ descon掇ible characters ] mu-rim ba-a-bi=da-al-tum (a door), l.c. 33, [ descon掇ible characters ] mu-rim daatl=nu-ku-šu-u (the hinge?). Cf. Arab. مَراً 'to twist a rope tight, mend.'


8. maššū. It is difficult to determine whether the ductus literarum points to + 𒈹𒇶₇₄ maššū or to + 𒈹 maššū as the true reading. The difference, however, appears to be only one of form. For the meaning cf. W.A.I. iv. 27, 63a, bēlum napūšti mātī massū šamič u iršītim, 'O Lord, the life of the land, the hero of heaven and earth' (Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 498), and W.A.I. ii. 47, 15a, where 𒈹𒇶₇₄ maššū ašaridu.
II.

At the end of the monolith-inscription of Šamši-Rammân III., King of Assyria, there is mention made of a Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi, upon whom the king, in the course of his campaign in Chaldæa and Babylonia, inflicted a signal defeat. This Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi, who may be inferred—though he is not expressly stated—to have been King of Babylon, has been generally identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the inscription before us, and—in the absence of any more precise indications from other quarters—we have thus a fixed point from which to determine its date more or less closely, for it was in the year 812 B.C. that Šamši-Rammân made the expedition against Babylon, which ended, as it seems, with the overthrow of Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi.

The inscription covers the face of a small oval black stone, evidently a land-mark. At the top are three divine emblems of the kind usually found on these monuments, while the middle of the face is adorned with a rudely executed bas-relief representing the "dagger-bearer" and—presumably—his royal patron. The lines are separated by division-marks, and the characters, with few exceptions, are as clumsily formed and executed as the figures. The text, though it runs in the conventional style, is difficult, owing to the occurrence here and there of unusual terms and expressions.

The stone was found by Mr. Rassam at Abu Habba, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Text.

1. $\text{\textcircled{a}} \text{\textcircled{b}} \text{\textcircled{c}} \text{\textcircled{d}} \text{\textcircled{e}} \text{\textcircled{f}} \text{\textcircled{g}}$

2. $\text{\textcircled{h}} \text{\textcircled{i}} \text{\textcircled{j}} \text{\textcircled{k}} \text{\textcircled{l}} \text{\textcircled{m}}$

3. $\text{\textcircled{n}} \text{\textcircled{o}} \text{\textcircled{p}} \text{\textcircled{q}} \text{\textcircled{r}} \text{\textcircled{s}} \text{\textcircled{t}}$
4. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
5. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
6. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
7. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
8. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
9. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
10. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
11. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
12. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
13. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
14. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
15. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
16. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
17. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
18. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
19. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]
20. \[ \text{[cuneiform characters]} \]

Transliteration.
1. Šal-mu Rammānu-ētir naš patri Marduk
2. um-mat Sin Šamsi u Nergal
3. pa-liḫ Nabû u Marduk ka-rib
4. šarri bēli-šu Marduk-balaṭ-su-iḳ-bi
5. apil-šu rabu-u ēpuš-ma
6. a-na ša-at ū-mē
7. a-na zir-šu u pir'i-šu
8. u-kin
9. man-nu arku-u
10. ša šal-mu
11. u narû
12. an-na-a
13. ub-ba-tu
14. lu-u ina
15. ši-pir ni-kil-tu u-ḫal-la-ḫu
16. Marduk bèlu rabu-u iz-zi-îš
17. lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu u zir-šu
18. lu-ḫal-liḳ Nabû dup-šar gim-ri
19. mênûti ūmē-šu arkûti kabûti
20. na-šir-šu la-li-ē balatî luš-bi

**Translation.**

1. The image of Rammânu-ēṭir, priest of Marduk,
2. worshipper of Sin, Śamaš and Nergal,
3. who fears Nabû and Marduk (the god) who blesses the
   sacrifice of
4. the king, his lord, Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi,
5. his eldest son made, and
6. for the eternity of days,
7. for his seed and his offspring,
8. set up.
9. Whoever hereafter
10. the image
11. and inscription,
12. this one,
13. overthrows,
14. or with
15. work of cunning destroys,
16. may Marduk, the great lord, in anger
17. look upon him, and his name and his seed
18. destroy! Nabû, the scribe of the universe,
19. (through) numbers of his days long (and) large
20. protecting him, with the fulness of life may he be filled!
Notes.

1. *naš paṭri*, literally ‘dagger-bearer,’ was the priest whose duty it was to cut out those portions of the victim which belonged to the gods, and to offer them up in their presence. Besides the ecclesiastical there was also a military order of *naš paṭrūtu*. See Jeremias in Delitzsch’s *Beiträge*, I. p. 289, and Tallqvist, *Babylonische Schenkungsbrieve*, p. 23.

2. *ummat*. The reading here is not certain, for the character which I have taken for *um* is somewhat defaced. Moreover there seems to be no other instance in Babylonian or Assyrian of *ummat, ummatu* with the meaning which from its position in the sentence it ought to have here, viz. that of ‘priest’ or ‘worshipper.’ Nevertheless, if the reading be correct, I venture to regard it as the Babylonian equivalent of the Arabic *ṣālī*, which, among other meanings, is said to have that of *sectator* and *summus sacerdos*.

3. *karib* I take to be an epithet of Marduk ‘the god of sacrifice,’ or ‘the god who blesses the sacrifice.’ The word occurs several times as a divine name or epithet in the Babylonian contracts published by Peiser, and always in connection with Marduk or his temple: e.g. *isku* (*išu*) *karib bābi papaḫu* Marduk (*Babylonische Verträge*, xxviii. 5), *pān* (*išu*) *karibi ina* *Ešaggil bit Marduk* (*ib*. lxiii. 2). In all such cases Peiser renders it by ‘Opfergott.’

19. My rendering of this difficult line is only conjectural. The character which has the form of *mē* on the stone seems in reality to be the plural-sign. The reading of the character printed as ꞄCAL is not quite certain, for just above it—and underneath the *šar* of the preceding line—there is a seemingly superfluous wedge, which, although other characters have taken unusual forms on this monument, makes it a matter of some difficulty.
to understand the intention of the scribe. However, if KIL-MEŠ be the true reading, it looks as if it should form a parallel to the BU-MEŠ which immediately precedes, and, as a matter of fact, KIL itself is quoted with the meaning of *arāku* (W.A.I. iii. 61, 2, 30). For KIL as representing *kabāru, kabru*, see Brünnow, *List*, p. 413.

[The above two articles were sent in in December, 1891, but their publication was unavoidably delayed.—Rh. D.]
III.

The following inscription is on a fragment of a cylinder of clay, brought by Mr. Rassam from Babylon, and now (Rm. III. 105) in the British Museum.

It is unfortunately too mutilated to enable us to gain more than a general idea of its meaning, and the style, even of the parts which remain, is often obscure and difficult. It was written by or for a certain Nabû-šumu-imbi, who, in addition to various ecclesiastical titles, calls himself šašu, or governor of Borsippa.

The first column opens with an invocation, in which, in the present state of the text, it is difficult to find and follow the main thread, or to distinguish the gods directly addressed from those incidentally mentioned. We then learn that an important work (probably a dam or embankment), which the negligence of certain officers had allowed to fall into decay, was taken in hand and restored by Nabû-šumu-imbi.

The narrative now passes abruptly to the main incident. In the reign of Nabû-šumu-isḵun, the king, son of Dakuri, the men of Babylon, in alliance, as it seems, with Chaldæans, Arameans, and the men of Dilbat, attacked the men of Borsippa, and a riot ensued, the disturbance lasting for many days. Borsippa was captured, and the house of Nabû-šumu-imbi surrounded by the hostile party. Prominent in the ranks of the insurgents was the šalam or judge of Ėzida, Nabû-šumu-iddina. In fact, it seems certain from what remains of the end of Col. I. that he must have taken advantage of the state of confusion to seize the governorship of Borsippa. Though there is not enough of the record to enable us to tell precisely how the matter ended, still the accent of gratitude and confidence that marks the final address to the gods leaves no doubt that the situation was eventually solved to the satisfaction of Nabû-šumu-imbi.¹

¹ The end, like the beginning, of the inscription is sadly mutilated, so much so that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the subject is a male or a female divinity.
In order to fix the date of these interesting events, there is one point of fact from which we can start, and that is the mention of the king Nabû-šumu-iskun. Now the only king of Babylon of that name otherwise known to us was a contemporary of Rammân-nirâri II., king of Assyria, that is, he must have lived about 890 B.C., and there is nothing either in the style or in the matter of the document before us to disturb the conclusion that this is the king referred to. The fact that he is called *apil Dakuri* probably means simply that he came from Bit Dakuri, or the northern part of Chaldaea.

In the same way the phrase *apil Assur* seems to suggest that, in spite of the genuinely Babylonian ring of his name, Nabû-šumu-imbi was of Assyrian extraction. For we know that the overthrow of Nabû-šumu-iskun by Rammân-nirâri was followed by a period of close intimacy and alliance between the peoples of Babylon and Assyria; and it may be that Nabû-šumu-imbi had profited by his Assyrian extraction or his Assyrian leanings, and that some such cause as this provoked the outbreak of the men of Babylon.

The inscription is now published for the first time.

**Text.**

1. [Cuneiform symbols]

2. [Cuneiform symbols]

3. [Cuneiform symbols]

4. [Cuneiform symbols]
8. ........ ᖃ-sag-ila bēl gim-ri šit-lu-tu na-ram Marduk
9. Asa-ri aplu rišt-tu a-ša-rīd a-lik maḥ-ri ša it-ti a-bi
    a-li-di ........... ša-ti
10. ........ [dān] īlānī šar īlānī rabūti ša ī-na ši-taš
    u šil-la-an-šu
11. ............ ma-lik ram-ni-šu li-ḵu-u un-ni-
    ni šē-mu-u taš-li-ti rap-šu uz-[ni] .....
12. ............ ti-šu ka-bit-ti Igīgī ap-pi i-lab-bi-nu-šu
    A-nun-na-ki
13. ............ mē-lam ēllūtī ḫa-lib na-mur-ra-ti ša pul-ḫa-
    a-ti ma-lu ........
14. ............ šu i-šak-ka-nu šib-ṭu u Lubaru (?)
    la i-šak ........
15. ............ u-a la-li ina ḫar-ba-a-ti mu-al-līd ....
16. ............ ti ša-ki-nu zāzu duḥ-da u meš-ri-ē a ..
17. ............ īlānī rabūti ............
18. ............ u-šam-mi-ḫi ............
19. ............ la iš-ša-an-na-ni ............
20. ............ ti ma ............

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

1. šu-tē-šur ni-[ši] ........
2. a-na Bar-sip ............
3. i-šad-di-ḫi u-ru-ḫi ........
4. aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti ........
5.1 u-raš ta-na-da-ti si-ma ........
6. ša aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti i-na ........
7. i-ḫu-pu-u-mi i-ni-šu il ........... ēn
8. ša ul-tu ū-mi pa-ni ul-tu ul-la-nu-u a ša-ḵu ƙi-pi ........
9. la i-pu-šu śip-ri šu-a-ti ia-a-ši Nabū-šumu-im-bi apil
    Aš ............
10. ni-sak-ki tu-bit Nabū ša-ḵu Bar-sip du-uš-mu-u pa-liḥ
    īlu-u-ti-šu
11. ra-bi-ti na-an-za-az maḥ-ri-šu ri-du-u mut-nin-nu-u
12. ša a-na pa-ra-aš Nabū bēl mātātī bēlī i-ši-bu tuḳ-ḵu
    sa-an-tak

1 In lines 5 and 6 the characters āi-ma and ā-na are no longer to be found upon
the cylinder in its present state. I have restored them from a copy of the first
column of this text made some years ago by Mr. Pinches.
13. šip-ri ša-a-ši u-ka-a-an-ni-mi u-šad-gil pa-ni-ia
14. šip-ri ša-a-ši u-šar-ri-i-mi ē-pi-šu ak-bi īš-ša-ak-na-a-mi
15. i-na Barsip maḫaz kit-ti u mi-ša-ri-ē ša-a-ti ri-ḫa-a-ti si-ḫi
16. u mal-ma (?) ša-a-ti i-na pali-ē Nabû-šumu-īš-kun šarri apil Da-ku-ri
17. amēlūti Bābili amēlūti Bar-sip maḫaz gup-tē-ē-ti kišad Purātu
18. gab-bi Kal-di A-ra-mi Dil-bat ūmē ma'-du-u-ti
19. a-na lib-bi a-ḫa-meš kakki-šu-nu i-šē-ēl-li a-ḫa-meš u-ra-sa-a-pu
20. u it-ti amēlūti Bar-sip i-na ēli iḵli-šu-nu ip-pu-šu šu-la-a-ti
22. na ram-ni-šu i-na ēli Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil Assûr ša-ḫu Bar-sip iš-kun

COL. II.
1. i-na ša mu-ši ki-ma šar-ra-ki-īš nak-ri a-ḫa Ḥa ....
2. za-ma-nu-u lim-nu-u-ti su-ku-ku-u-ti la šē-mi-ia si-ik ....
3. a-na Ė-zi-da u-tir-mi Ė-zi-da u Bar-sip ....
4. iš-ba-tu-mi ēli ālu u ē-kur ri-ig-mi u ši ....
5. iš-kun-u-mi ip-pu-šu šu-la-a-ti u bit Nabû-šumu
6. ša-ḫu Bar-sip i-na mu-ši šu-mi amēlūti Bar-sip u ....
7. ša a-na ri-ṣu-ut a-ḫa-meš iz-zi-zu il-mu-u-mi ina mid-pa-na ....
8. a-di na-pa-ḫi Šam-ši ip-pu-šu ta-nu-ka-a-ti ul-tu li ....
9. a-di na-pa-ḫi Šam-ši Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil Assûr-ša-ḫu Bar [-sip]
10. ti u-ṣal-li Nabû ki-šu-šu-u-a (?) ia'-nu
11. .........

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.
1. ......... ru-bu .........
2. ......... si nu-uḫ-ši .........
3. ......... šu-u ti-ra-a-nu aš-ruk .........
5. li-ḫi-šu [na]-an-za-az maḫ
6. ti-šu ra-bi-ti liḫ-bu
7. lim-gur sa-li-mi dumku
8. ruk-šu u a-na kiš-ti
9. (meš) bê-lit Ištarâti
10. il-ti rim-ni-ti ba-na
11. mit-gu-rat a-šu-râti ši-it
12. la in-nin-nu-u ki [-bit-su?]
13. i-na ma-ḫar pa-ri-is purûsu šam-ê u
14. apil Bêli ū-mi-šam lit-taš-šar a-bu
15. lu-u uš-sip (meš) arḫûti šanâti
16. ba-lat na [-piš?] na ši-rik-ti
17. pir'û lu-u
18. i-na é-kal ku mit-gu-rat
19. it-ti ê Bar-šip li-ku-un ri [-u-tu?]
20. li-ти-ib šu éli šar ilâni bêl bêl rišit
21. u Bar-sip na ma-ḫar Nabû u Na-na-a ilâni šur-bu [-ti]
22. liš-ba-a lit i-na ša-aš-mi ḫab-li taḫazi dan-nu
23. ša-a-ši pir'û šu-a-šu ri-šu-us-si a-la-ki šum-kut nak-(?)
24. zâzu ma hêgallu ma'-da li-ma-al-la-ḫaṭâ-šu
25. u i-na Lubâru šal-ba-bi apil Bêl ra-a-mi ga
26. paṭ-ri el-la-tê-šu sa-lim-ti lu-sa-ak-na-si a-bi-šu
27. pul ki-ma la'-mi ilu-u-ti-ku-nu u lib-bi [-ku-
28. a-na nišê (?) dar-ka-a-ti at-ta mi-ên lu tuk-la-šu
29. i-bi šu-uš-šu a-na ū-mi da-ru-u-ti ta-nit-ti
30. ḫi-ḫi-šu šu-li-ē ša Nabû-šumu-im-bi ša-šu Bar-sip
31. mu-šar ša aš-ruk-ka-ti ša du-ru Ė-zi-da
Translation.

COL. I.

1. the dwelling of the powerful one, Nabû, who like the lord.

2. the gracious lady, who establishes the Ištars, queen of mansions, the mighty one of the whole,

3. NIN-IB, lord of vision, who in the presence of the gods all of them has gone (his) way,

4. the powerful gods, the exalted one, beloved of Řa,

5. (lord of) wisdom and decrees, who proclaims commands,

6. kingship, ruler of the whole, who gives the sceptre, the throne and the reign, the crown of kingship,

7. NIN-IB, the powerful, the rightful son, offspring of the princess of the gods Zarpanit,

8. Řasagila, lord of the whole, victorious, beloved of Marduk,

9. Asari, the chief son, the leader going before, who with (his) father, (his) begetter.

10. judge of the gods, king of the great gods, who in his rising and going down.

11. counsellor of himself (?), receiver of sighs, hearer of prayers, broad of ear.

12. soul, the Igīgi bowed down their faces before him, the Anunnaki.

13. the lustre of the shining ones, covered with brightness, who is full of terror.

14. established the sceptre.

15. enjoyment (?) in the midst (?) begetting.

16. making overflow, abundance and righteousness.

17. the great gods.
CONTINUATION OF COL. 1.

1. ruling the people
2. to Borsippa
3. enters the way
4. this dam (?)
5. the crown of glory, the insignia
6. of this dam
7. decayed, grew weak
8. which from former days, from beyond me, the governor, the overseer
9. did not do:—this work I Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur, governor of Borsippa,
10. the prince, tu-bit of Nabû, lord of Borsippa, the opulent one, who fears his great godhead,
11. who stands before him, the ruler, the prayerful,
12. who according to the command of Nabû, lord of the lands, the lord, the prince, (is) regular in devotion (?)
13. this work I established, I entrusted to myself,
14. this work I laid the foundation of, I made, I spake, (and) it came to pass.
15. In Borsippa, this city of justice and righteousness, (there were) destruction (and) rebellion,
16. and this siege (?)—In the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun the king, the son of Dakuri,
17. the men of Babylon, the men of Borsippa, the city of the joining together of the banks of the Euphrates:
18. the whole of the Chaldeans, the Arameans, the men of Dilbat, for many days
19. at one another their weapons they discharged, one another they wounded,
20. and with the men of Borsippa upon their fields they made war.
21. Nabû-šumu-iddina, son of Dannaḫ, tubṭt of Nabû, judge of Řzida,
22. himself over against Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur governor of Borsippa made.

COL. II.

1. In the midst of the night like (?), foes
2. the adversary, the evil ones (?), those who were not obedient to me
3. to Řzida I brought back, Řzida and Borsippa
4. they took: over the city and the temple a din and
5. they made, they made war, and the house of Nabû-šumu-[imbi?]
6. lord of Borsippa, in the night those men of Borsippa and
7. who to help one another stood, they besieged, with the bow and
8. until the rising of the sun they made war, from (the evening?)
9. until the rising of the sun Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur, governor of Borsippa
10. entreated Nabû (?)

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

1. blessing
2. graciousness
3. Nabû-šumu-imbi, son of Aššur, governor of Borsippa
4. in front of him (?), who stands in his presence
5. his great godhead, may he speak
6. may he be gracious, favour, mercy
7. [may he bestow] upon him, and for a guerdon

J.R.A.S. 1892.
9. lady of the Istars
10. the gracious goddess, who creates
11. the propitious, the noble lady of the rising [of the sun]
12. whose command is not to be resisted
13. in the presence of who makes the decrees of heaven [and earth]
14. son of Bel daily may he speak on behalf of
15. may he increase two-fold long years
16. preservation of life as a gift
17. offspring
18. in the palace propitious
19. with Borsippa may he establish [lordship]
20. may it be good towards the king of the gods, the lord of lords, the chief of
21. and Borsippa in the presence of Nabû and Nanâ the great gods
22. may he be satisfied with offspring in ruin, fight, battle strong and
23. [may] she [upon] this [her] descendant her help [bestow?] when he goes to destroy [his enemies?]
24. with fulness and abundance amply may she fill his hands
25. and with Lubâru (?) the son of Bel, who loves
26. [with] the sword of his might in safety may he subdue his evil foes
27. fear (?) like (?) your godhead and your heart
28. for future people mayest thou whoever thou art his strength
29. proclaim his name during everlasting days, (his) majesty
30. his prayers, the petitions of Nabû-šumu-imbi, governor of Borsippa.
31. The inscription of the dam of the wall of Ėzida.

Notes.

Col. I.

1. For this form of Nabû see, e.g. W.A.I. iv. 20, 3, 7.
3. →|| ṣī | 𒉗𒇝 is the god of the South or midday sun, according to W.A.I. ii. 57, 51c, a form of NIN-IB.
4. ašrukkatì I have translated doubtfully by 'dam.' The text is unfortunately in too mutilated a condition to enable us to determine inferentially the nature of the work referred to. In point of form ašrukkatì looks like a feminine plural of ašruku, of which, however, I am acquainted with no other instance. In W.A.I. ii. 29, 69 the similar form ašurakku appears as the explanation of | 𒈇𒇝𒉗 and in connection with the words mulû ‘mound,’ muṣpalû ‘depression,’ and ṣuplu ‘hole.’
5. That urâš means some kind of garment, perhaps a headdress or crown, is clear from the following glosses:—
W.A.I. v. 28, 60 ṣu-bat a-riš-ti; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59 ṣu-bat a-riš-ti; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59 ṣu-bat a-riš-ti; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59 ṣu-bat a-riš-ti; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59 ṣu-bat a-riš-ti.

7. ȋkūpūmi. The verbal forms in mi are a peculiar feature of this text. The suffix mi seems to correspond to the ni which, as a sort of modal sign, is not uncommon in verbal forms, especially in the language of the letters; but the exact meaning of which is difficult to determine or to express. Cf. e.g. K 613 rev. 23–28 (W.A.I. v. 54, 2), a-bu-tu ša u-du-u-ni | a-na šarri bēli-ia | as-sa-qa-ra | šarru bēli | ki-i ša i-la-u-ni | li-pu-uš, 'the intelligence which I know to the king my lord I send, may the king my lord according as he wills do.' On the other hand in ʿukānnimī (line 13) we seem to have a combination of the elements ni and mi.

10. The tu-bitu was some kind of temple official. Of the character of his functions nothing is known, though it is clear from contracts that have come down to us that certain dues were claimed by the tu-bitu as by the naš-pañri. See e.g. Peiser, Babylonische Verträge, xci. I suggest that the characters should be read ērīb bitu as the title of the priest who in the discharge of his functions introit ad altare dei. Cf. Strassmaier, A.V. 1114, where (s.v. tumalutu) mention is quoted of (amēlu) ērīb bitūtu pān Bēli, etc.

dušmū, if that be the true reading, I propose to connect with Arab. ʿat. 'the opulent of the earth.' Cf. Heb. מַעֲלֶה יְהוָה as in 'the opulent of the earth.'

12. tukku might be explained formally as the permansive of tikū, whence we have the verbal noun seen in the phrases tik riḫī (Tiglathpileser I., Col. I., 42), tik šamič (Sargon, Nimrud, 15). In each of these places, however, tik must mean
something like 'stroke, impetus,' which does not throw much light on the present passage. In point of meaning the conditions of the problem would be satisfied, if we could assume a connection with the Arab. تَّرُبُ 'fear of god,' تَّرُبُ 'pious.' For santak in the sense of 'regular, regularly,' see J.R.A.S. (July, 1891).

14. uṣarr̄mi, perhaps for uṣar'i 'I laid the foundation of,' as in the phrase išisu apsā uṣar'imma, Nebuchadnezzar, Col. II. 23 (Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte). Cf. also Aṣurnaširpal, II. 87, ešal ina Tilûli ušarri, which Peiser (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, I. p. 86) translates by 'in den Palast in Tilûli zog ich ein.'

15 and 16. These lines are extremely difficult owing, in the first place, to the redundance of šāṭi, and, in the second, to the obscurity of the words riḥāti and 𒈗 riḥāti. I connect with the rt. riḥu 'to destroy.' See Zimmerm, Busspsalmen, pp. 83, 93. Perhaps it should be taken closely with siḫi so that the phrase would mean 'the destruction (or suppression) of the revolt.' Of 𒈗 the reading is quite uncertain. I can only suggest that in view of Col. II. 1. 7 it may be connected with lamū according to the type ܒܫאמ.

17. maḫaz guptēti. The following gloss (W.A.I. ii. 39, 49 and 50) may throw some light on this difficult passage: ∑ | gup-pu-tu (l. 50) compared with l. 49, pu-ḫu-ri 𒈗 | pu-ḫu-ḫu-rum. If these comparisons are valid, guptēti would seem to be a feminine abstract with the meaning of puḫru i.e. 'bringing together, uniting.'

20. šulāti, from a root šašušu (σαλτ) (?), whence come šaltu, šélātu šiltu, to which last our form is perhaps related as šubātu to šibtu.
6. šumi seems to stand for šunu. See note on Col. I. (cont.), l. 7.

8. tanukāti. Perhaps connected with tukumtu, pl. tuḫmātē.

10. The characters which I have read doubtfully as kišušūa are almost obliterated. Mr. Pinches thinks that the true reading is ḫašušūa. In either case I am unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation.

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

5. liḫišu. If this be the true reading, cf. the root 𒈹 seen in the phrase ina laḫ eḫišu, W.A.I. v. 9, 107.

11. ᵪ₃ I have read doubtfully as akurrit, regarding it as the construct of the fem. of aḫru, which we find explained by ʾītu (W.A.I. II. 1, 172–3) and ašaridu (W.A.I. iv. 70, 17).

14. I restore littaškar abūtu as a phrase equivalent in meaning to the more usual līšbat abūtu.

15. Ṣ is plainly to be restored after Ṣ.

26. lušaknaši for lušaknaši.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The following five interesting letters (Nos. 1–5) have appeared in the Academy:—

1. The New Bilingual Hittite Inscription.
   Dahabiyeh Istar, Cairo,
   Dec. 28, 1891.

   The Hittite cylinder, of which the Ashmolean Museum has become the fortunate possessor, is, next to the lost boss of Tarkondemos, the most important monument of the kind yet discovered. It was found in Kilikia, and is of haematite. The figures and characters upon it are exquisitely engraved; indeed, from a merely artistic point of view, it is one of the finest cylinders with which I am acquainted. For me, however, the interest of the cylinder chiefly lies in the fact that the four Hittite hieroglyphs inscribed upon it are accompanied by three lines of cuneiform, and that this new "bilingual" confirms in a very gratifying way my system of Hittite decipherment.

   The cuneiform characters, which resemble those found on certain of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, read "Indisilim the son of Serdamu, the worshipper of the goddess Iskhara." After the cuneiform inscription come the figures of the owner of the cylinder and of a deity. The owner stands with an offering in his hand; behind the deity, who is also standing with outstretched arms, are the four Hittite hieroglyphs of which I have spoken.

   The last two of them occur on another haematite seal found in Kilikia, and now in the Ashmolean Museum, upon
which a paper of mine was published two years ago. I there showed that, if my system of Hittite decipherment is correct, they must represent the name of a goddess whose figure appears upon the seal. The cylinder of Indisilim proves that the name is that which was pronounced Iskhara in Assyrian.

Before the name of the goddess come two hieroglyphs, the second of which I cannot identify in spite of repeated examinations. It may be intended for the arm with a dagger in the hand, in which case it would signify "great." But it has more resemblance to the character which in Old Egyptian represented a "district." The first hieroglyph is the goat's head (tarku), which I have shown elsewhere must mean "prince," as it interchanges with the ideograph of "king." Now, in the Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (xiii. 3, 4, p. 160), M. Bouriant has published a corrected copy of the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, which was engraved on the walls of Karnak. We learn from this that the Hittite goddess, invoked by the side of the god Sutetehe, was "Shashkhir, the regent of the mountains." A very slight change in the form of the first character of the name would give us Âshkhir instead of Shashkhir; and it must, therefore, remain doubtful whether the name of the Hittite deity was actually Iskhara, which is given in the cuneiform tablets as the equivalent of the Babylonian Istar, or whether Iskhara is a Babylonian name, which has been assimilated to the Hittite Shashkhir on account of the likeness of sound. In any case, in the goddess of the Kilikian seal we must see the Hittite goddess of the treaty; and since she is there called "the regent of the mountains," we may conjecture that the unidentified second hieroglyph on the cylinder denotes a "mountain," the whole inscription reading "the regent of the mountain-land, Iskhara."

From the Academy,
Jan. 9, 1892.

A. H. Sayce.

Ealing, Feb. 5, 1892.

Sir,—Herewith an anecdote from Burmese literature. I have an idea that the same kind of story has been told of some one else, but cannot recollect where. Perhaps some of your readers may know.

"When Pingala (afterwards Devadatta) reigned in Bārānasi, the most excellent lord (Gotama Buddha) was his son. As Rāja Pingala was very gruff in his mode of addressing people, his subjects did not love him, and prayed for his speedy removal.

"When Pingala died, and the future Buddha had ascended the throne, he observed one of the doorkeepers weeping. On asking why he wept, the man replied: 'Dear son, I do not weep because I loved your late father; but he used such bad language in this life, that I feel sure that if he does the same in hell King Yama will not be able to keep him, but let him go, and he will come back to this world. That is why I weep.'" (From the "Maniratanapōn").

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

3. A Burmese Anecdote.

Dedham School, Essex,
Feb. 16, 1892.

Sir,—"A Burmese Anecdote" quoted by Mr. R. F. St. A. St. John in the Academy of February 13, forms part of the Mahāpingala-jātaka (Fausböll i, vol. ii. pp. 240-242), and was translated into English in the Folk Lore Journal by the writer of this note.

It was not Pingala's rough language, but his cruel deeds, that made his subjects rejoice at the accession of a new king. The porter, whose head had now some rest from his late master's blacksmith-like fist, wept, because he feared that Hell's warders and even Yama himself would get a taste of the departed king's mighty blows upon their pates, and unable to endure them, would release him, and bring him
back to this life. Buddha comforts the porter by telling him that those who had gone to another world will not return in "the body" to this world.

R. Morris.

4. THE BEGINNINGS OF PERSIAN HISTORY.

Athenæum Club, S.W.,
Feb. 15, 1892.

Sir,—The publication of another volume of the "Records of the Past" is a welcome incident for those students who like to unravel the intricacies of early history, and have not the advantage of being able to read the Egyptian and Assyrian records in the original. Perhaps you will allow me to comment on some problems which have suggested themselves in reading the inscriptions referring to Cyrus published in Prof. Sayce's new volume.

Cyrus calls himself in his own inscriptions King of Ansan or Anzan, and the same title is given to him in the inscription of Nabonidus from Sippara. The name Ansan has given rise to a sharp polemic—Oppert, Winckler, and Nöldeke denying, and Rawlinson, Sayce, Halévy, and others affirming, that it means simply Elam, which itself means The Highlands. It seems to me that the latter view is established beyond all doubt, and Prof. Sayce's arguments are conclusive. Among them is a quotation from a lexical tablet, published in the second volume of The Inscriptions of Western Asia (xlvii. 18), in which Ansan is distinctly given as the equivalent of Elam.

That Cyrus should style himself King of Elam was a startling revelation to some people, and yet it was not so strange after all. The Elamites\(^1\) or "mountaineers" styled themselves, as we learn from the second column in the Achaemenian inscriptions, Hapirdi. This was converted by the Greeks into Ἀμάρδος or Μάρδος, just as they converted the Persian Bardhiya and the Babylonian Burziya into

\(^1\) The Semites so called them, whence their Greek name of Elymeans.
\( \Sigma \mu \rho \delta \varsigma \) or \( \Delta \rho \delta \varsigma \), both names meaning simply the Mard or Bard. The native name of the Elamites, therefore, was the Bards or Mards (see Halévy, *Babylonian Record*, iv. 76).

Now, Ctesias, among his many blundering statements, distinctly calls Cyrus the son of a Mardian robber; and Herodotus and others had already told us that he called his eldest son \( \Delta \rho \delta \varsigma \) or the Mard, while he repeatedly tells us that Susa was the capital of the Achaemenian kings. There were ample reasons, therefore, for suspecting a close connexion between Cyrus and Elam.

The fact that he should call himself King of Ansan was, nevertheless, remarkable. That he and his people were Persians there can be no doubt whatever; and Darius, who claims to descend from the same stock, styles himself distinctly an Aryan and a Persian. On the other hand, the Elamites or Mards were neither Persians nor Aryans. Their language and their race were not even Indo-European. It follows that Elam must at some date have been conquered by the Persians, whose king then took the name of King of Ansan or Elam. This seems clear. When, then, did this conquest take place? Cyrus in his cylinder inscription calls himself the son of Cambyses the great king, the king of the city of Ansan; the grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Ansan; and grandson of Tsaispis the great king, king of the city of Ansan (see his Cylinder Inscriptions, l. 21).

This inscription seems to establish two facts: first, the trustworthiness of the descent of Cyrus and Darius as given by Herodotus, with which it completely agrees; and the worthlessness of the statements of Ctesias on the same subject, when he calls Cyrus the son of Athadates, a Mardian brigand, and Argosti, a goat-herd. In the second place, it points to the fact that the Persian conquest of Ansan or Elam took place at least as early as the time of Tsaispis, or Teispes, as Herodotus calls him; and it seems very probable that Tsaispis was the first Persian leader who occupied it. This was suggested by E. Meyer in his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, and supported by an ingenious argument which does not
seem to have been noticed by English writers, although it
throws an interesting light on the prophecies of Jeremiah
and Ezekiel.

Jeremiah, prophesying at the beginning of the reign of
Jehoiakim, i.e. about 604 B.C., still recognizes kings of Elam
(c. xxv., v. 25). Prophesying again, at the beginning of the
reign of Zedekiah, i.e. about 596, he writes:

"The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet
concerning Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah,
king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold,
I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And
upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four
quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those
winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of
Elam shall not come; and I will cause Elam to be dismayed
before their enemies, and before them that seek their life;
and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith
the Lord; and I will send the sword after them, till I have
consumed them; and I will set my throne in Elam, and will
destroy from thence king and princes, saith the Lord. But it
shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring again
the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord." (Jeremiah xliv.
34-39).

A few years later, namely, in the twelfth year after
Jehoiakim had been carried away, i.e. in 586 B.C., we find
Ezekiel writing:

"The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of
the midst of hell with them that help him, they are gone
down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword. Ashur is
there. . . .: There is Elam and all her multitude round about
her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are
gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth,
which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet they
have borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.
They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her
multitude; her graves are round about him, all of them
uncircumcised, slain by the sword; though their terror was
caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their
shame with them that go down to the pit; he is put in the midst of them that be slain” (Jeremiah xxxii. 24, 25).

These passages have been understood to refer to the campaigns of Assurbanipal against Elam; but this is impossible. Assurbanipal had then been dead some time. His reign extended from 668 to 626; nor did he destroy the kingdom as is implied in the prophecies. They evidently, as Meyer urges, contemplated the annihilation of the nation, which only followed on its conquest by the Persians; and this probably took place about 596 B.C.

Having approximately fixed the date of the conquest of Elam, the next point that suggests itself for inquiry is, whence did the invading Persians come? This question involves difficulties, and is perhaps fruitful of some suggestions which I will reserve for another letter.

H. H. Howorth.

5. The Hundred and Tenth Psalm.

Oriental MSS. Department, British Museum,
Feb. 14, 1892.

Sir,—While reflecting on the date of Psalm cx. with the Hebrew text before me, it struck me that the psalm contains an acrostic, and that the name embodied in it is no other than that of Simon, Hebrew שמעון. The ש is the first letter in the word יביו, which begins the oracle in v. 1; and the headings of the next three verses—viz. ימעון, ימער, ימעיה—complete the name שמעון.

If this be so, the theory (lately advocated with so much force by Prof. Cheyne in his Bampton Lectures) that Simon the Maccabee was the person originally addressed in Psalm cx. would appear to receive a striking confirmation from an entirely unexpected quarter. After the introductory phrase, “The oracle of Yahweh to my lord,” the psalmist, bearing the name of his lord vividly in mind, proceeds to weave that name, by means of an acrostic, into the divine oracle itself; and one almost
hears the psalmist say, "The oracle of Yahweh to my lord, even to Simon: Sit thou on my right hand. . . . . ."

It would not be very difficult to make more or less plausible guesses as to the acrostic nature of the first letters of the remaining three verses, viz. the letters בִּנָּ. but, considering that competent critics look upon this part of the psalm as manifestly incomplete, the difficulty of finding a perfectly satisfactory solution for the בִּנָּ is at once explained. In fact, the break in the acrostic appears to confirm the theory that the latter half of the psalm is incomplete, and the theory of incompleteness may in its turn be held to confirm the acrostic theory. For, if the second part of the psalm wants a verse or two (more likely one than two), the acrostic must be imperfect also; and, as the theory of incompleteness and the acrostic theory have been proposed in perfect independence of one another, the fact of their mutual confirmation should appear to be of considerable importance.

With regard to the theological question involved in this subject, it is perhaps best to quote the well-weighed words of Prof. Driver in his "Introduction" to the Literature of the Old Testament, in a note on p. 363, where he says that the cogency of our Lord's well-known argument based on this psalm "is unimpaired, so long as it is recognized that the psalm is a Messianic one, and that the august language used in it of the Messiah is not compatible with the position of one who was a mere human son of David."

A very eminent Biblical critic, to whom I made a private communication on the acrostic, before making it public, has drawn my attention to the fact that the idea of acrostic psalms in general had occurred to Bickell (see his Conspicuum sui Syrorum Literarum, p. 20), and also to the late much lamented Lagarde (see Academy, January 1, 1872). It will probably be worth while, on a future occasion, to review the observations made by these great scholars, and to make further investigations into the subject.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.
6—Yüan Chwang or Hiouen Thsang?

The name of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and translator is spelt in English in the following ways (among others):—

2. Mr. Mayers. Huan Chwang.
3. Mr. Wylie. Yuén Chwang.
5. Prof. Legge. Hsüan Chwang.

Sir Thomas Wade has been kind enough to explain this diversity in the following note:—

"The pilgrim's family name was 隈, now pronounced ch't'ên, but more anciently ch't'in. His 'style' (official or honorary title) appears to have been both written 玄 and 元. In modern Pekinese these would read in my transliteration (which is that here adopted by Dr. Legge)—

1 hsüan chuang.
2 yüan chuang.

The French still write for these two characters—

1 hiouen thsang,
2 youan thsang,

following the orthography of the Romish Missionaries, Premare and others, which was the one adapted to English usage by Dr. Morrison. I doubt, pace Dr. Edkins, that we are quite sure of the contemporary pronunciation, and should prefer, therefore, myself, to adhere to the French Hiouen, seeing that this has received the sanctification of Julien's well-known translation of the pilgrim's travels."

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2 Fa.Hien, p. 83, etc.
3 Catalogue, p. 425.
It is quite clear from the above that in the Chinese pronunciation of the first part of the name there is now nothing approaching to an English H. And of course Julien never intended to represent that sound by his transliteration. Initial H being practically silent in French, his Hionen is really equal to Iouen, that is, to what would be expressed by Yuan in the scientific system of transliteration now being adopted for all Oriental languages. But the vowel following the initial letter is like the German ü, or the French u, so that Yuan would, for Indianists, express the right pronunciation of this form of the word. It is particularly encouraging to the important cause of a generally intelligible system of transliteration to find that this is precisely the spelling adopted by Sir Thomas Wade.

This is, however, only one of two apparently equally correct Chinese forms of writing the first half of the name. The initial sound in the other form of the word is unknown in India and England. Sir Thomas Wade was kind enough to pronounce it for me; and it seems to be nearly the German ch (the palatal, not the guttural,—as in Mädchen) or the Spanish x, only more sibilant. It is really first cousin to the Y sound of the other form, being pronounced by a very similar position of the mouth and tongue. If it were represented by the symbol HS (though there is neither a simple h sound nor a simple s sound in it), then a lazy, careless, easy-going HS would tend to fade away into a Y.

The latter half of the name is quite simple for Indianists. Using c for our English ch and ñ for our English ng (ñ or m or m), it would be simply cwān.

Part of the confusion has arisen from the fact that some authors have taken one, and some the other, of the two Chinese forms of the name. The first four of the transliterations given above are based on Sir Thomas Wade’s No. 2, the other two on his No. 1. All, except only that of Mr. Beal, appear to be in harmony with different complete systems of representing Chinese characters in English letters, each of which is capable of defence. The French, not having the sound of our English CH, for instance, have endeavoured
to reproduce it by TS. This may no longer be used even by French scholars; but in Julien's time reasons could be adduced in support of it.

It appears, therefore, that the apparently quite contradictory, and in some part unpronounceable, transliterations of this name, so interesting to students of Indian history, are capable of a complete and satisfactory explanation, and that the name, or rather title, is now in Pekinese—whatever it may have been elsewhere and in the pilgrim's time—Yüan Chwāng.

T. W. Rhys Davids.

7. The Pummelo.

37, Harrington Road, South Kensington,
March 22, 1892.

Dear Sir,—Can any member of your Society throw any light on the origin of the word 'Pummelo'? Its immediate parent is 'Pompelmoes,' by corruption into Pummelnoes or nose! and then making it singular—pummelo. But what of Pompelmoes? It is some Malay or Dutch name given to the large variety of 'Citrus decumana.' I understand that in the Mauritius, or some adjacent island, there is a cape called 'Pompelmoes' point—where the Pumelo is largely grown; but whether the fruit received its name from the cape, or the cape from this kind of fruit grown there, is not clear.

Then there are the Indian 'Sūngtārā' and Kāmālā oranges. Rumphius, 200 years ago, said there were oranges in China called Sēng Kam and Bit Kam. These words appear to have something to do with Sung and Kam of the former. Perhaps some member of your Society may be able to throw some light on these points.—Yours faithfully,

G. Bonavia.
8. The Kammavācās.

Hampstead, March 21, 1892.

Dear Professor,—In the last number of the "Journal" I had occasion to notice the fact of the sudden introduction of Burmese into the Pāli text of the Kammavācās. Since writing that article I have had the opportunity of studying a MS. in which whole sentences in Burmese follow the Pāli (not, of course, in the way of Nissaya, that is common enough).

Being on paper made from the bark of the mulberry and opening both ways, this MS. has, at first sight, all the appearance of an ordinary Shan book, but in reality it consists of a Collection of Kammavācās in Pāli and of Instructions to the Shin (Sāmaṇera) and Pyin Shin (Upasampanno) in Burmese, together with a few final directions in Shan.

The order of the Kammavācās differing from that of the other MSS., it may be well to mention it:—

1. Upasampadā.
2. Saṅghādisesa (Suddhantaparivāsa, chāratta, abbhāna) beginning:
   Ahaṁ puttarakkhito bhikkhu . . .
4. Tīcivarena avippavāsa.
5. Uposatha.

Mr. St. John has kindly pointed out to me that, the Burmese which I transliterated sunkrīmvrat (p. 73) is thōn gyane yūṭ, i.e. tikkhattum vattabbo.—Yours truly,

Herbert Baynes.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1892.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

15th March, 1892.—Sir Frederick Goldsmid, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The election since the last general meeting of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced:—

Members elected since May, 1891.

1 Mr. W. H. D. Rouse.
2 Mr. Hira Lal.
3 Mr. Edward T. Sturdy.
4 The Hon. P. Rama Nath.
5 Dr. Hirschfeld.
6 Mr. Hugh Nevill.
7 Dr. Grigsby.
8 Dr. Mann.
9 Mr. Frederick Jameson.
10 Mr. C. E. Biddulph.
11 Mr. B. A. Evetts.
12 Rev. J. N. Cushing.
13 Mr. A. Constable.
14 Mr. F. Sessions.
15 Mr. Nurallah Shāh.
16 Mr. A. A. Bevan.
17 Mr. Consul Devey.
18 Mr. Ralph Slazenger.
19 Rev. B. Mitford Morton.
20 Mr. St. Andrew St. John.
21 Dr. J. Diaz de Leon.
The gift to the Society of a set of Oriental carpets for the three rooms of its Library from the Mahārāja of Bhaunagar was announced by the Secretary. He pointed out how thoroughly in accord with the best traditions of the Indian courts was such a gift from an enlightened prince to a Society of scholars, and how interesting a proof it was of the fact that the educated natives of India were beginning to realize the value to themselves and to their country of the work done by European scholars to interpret the East to the West, and more especially to make the English people acquainted with the great merits and real importance of Indian literature and thought. The Society passed a unanimous vote of thanks for this generous and beautiful gift, and elected the Mahārāja a life non-resident member of the Society.

Surgeon-General H. W. Belkew read a paper 'On the Survival of Greek Words in Pukhto or the Language of the Afghans.' The lecturer, referring to his 'Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan,' published last year, and to the identification of certain Afghan tribes therein described as being of Greek descent, proceeded to illustrate the presence of Greek words in the Pukhto language by a number of examples in which the Pukhto word varied but very slightly from its Greek original. These examples were followed by others in which the departure of the Pukhto word from the original Greek form was more or less considerable, but still not so great as to prevent easy recognition. Besides the Greek words in Pukhto several instances were mentioned in illustration of grammatical forms peculiar to Pukhto, and referable only to the Greek as the source of their origin. The lecturer, after describing the way in which he came to discover these Greek elements in Pukhto, expressed his opinion that a more thorough investigation of the subject would prove conclusively that the language spoken by the Pukhtūn, Pathān, or Afghan people—and more especially in the country of the Suleiman range, which, as Arrian asserts, was settled by Alexander the Great with people
of his own in place of the Indians he had conquered in it—was no other than a degraded dialect of the Greek formerly spoken during several centuries as the colloquial tongue of that region by the Greek conquerors and their successors, who colonized and hellenized the country by a wholesale transplantation of tribes—such as the Syrian, Lydian, Kilikian, Bithynian, Mysian, Pamphilian, Ionian, and others—from Asia Minor to this eastern frontier of the Greek Empire in Asia founded by Alexander the Great. This view is supported by the fact that the descendants or posterity of these several tribes are now found in Afghanistan by the identical names of Sūri, Lūdī, Ghilji or Khilichi, Batani, Mūsāzi, Farmuli or Parmuli, Yūnus, Yānī, or Yā respectively, and others from the same western region. Taking this view of the Pukhto language, the lecturer said that it threw a new light upon the past history of this part of Asia, and cleared up many obscure points relating to the rise and progress of the Parthian sovereignty, and to the history of the long succession of dynasties that had flourished in this part of Asia subsequent to the commencement of the Mohammedan era.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, General Maclagan, Prof. Bendall, and Mr. Lyon took part.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.


Rubens Duval. Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Suite).


J. Halévy. La correspondance d'Aménophis III. et d'Aménophis IV. (Suite).
Rubens Duval. Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Fin).
Clermont-Ganneau. L'épigraphie et les antiquites sémites en 1891.

2. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Band v. Heft 4, 1891 (received Jan. 1892).
G. Bickell. Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbiem (Schluss).
H. H. Dhruva. Notes on two Chaulukya Copper Plates in the Baroda Collections.
G. Bühler. A further Note on the Mingai or Bower MS.
J. Karabacek. Julius Euting's Sinaiatische Inschriften.
Franz Kuhnert. Die Partikel 是 si in Lao-tsi's Taò-te-k'ing.
Band vi. Heft 1, 1892 (received Feb. 1892).
Ernst Leumann. Die Legende von Citta und Sambhuta (Fortsetzung).
P. Jensen. Elamitische Eigennamen.
F. Müller. Die Pahlawi-Inschriften von Hadziabad.
J. Goldziher. Der Chaṭîb bis den alten Arabern.

III. Obituary Notices.

M. P. A. De Lagarde.—The sudden death of this eminent scholar, which the Athenaeum announced on Jan. 2, makes a great gap in many branches of learning. Lagarde, like Ewald, his predecessor in the Semitic Chair at Göttingen, was a most active worker in a variety of subjects and languages. He studied theology, Oriental languages, and philosophy at the universities of Berlin and Halle; became privatim docens in the latter university in 1851, and later
professor in various gymnasia, until he succeeded Ewald in 1869. He edited in 1854 the Syriac "Didascalia Apostolorum," and followed this up with other Syriac texts collected in the British Museum and at Paris. In 1877 he engaged in Armenian investigations; in 1883 he took in hand Persian studies, in which year he also published "Aegyptiaca," relating to Coptic studies. Most of his publications are connected with the Bible, such as the edition of the Aramaic translation (the so-called Targum) of the Prophets according to Codex Reuchlinus, preserved in the library of Carlsruhe; the Hagiographa Chaldaica; the Arabic translation of the Gospels; the Syriac translation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; the Coptic translation of the Pentateuch; and a part of the Lucian text of the Septuagint, which he was fortunate enough to reconstruct from MSS. for nearly half of the Old Testament.

Minor articles, mostly on Semitic philology, are to be found in his books entitled "Symmicta" and "Mittheilungen," as well as in contributions to the volumes issued by the University of Göttingen. How far the Lucian text is ready we shall soon know; thanks to his minute method of working there can be no doubt that some one will be able to carry his notes through the press. One of the deceased’s last works was the collation of the "Evangelium Hierosolimitanum," edited by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo from the unique Vatican MS., but not to the satisfaction of the deceased. Lagarde, like Ewald, meddled with politics, which he expressed in his "Deutsche Schriften" and other monographs. He belonged to the Prussian Conservative party. In anti-Semitic prejudice Lagarde far exceeded Ewald; and he unfortunately displayed a lack of generosity towards fellow workers who had the misfortune to be of another opinion than himself. Indeed, he did not recognize any one as his equal, far less as his superior. He attacked even those who had been long dead—for instance, the late Dr. Zunz, who was certainly a superior Rabbinical scholar to Lagarde; strangely enough, he laughs at him for having in a translation of one of Judah Halevi’s liturgies the
following sentence, "The plowers plowed upon my back," not observing, although a professor of Hebrew, that Judah Halevi was using the words of Psalm cxxx. 3. He was agreeable and jovial in society, but he showed himself bitter and irritable towards most of his fellow workers.

From the Athenæum, Jan. 9, 1892.

A. Neubauer.

Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.—This is the last duty I could have wished to discharge, viz. to record the death of my dear life-long friend, Sir George Campbell, M.P. for Kircaldy Burghs, N.B. He was a member of this Society since 1875, but never took an active part in its meetings, though on many subjects connected with Asia generally, and with India specially, he was a competent authority. Born a Scotchman in 1824, he received his early education at St. Andrews and in Edinburgh. On receiving a nomination to the Bengal Presidency of the Indian Civil Service he passed two years at Haileybury College, where he was distinguished for his mathematical and legal attainments rather than for Oriental scholarship. In fact he never claimed to be a scholar in the broad sense of that word, but he was an able administrator of Asiatic Provinces, and a close observer of Asiatic habits and customs. He filled successively the posts of Judicial Commissioner of the Province of Oudh, Member of the High Court of Judicature of Calcutta, and Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Bengal. Throughout his whole career he evidenced talents of the highest order, and an unrivalled grasp of difficult administrative problems. As far back as 1852 he published his two volumes "Modern India," and "India as it should be," which left their mark on the administration of the next twenty years.

On his return to England in 1875 he received the honour of Knight Commander of the Star of India, and of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. He was returned in the same year to Parliament as member for the Kircaldy Burghs, and occupied that seat to the day of his death with every
prospect of re-election, and he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties in the House of Commons.

He visited the United States, and published a volume "White and Black in the U.S." He visited the Danubian Provinces and published a volume "Handy Book of the Eastern Question." He visited Egypt repeatedly, and he also published a book, the "British Empire," with special reference to India and the Colonies. All his writings evidence careful inquiry and a far-seeing intelligence.

He was a Liberal in politics, and followed Mr. Gladstone, but his views with regard to Ireland were formed from a careful local investigation on the spot, and were placed before the public in his volume on "Ireland" several years before Mr. Gladstone developed any portion of his Irish Policy.

In India as in Ireland he was a champion of the interests of the hereditary occupying tenant of the soil as against the alien absentee landlord.

A student of anthropology he made one lasting contribution to the science. In considering the ethnical relations of the Non-Aryan race of Southern India, he came to the conviction, no doubt indicated previously by earlier authors, that in the Vindya range there existed certain races, who were neither Aryan nor Dravidian: he struck out the name of "Kolarian" in 1866, and that term is now accepted.

He was esteemed and loved by all who knew him. A friendship of fifty years enables the writer of this notice to testify to this fact. If he attained every post and honour which were attainable, it is because he was most worthy of them; and the opinion is deliberately expressed that of all the members of the Indian Civil Service since 1840 up the date of the change of system in 1856 he and Sir Richard Temple, Bart., occupy the highest rank for administrative ability and knowledge of India.

Feb. 24, 1892.

R. N. C.
IV. Notes and News.

Harsha Carita.—Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is preparing, in collaboration with Prof. Cowell, a translation of this work, which will be published, when completed, by the Royal Asiatic Society's Oriental Translation Fund.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill, one of the results of whose last journey to Tibet was the excellent series of articles in our "Journal" of last year, has again started on a tour of exploration in that country, beginning with the Kokonor district.

Chinese Caricatures.—Dr. Griffith John's researches into the causes at the bottom of the recent anti-Foreign riots in the valley of the Yangtsze have resulted, writes the Mercury, in the publication of one of the most remarkable books ever printed in China. We refer to the volume just issued at Hankow, entitled "The cause of the Riots in the Yangtsze Valley: a complete Picture Gallery," which has been sent to us for review. The book is printed upon Chinese paper and bound in native style; it consists of thirty-two coloured facsimiles of the most revolting pictorial products of the anti-Foreign party in Hunan. No attempt is made by the printers to gloss over the shocking grossness of these abominable cartoons, either in the illustrations themselves or in the letterpress which explains the Chinese text around the border of each. A more abominable collection it has never been the lot of any printer to publish; but, undoubtedly, Dr. John and his colleagues have done well to bring before the foreign world a knowledge, such as these pictures inculcate, of the foul weapons which the reactionary party in China, headed by the gentry and literati of Hunan, use to stir up the evil passions of the ignorant masses to stem back the tide from the West which threatens to sweep them away. This class of literature, as Dr. John has already demonstrated, is chiefly produced in Hunan, and nowhere in such variety or quantity as Changsha, the capital of the province.
The New Asoka Inscription.—Mr. Lewis Rice, M.R.A.S., Director of Archaeology in Mysore, who recently undertook a survey of the Chitaldroog District, reports a most important discovery of edicts of Asoka inscribed on immense boulders in the same ancient characters, and the same Pali language, as have been already met with in the case of similar records discovered in Northern India. None of these edicts have hitherto been found south of Guzerat and Ganjam, and hence the importance of the present discovery. It is known that after the third Buddhist Council held in the eighteenth year of Asoka’s reign, missionaries were sent to Banavasi and Mahisa-manḍala, which latter, from its connexion and name, may be identified with Mysore. The principal inscription now found consists of thirteen lines, covering a space of 15½ feet by 11½ feet. The words decānam and piye can be read at the end of the first and eighth lines, and Jambu-dīpa towards the end of the third line. No further particulars have yet been received.

Java.—The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences has carried out an elaborate work on the antiquities of Java by Mr. Yzerman, chief engineer, with an atlas of plates. The Society has done good work in the past in preserving these antiquities from European business enterprise and from native love of destruction.

The Straits Settlements.—General Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., has been elected president of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Van District.—About eighteen months ago two French gentlemen, Messrs. G. Pisson and A. Develay, made a journey “en Asie Antérieure” on behalf of the Ministries of Education, Commerce, and Agriculture of the Republican Government. An account of this journey has recently appeared in French, of which the following is a short abstract.

From the Black Sea coast they followed the usual high road between Trebizond and Erzeroum, along which passes so much merchandize, camel-borne, for Tabreez and Teheran, and even farther East; a detailed description of this stage
may be found in Mrs. Bishop's most recent book of travel. At Erzeroum they branched southwards, and, after crossing the steep and lofty Palandoken mountain, passed into the regions inhabited by Armenians and Kurds; the former are mostly agricultural, and live in the open plain, whilst the villages of their neighbours generally skirt the surrounding mountains, which afford rich pasturage for their numerous flocks and herds. After calling in at Khanous, a little Mussulman town picturesquely situated in the bosom of a deep sheer basalt cutting, the bed of a mountain brook, they visited the world-old Armenian Monastery, Sourp Garabed (St. John's), or Changeli-Kilisseh (Church of Chimes), built in the days of St. Gregory the Illuminator. M. Pisson, having sustained an injury on the road near here, had to remain several weeks in the Monastery, whilst his friend, anxious to make the best use of his time, rounded the north coast of Lake Van, and, having visited the chief place of the district, crossed into Persia to Tabreez, passing the border in two places in mid-winter by little-known mountain bridle-paths. Having rejoined his companion at Bitlis, they then proceeded by the track presenting fewest obstacles among the mountain valleys, viz. through Sert and Jezireh to Mosul. During a few days' sojourn in what was probably once an environ of Nineveh, they viewed the Koyunjik mound and the remains of Assyria's capital; their road now led through Arbela, scene of Alexander's victory over Darius; here all the villages are built on artificial mounds, testifying to the ancient populousness of the country, and two broad rivers have to be crossed by the kellek, or inflated sheepskin raft. The Lesser Zab was also crossed a little later at Altun Keupri (Golden-Bridge), a small borough on an islet of conglomerate in mid-river; and next the not inconsiderable town of Kerkuk pleased our travellers by its bright and well-to-do aspect and wide gardens of tropical produce.

Here the road forward was certainly considered unsafe, as an escort of thirty gendarmes was furnished for safe conduct to Suleîmanieh; and fanaticism is the order of the
day in this region. A sheikh of the Hamavend Arab tribe, however, gave the protection of his company for a space, and Suleimanieh, the last considerable town in Turkey, was duly reached; it contains 5000 houses, all of one storey only, and there are but twenty families of Christians.

Just before the Persian frontier, the French party passed the village Tavileh, and hereafter serious difficulties of more kinds than one had to be overcome; a horse perished, the tracks were very bad and difficult to follow, and the Kurds proved overreaching and untrustworthy.

The Avroman Mountain here is of quite a different character from the mountains of Armenia, where large plateaux occur frequently. The hills are much rockier and wilder, and an ascent of 4500 feet has to be made in one place. Thus, with much scrambling up and down, Hajish, a village shut in by peaked mountains and huge masses of grey rock, was reached. And after ascending the valley of the Gaveh-Rud some way, and passing the villages Ruar and Tefen, and having had to put up with short rations, Sihna, or Senneh, a Kurdish town of 35,000 inhabitants, afforded a short rest to the exhausted Frenchmen.

There is little to chronicle respecting Sihna, except that it has grown from the condition of a big village to its present dimensions within the last fifteen years. The horses are reckoned fine animals, and the best quality of Kurdish rugs are woven here. There are also two mosques which contain "chambers of refuge" for criminals flying from justice.

Upon leaving Sihna, a visit was made to the districts of Guerrous and Karaghan, following or touching the bed of some tributaries of the Rivers Kizil-Uzun (lower the Sefid Rud) and Abhar-Chi, which empties into the salt marsh to the south of Teheran. M. Develay also "rode Chappar" from Sihna to Teheran in seven days by the highway through Hamadan.

After some months in the Persian metropolis, the homeward route of the "Mission Scientifique" lay through Resht and Baku and across the Caucasus.
Religions in India.—The various religions of the population of India have been returned in the last census as follows (so far as ascertainable):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindoos, Brahmos, etc.</td>
<td>207,654,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mussulmans</td>
<td>57,365,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>2,284,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jains</td>
<td>1,416,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>1,907,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>7,131,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>17,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsees</td>
<td>89,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest tribes</td>
<td>9,302,083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor forms of Belief — Theists, Agnostics, Atheists, etc.</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not returned</td>
<td>38,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>287,207,046</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brahmos 3401, of whom 3338 are in Bengal, Aryas (sic) 39,948, chiefly in N.W.P. and Punjab.

An Indian Fakir's Horrible Performances.—An account of the performances of the Indian fakir Soliman ben Aissa is given by the Vienna correspondent of the Lancet. The exhibition has very properly been forbidden in public places in Vienna, but a series of private entertainments has been arranged. An aristocratic audience was present at the first of these. The Fakir commenced his performances by inhaling the fumes of burnt powder prepared from extracts of snake and scorpion poisons, and by certain quick movements of the head he produced a foaming at the mouth. After these preliminaries needles and other sharp instruments were thrust through various parts of his body, including a stiletto a foot long and half an inch broad, which was thrust through his tongue. Another feat which is said to have caused great sensation consisted in pulling forward the eyeball and presenting it outside the orbit to the view of the audience between two fingers. He was “invulnerable” also to the heat produced by a
flaming torch held for a minute and a half against the under surface of his forearm. Chewing glass and playing with poisonous snakes were among his other tricks. The *Lancet* recalls the experiments of the celebrated "Fire King," who many years ago created a sensation in London by advertising his power to drink prussic acid without injury to himself. The history of his exposure, sudden downfall, and subsequent malignant challenge to Mr. Wakley to fight a duel, form one of the most interesting and humorous chapters in the older volumes of the *Lancet*. The *Lancet* deprecates medical men lending their countenance in any degree to such dismal spectacles. Medical science has nobler purposes to fulfil and higher motives to guide it than the gratification, under the seeming sanction of science, of the morbid curiosity of certain classes.

*Rulers of India.*—We would venture to call the special attention of our Indian readers to the very excellent series of manuals on the great rulers of India, both native and English, now being brought out at Oxford under the editorship of Sir W. W. Hunter. Written in a very interesting manner, and having the charm of the personal interest attaching to the treatment of history from the 'great man' point of view, they throw many sidelights on the history of the development of institutions and of thought in that great continent, and they cannot fail to promote that general knowledge on which a genuine sympathy between residents of all classes in India must depend, and which all true scholarship does so much to promote.

*Buddhist Paintings.*—A most interesting collection of Chinese pictures has been given by M. Rubens Duval to the Museum of Religions at Paris, better known as the Musée Guimet, from the name of its founder, who has now given it to the French nation. This collection was made by the great traveller Klaproth, who has written short explanatory notices on the back of each piece. It includes a set of miniatures, probably of the last century, painted with exquisite delicacy on leaves of the sacred fig-tree, in
the shadow of which the Buddha is related to have passed
the great mental struggle which ended in his Buddhahood.
They represent the twenty lo-hans, that is, Arhats, or
masters of the true doctrine: such miniatures, painted on
leaves of the Bo-tree, are not infrequent in China, but good
specimens are rare in Europe, and there are none in our
Library.

*Karakorum Inscription.*—Dr. George Huth, privat-docent
at the Berlin University, has published a short monograph
on this interesting inscription. He proves quite clearly
that it must be the record of a language that contained
suffixes, prefixes, and changes in the middle of roots. He
draws the conclusion that the language cannot be Uraltaic,
and is most probably the ancestor of the various Šenissei
languages treated of by Klaproth and Curtén. As, how-
ever, the Chinese inscription on the same stone dates from
about 732 A.D., and we have no specimens of these languages
till many centuries after that time, this is only a first step
towards decipherment, and the authority does not in fact
propose as yet a translation of any word, or an identification
of any letter.

*Epigraphia Indica.*—We have just received, in February,
1892, the new part of this valuable series. It has printed
on the title page "Issued October, 1891," so the mode of
transmission must be singularly slow. It contains some
short Jain inscriptions by Prof. Bühl, two short papers
by Dr. Hultzsch, and an elaborate and important article by
Professor Jacobi on the computation of dates in Hindu
inscriptions, with supplementary astronomical tables.

*Etruscan.*—With reference to the announcement in our
last number, p. 167, we have now to add that Prof. Krall
has now communicated to the Academy of Vienna the
results of his examination of the inscribed band on the
mummy of a woman in the museum of Agram, which
was brought from Egypt by Michael Baric in 1845. H.
Brugsch in the winter of 1868-9 had already found on
the mummy the end of a band (which afterwards proved
to be 14 metres long) almost entirely covered with characters
to him completely unintelligible. The director of the museum having apprised Prof. Krall of the event, the band was brought to Vienna, and at length, after eleven months study, discovered by him to be the longest Etruscan inscription known to us, the longest hitherto known to exist being the Perugian cippus containing 125 words. The Etruscan mummy band contains 1200 words divided into some 200 lines, distributed in at least 12 columns after the fashion of writing on papyri. The material is undoubtedly of ancient Egyptian manufacture, and the ink shows the same colour as that of the ordinary writing on mummies. According to the Etruscan scholars Bücheler, Deecke, and Pauli, there can be no doubt whatever about the authenticity of the text, so if this real relic of antiquity comes to be read, our knowledge of Etruscan will be assured. So far, Prof. Krall has presented to the academy an unpublished tentative reading, restoring the text and adding a list of all the words occurring in it with additions and explanations by W. Deecke. Messrs. Edler have succeeded with great difficulty in making photographs of the text.

The Present State of the Nestorian Tablet at Sigan.—This tablet, as is well known, stands outside the west gate of Si-gan, Shen-si, and enunciates the leading doctrines of Christianity. It was erected A.D. 780–781, and is the only relic hitherto discovered in China of the Nestorian Christian Church. The stone is white, is of an ordinary grey colour and sonorous, responding with a bell-like sound on being struck sharply. It is supported on the back of a half-buried tortoise. The dimensions are: total height, 103 in.; breadth, 37 in.; thickness, 11½ in. It stands facing an old, half-ruined Buddhist temple on the south of the road, a mile and a half from the west gate, and half a mile from the suburb. Its surroundings are not interesting; the country is flat, well cultivated, and very fertile. The remains of a mud wall enclose it and hide it from the road, though, even were it visible, there is nothing by which a passer-by could distinguish it from the hundreds of other stones that are to be found in this district.
Buddhist Folk Lore.—Professor Fausböll (Hon. Member R.A.S.) has completed the fifth volume of his great editio princeps of the Jātakas, bringing it down to No. 537 (out of the total of 550). The volume is dedicated to Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Morris. The remaining 13 stories, the longest in the collection, will probably occupy three more volumes. One of them is the Bhūridatta, translated in our last issue by Mr. St. John.

New Oriental Department, British Museum.—On the retirement, in January last, of Dr. Rieu, the well-known Persian scholar, from the Keepership of Oriental MSS. at the British Museum, it was decided by the Trustees to create a new Oriental Department to consist of Oriental printed books and MSS., in both of which collections the Museum is very rich. This has now been done, and Professor Douglas (one of the members of our Council) has been appointed Keeper of the new department.

Sanskrit name for Australia.—Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, M.R.A.S., has published in brochure form a very interesting paper he read at the Geographical Congress of Berne on the 'Early Discovery of Australia.' He there proves that the coast line of Australia appears with full details on several early maps, much older than any literary record of the actual discovery having taken place. The first authenticated voyage to Australia is that of the yacht Duysfen or Dove in 1606. But already in a map of the year 1521 (by La Salle) the 'Terra Australis' is given under the curious name of Patalie regio, derived, according to the Vicomte de Santareus, from the Sanskrit (or Pāli) Pātāla, meaning 'the nether regions.' This is the oldest and least perfect of these early maps of Australia, several of which Mr. Morgan gives in facsimile. Perhaps the name has some connection with Patali-putta, the old name for Ceylon. Where did these old map-makers get their information from?
V. Notices of Books.


It is said that the German mathematician Kronecker, at a scientific gathering in Berlin, proposed the health of The Theory of Numbers, the only branch of mathematics, perhaps of human learning, as yet unsullied by a practical application. And from this point of view we may congratulate Mr. Brajendranath Seal, whose memoir deals with speculations remote indeed from every-day life. A perfect number is one which is equal to the sum of its division (e.g. $6 = 3 + 2 + 1$). The coefficient of a number is defined to be the ratio which any number bears to the sum of its division. Perfect numbers have been studied by Euclid, by Bachet, Fermat, and Euler. The mention of these names shows that the class of problems with which Mr. Brajendranath Seal deals has attracted the acutest of mathematical speculators. Mr. Seal's memoir is concerned with the properties of these perfect numbers and attempts to find all numbers for which the coefficient (as above defined) is given. Many interesting theorems are proved by the way; for example, that no perfect number is divisible by only four prime numbers, and the paper abounds with examples worked out in detail.

In the history of science it has always been the strong fastnesses, from which we are afterwards to survey the country, that have offered the stoutest resistance, until the walls which have defied force vanish before the wand of the magician. We cannot doubt that the spirit of Mr. Seal's work is that by which we shall at last be able to understand the secrets of number pure and simple—secrets guessed at by the great Masters, such as Euclid, Fermat, and Gauss, but, save for such guesses, almost entirely unknown to us now.

No more suitable author of an 'appreciation' of the great scholar Eugène Burnouf could be found than the veteran savant so long his personal friend, and a co-worker with him on several fields, M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire. It is pleasant to find that M. St. Hilaire, who first made the acquaintance of Burnouf on leaving the Lycée Louis-le-Grand seventy years ago, should still have health and energy to publish these graceful and touching memorials. Not that they are new. They are a reprint from articles in the Journal des Savants published from time to time between 1852 (when Burnouf died) down to 1891, and have not been altered to fit the altered circumstances of the times. There being also neither index nor table of contents, the usefulness of the book as a work of reference is seriously hampered. But they are very interesting and inspiring reading, and give a very clear and pleasant picture of the devoted labours of the genial scholar in whose honour they have been composed; and they contain those personal facts of his history which must form the basis of a critical judgment of the great Burnouf.

As to his greatness there can never be any question, but when M. St. Hilaire puts in the forefront of his panegyric an eulogy of the method that he followed, we feel compelled to distinguish. The result of his twenty years labours for instance in Buddhism lies before us in the two magnificent volumes, the 'Introduction' and the 'Lotus.' It is agreed on all hands that these works introduced Buddhism to the West and remained for a quarter of a century the authorities on the whole subject. It is agreed on all hands that they give proofs not only of the rarest industry, but of the ripest and most balanced judgment, and also of a faculty that cannot be described as less than genius in feeling the way to a right conclusion out of insufficient and often contradictory data. But a
further question remains. There can be no doubt that had Burnouf devoted those years to editing and translating the Digha and Majjhima Nikayas he would have accomplished the task, and accomplished it in a masterly way, within the time. Would not that method, rather than the one which he followed, have led sooner and more surely to the desired goal? Is it well to waste such priceless tools as the enthusiastic industry and critical insight of a Burnouf on weighing one against the other the statements of writers who lived many centuries after the events of which they speak, when materials contemporaneous or nearly so are, all the while, at hand? Is it the better method to read works in MS. and publish the results of such reading to the world (which has not the authority before it), or to publish the works themselves first, and then draw the conclusions which every scholar can test for himself? These are the kind of questions which would have to be settled in discussing the question of the best method to be followed by a pioneer in opening a new field of historical inquiry, of the best way (in the interests of science) in which a great scholar can use the abilities and the time at his command.

It only remains to add that in a list of the unpublished works there is much that would seem, from our author's description, to be still of the greatest value. Cannot especially the 'Examen de la langue du Lotus' and the 'Comparaison des textes Pulis et Sanskrits,' and the translation of the Khudda-sikkā Dīpanī be published at once either in the 'Journal Asiatique' or elsewhere? It is perfectly true that it is a kind of sacrilege to publish matter which a great author has deliberately put aside as not to be published. But there is no evidence whatever that these finished studies were withheld by their author for any other reason than want of opportunity or want of space. Those on the spot can judge. To those at a distance it seems cruel to keep concealed what is of value now, but will certainly in another generation have lost its worth.
A Catalogue of Sanskrit and other Works in the Oriental Section of the Adyar Library, compiled to December, 1891. (Adyar, Madras, 1891.)

This catalogue of the collection at Adyar begun in 1886, and yearly increasing in value, has been put together under the supervision of H. S. Olcott, the President of the Theosophical Society. It shows seventy-eight printed works (some of several volumes) and sixty-two MSS. of Vedic literature. Among the latter may be especially mentioned a palm leaf MS. of Mādhava's commentary on the Yajur Veda (described 'as a very old MS., about 400 years old.') —a collection also on palm leaf and in the Telugu character, of fifteen treatises on phonetics many of which are unknown in Europe—a palm leaf MS. containing five works by the father of Rāmānuja—and the Vaidika Jyotisha of Lagadha. The Itihāsa and Purāṇa books are twenty-three printed ones and sixty-eight MSS., among which we may notice an old copy on palm leaf in Telugu characters of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa—a palm leaf MS. in Devanāgari characters of the Bhārgava Purāṇa, treating of the lives of Vaishnava leaders among others of Rāmānuja—and a similar MS. of the Badari Mahātmya. The law books are eighty-two printed and fifty-two MSS., the philosophical books 135 printed and 131 MSS., of which the Nyāyatāt- paryapariśuddhi of Udayana and the Nyāya Kaustubha of Mahādeva are described as rare works. Some thirty works on medicine, the like number on astronomy or astrology, and a few on music, precious stones, etc., complete this part of the catalogue. There then follow lists of 229 Buddhist, Jain, and Vaishnavite books (of which about forty are Grantha or Telugu MSS.), of twenty Tantra MSS., and of 220 miscellaneous works (stories, poems, dramas, etc.), of which about thirty are in MS., and 121 Sanskrit grammars or lexicons, of which about seventy-five are manuscripts.

The printing is not good, and the transliteration of Indian words is very inaccurate, and the column headed remarks
gives some curious details. *The original Kathasarit Sagara (sic) was a poetical compilation by Soma Deva, and published in Holland.* And it is disappointing to find that of Buddhist works, in which the library was supposed to be rich, there are so few, among which are only two MSS. described respectively as *A Buddhist work* (p. 139) and *A Buddhist religious book, name unknown* (p. 163). The Pali books seem to be kept in Ceylon, and the Chinese and Japanese, some 500 in number, are not yet catalogued. But we should not look a gift horse in the mouth, and will only express our hope that the library may rapidly increase and flourish.

**An English-Sinhalese Dictionary, by Charles Carter.**

(Colombo, Skeen.)

This dictionary is a very great advance on previous works of the kind, from the well-known dictionary of Clough published sixty-eight years ago to the little pocket dictionary issued by the Wesleyan missionaries. It is in six parts, making a total of nearly 1100 octavo pages, and is very well and clearly printed—the English words in Clarendon, and the Sinhalese words in a bold and readable type. It is printed at the Government Press and at Government expense. We congratulate the ruling powers of the island on so enlightened a use of the public funds, and the veteran missionary on the successful accomplishment of his tedious but most useful labours. What still remains an urgent want is a good Sinhalese-English Dictionary, that of Clough being altogether out of date. Such a work giving full quotations and references, and the history and derivation of each word,—precisely because it would be beyond the power of any single man to produce, —would be a noble gift from the English rulers of Ceylon to the loyal and intelligent people of that ancient home of learning and culture.
Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt. Second edition, under the auspices of the "Zunz Stiftung," by Dr. N. Brüll. pp. 516. (T. Kauffmann, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1892.)

It is exactly sixty years since the first edition of the above-mentioned work appeared and marked the creation of a study out of elements till then generally considered as unworthy of serious attention. How much the book has been appreciated by all interested in these researches is best inferred by the circumstance that it has been out of print for many years and only obtainable at a high price.

The single branches of Rabbinical literature have, of course, been largely expanded by able students since Zunz's work was first published, and it would have been most deplorable if it had been otherwise. Yet this does not in the least diminish the value of the book, and the idea of a second edition is surely a most happy one, especially as this was done by so profound a scholar as Dr. N. Brüll of Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is lamentable that the second editor died before his task was finished, and thus the scientific world was deprived of the supplement which he had commenced, and which was to contain a critical selection of the literature concerning the subject and a bibliography of the writings reviewed. It is to be hoped that the publisher will succeed in finding another scholar who, equipped with the material left by the deceased, will prove able to complete the supplement.

It is also desirable that he should pay closer attention to the Jewish Arabic literature referring to the subject. The Jews in Arabian countries possessed not only Arabic translations of the Bible, but used this language also for liturgical readings. There exist Arabic versions of the Haggadáh for Passover, of the story of Mattathias, which latter is to be found in most MSS. of the Yemen prayer book, several poetic versions of the story of Hamah and her sons, translations of the Aramaic Targums, the Canticles, and others of the smaller Hagiographa, adaptations of portions of the
Midrash and entire Midrashic treatises, as the Nūr al Zulun, of which MSS. are in London, Oxford, and Berlin.

The finishing touch of the book was added after the death of Dr. Brüll by Steinschneider, who also wrote the preface. It is regrettable to hear from such a competent authority that the number of writers interested in the subject is rather on the decline than on the increase, and this was one of the reasons why the new edition was undertaken. Let us hope that it will help to revive the enthusiasm for this branch of enquiry.

As to the arrangement of the new edition, which considerably surpasses the first in size, it only contains alterations and corrections added by Zunz himself in his copy, and which are made recognizable both in text and footnotes by square brackets. Entirely new are the indices, which were worked out by a young scholar, Dr. A. Loewenthal, in Berlin, and a concordance of the pages of the two editions. The book is beautifully got up, and the price so low that every one interested in the subject can procure it for himself.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THINGS JAPANESE by BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. (Tokyo, the Hakabunsha.)

This second edition of a most useful work contains some twenty new articles, and is provided with an excellent map of the country. The book is rather intended for the use of the globe-trotter, and that valuable customer of the book-maker, the 'general reader,' than for the scholar, and calls for no extended criticism in the pages of this journal. That it is, in the main, the work of a scholar is, however, evident enough, but this fact rather irritates than satisfies the reader, who feels that the author, too often, deals out but a niggard share of the knowledge he possesses. Among the new articles much the most important is Messrs. Aston and Gowland's contribution on Archaeology, while the most amusing one is that entitled "English as she is Japped." The articles on 'History
and Mythology,' 'The People,' 'Demoniacal Possession,' 'Tokyo,' 'Ten Ceremonies,' 'Lacquer,' 'Poetry,' and 'Printing' are interesting, and those dealing with the aspects of modern Japan are full of shrewd observations, while quite devoid of the somewhat silly gush which characterizes so much of the more recent literature dealing with Japanese subjects.


This is a most praiseworthy contribution to our knowledge is an entirely unknown region in the province of Burma, and the author deserves our hearty thanks. We are glad to find that a manual of the Baungshê Dialect spoken in the Southern Chin Hills has been published by Lieut. Macnabb (it is in fact a different language). It appears that the Siyin is one Dialect of a form of speech, which has no leading Dialect, but consists of several, of equal importance (1) Siyun, (2) Nwengal, and (3) Kanhaw. Two other forms of speech are mentioned, (1) Haka, and (2) Tashen, and are pronounced to differ so materially as to be quite different languages. Here then we have revealed to us a group of four languages previously totally unknown, but in which communication is held by British officers with subject races.

The geographical position of these tribes is as follows:

A line drawn from Mandalay to Chittagong passes almost through the Chin Hills. In the North they are bounded by the Manipûr Valley, on the East by the Kubo Kalê, Myillha, and Yan valleys, on the South by the Arakan Hill tracts, on the West by the Lushai Hills. The District occupied by the Siyin is roughly between N. Lat. 23°-10 and 23°-25, and E. Long. 93°-45 and 94°-5. The highest elevation is about 8800 feet above sea-level, but the average height of the range is about 5000 feet.
The language is monosyllabic. Genders are distinguished by the addition of the word "pa" and "nu" to indicate male and female, and one or two other suffixes in the case of animals. The plural is expressed by the suffix "te," but it is frequently omitted.

March 24, 1892. R. N. C.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, JAN.-MARCH, 1892.

Presented by the India Office.


foll. Madras, 1891.

Giles (G. M.). Report of the Investigation into the causes of the diseases known in Assam as Kulā-Azār and Beri-Beri.

royal 8vo. Shillong, 1890.


foll. Calcutta, 1891.


Indian Museum Notes. Vol. 11, No. 5. The Economic Value of Birds in India.


foll. pamphlet. 1892.


Madras, Government of. Results of Observations of the fixed Stars made with the Meridian circle at the Government Observatory, Madras, in 1871–73, under the direction of the late Norman Poyson, by C. Mitchie Smith. 4to. Madras, 1892.

fol. Calcutta, 1891.


fol. Bombay, 1891.

Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjāb for 3rd quarter of 1891. Two copies.

fol. pamphlet.


fol. pamphlet.


4to. 1892.


fol. Bombay, 1891.

Do. 251. R.S.S. of 31 Talukdari Villages and 8 villages of sons of Latīsfkhan and also of the Talukdari Wanto in three Government Villages of the Dholka Tāluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

fol. Bombay, 1891.

Presented by the Editor.

Oriental Translation Fund N.S. Part I, Vol. II.


By the Author.


By the Trustees of the British Museum.

Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Vol. II.

London, 1891.

By Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids.
Catalogue of the Sanskrit and other Works in the Oriental Section of the Adyar Library.
royal 8vo. Adyar, 1891.

By the Publishers.
Whitney (W. D.) Max Müller and the Science of Language.
Svo. New York, 1892.
Svo. London and Tokyo, 1890.

By the British Association.
Report of 61st Meeting for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff in 1891. 8vo. London, 1892.

By the Author.
St. Hilaire (J. Bart.) Eugène Burnouf, ses Travaux et sa Correspondence.

By the Author.
Bellew (Surgeon-Major H. W.) Ethnography of Afghanistan.
royal 8vo. Woking, 1891.

By Peter Griffon, Esq.
Leon (Dr. J. Diaz de). El Cantor de los Cantores traducido del Hebreo.
royal 8vo. Aguascalientes, 1891.

Matthes (Dr. B. F.) Het Boek der Psalmen in het Boeganeesch.
royal 8vo. Amsterdam, 1891.
and Het Boek der Psalmen in het Makassarch.
royal 8vo. Amsterdam, 1891.

Telang (K. T.) Subandhu and Kumārila.
8vo. pamphlet. Bombay, 1891.
I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

12th April, 1892. — Mr. E. L. Brandreth, Honorary Treasurer, in the Chair.

The election of Mr. Rogers, formerly of the Bombay Civil Service, as a resident member of the Society was announced to the meeting.

Major Conder, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S., read a paper in which he proposed a decipherment and translation of the letter of King Dusratha discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt. The paper will be printed in full in the Society's Journal for the current year.

17th May, 1892, Anniversary Meeting. — The Earl of Northbrook, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced to the meeting:

1. B. Houghton, Esq., B.C.S.
2. Maj S. Husain, Pension Department, Madras.

The Secretary read the


The Council regrets to have to announce the loss, during the year, either from death or from retirement, of the following members. There have died:

Mr. G. Bertin.
Commendatore Gorresio.
Nawab Ikbāl ud Daulah.
Babu Rajendralala Mitra.
Ahmed Vefek Pasha.
The Rt. Rev. Bishop Caldwell.

There have retired:—

Mr. David.
Prof. Halévy.
M. Raoul de Lagrasseerie.
Mr. Justice Pinhey.
M. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaux.
Mr. H. Priestley.
M. Sauvaire.

On the other hand the following new members have, during the same period, been elected:—

Resident Members—

1. Rev. C. J. Ball.
2. Mr. R. Chalmers.
3. Mr. Sultan Hosain.
4. Mr. J. Kennedy.
5. Surgeon-Major Oldham.
6. Dr. Schrumpf.
7. Mr. E. Sturdy.
8. Mr. C. L. Tupper.

Non-Resident Members.

9. Mr. H. Baynes.
10. Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph.
11. Mr. E. H. Corbet.
13. Dr. Hirschfeld.
14. Mr. Hira Lāl.
16. Mr. Hugh Nevill.
17. Mr. Haridās Sāstri.
The comparative statement showing the membership of the Society for the last five years stands now, therefore, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compounders.</th>
<th>Subscribers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888 (July)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889 (Oct.)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 (Oct.)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891 (Jan.)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892 (Jan.)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the appearance of the list in January last, the following changes have taken place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaths and retirements</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>—</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected...</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfers...</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>+3</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one feature of these figures which is particularly encouraging. While the Council in its last report had to state that the number of resident members had steadily declined, we have now to point out that the number has again gone up, so that the total of the resident members stands this year between the numbers of four and five years ago, while that of the non-resident members is at 186, the highest figure yet reached in the history of the Society; and that of the subscribing libraries is 27, also the highest figure yet reached.
**ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1891.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RECEIPTS</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>EXPENDITURE</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1891</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>House—Rent</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do, Petty Cash</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10½</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 Resident Members at £3 2s.</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Gas</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>at £1 1s.</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Coals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(in advance)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Repairs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>New Lease</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositions</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation from the India Office</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Salaries—Secretary and Assistant</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Gordon Clarke, Esq., M.R.A.S.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Income Tax</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividend on Stock (N S.W. £1002 12½, 10½d. per cent.)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Bedford (pension)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Journal and Index</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Journal—Printing</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Subscriptions for Journal (24 at 30d.)</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Illustrations</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fee for use of Library</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Library—Preparing Catalogue, on account</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisements</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bookbinding</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture—Sale of Tickets and Donations</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Lecture Expenses</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rents—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Association</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Postage, Parcels, and Messengers, etc., etc.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellenic Society (2 quarters)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numismatic Society</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1891</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristotelian Society</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>do. Petty Cash</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk Lore Society</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£1214 10 ½

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct. H. C. KAY.
May 12, 1892. I. ASHBURNER.
One consequence of these figures is the increase of a little over one hundred pounds in the total receipts of the Society for the year 1891, as compared with the figures presented to you at our last meeting. The advertisements, which figure this year in our accounts for the first time, show a receipt of £18 5s. 8d., and the increase in the amount received for subscriptions from members is only a few shillings less than £70. One of the reasons for this improvement in our income is the increase in receipts from advertisements, and from the sale of the Journal. Now that the Society is its own publisher, the whole benefit of any such increase accrues to the Society without any abatement for discount or agency charges. Under both of these latter heads also, as in the number of members and of subscribing libraries, the Council expresses its full confidence that the Society may expect each year an increase, steady, if provocingly slow, in its receipts.

On the expenditure side there is an increase of £20 owing to the higher rent the Society has to pay under its new lease, an increase of £30 in the expenditure on the Society's Journal (most of this being in illustrations), and an increase of £30 under the head of lectures. The general result of the whole account is a balance, in spite of these increased expenditures, of rather more that £50 on the year's working.

As you are aware from the last report, the signs of revival in the Society, continued now through successive years, have encouraged the Council to undertake the publication of a printed catalogue of the Society's valuable library—a work which has, for more than a generation, been a crying want. The preparation of this catalogue, which has entailed considerable labour on all concerned, is now complete; more than 200 pages are actually struck off, several sheets more are in type, and the whole is expected to be published by the end of this year. It will be no less than a landmark in the history of the Society to have carried to a successful completion so long-delayed and so useful, even necessary, a work.

The Council has reason to congratulate the Society on the quality of the papers which are now being offered to them in increasing numbers. They have selected for publication Mr.
Rockhill's standard articles on the present geography and ethnography of Tibet, a detailed account drawn from the Chinese, giving entirely new information which may any day prove to have a political, in addition to its scientific, value. There have appeared also translations of four new Oriental texts (in two cases accompanied by the texts themselves), and the Society has returned to its old love, Assyriology, by publishing five cuneiform texts with translation and notes. The Council considers this side of Oriental enquiry of so much importance that it has decided to issue, as a separate book for students, a selection of reprints from the cuneiform articles to appear in this year's Journal. It is impossible to over-estimate the historical importance of these very early records of mankind, and the Council trusts that the course it has adopted will meet with your approval, more especially as such reprints are comparatively inexpensive.

During the year a systematic re-arrangement and re-numbering of the very valuable MSS. in the possession of the Society has been undertaken. It would be very desirable to have full catalogues of all these MSS. (such as the catalogue of the Hodgson Buddhist MSS. prepared by Professors Cowell and Eggeling) printed in the Society's Journal. It would, however, be too costly a proceeding, in the present state of the Society's finances, to have such catalogues prepared by competent scholars. To make these MSS., many of which have lain for years unused on the Society's shelves, better known to scholars, rough lists of the titles only have therefore been prepared, and these will appear from time to time in the Journal. The special thanks of the Society are due in this respect to its hon. librarian, Dr. Codrington, to Dr. Wenzel and to General Ardagh, who have prepared such lists of the Malay, Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, and Burmese MSS. A rough list of the Sanskrit MS. (not Buddhist) has already appeared, and lists of the Pali and Sinhalese MSS. have been also prepared during the year under review.

The year 1891 was further memorable by the fact that the Society's lease expired in that year. The Council spent
a great deal of time and anxious thought in the endeavour to make the best decision in the Society's interest on this important and difficult question of what course to adopt. Other premises were viewed, and other offers considered, but it was finally decided best on the whole to retain our present premises, though that could only be done at the cost of an increased yearly rental. By the terms of the old lease the Council was compelled to spend a sum of over £200 on the repair of the roof, and on the internal decoration of its rooms. The Society may regret that so large a sum, which it would have preferred to spend on the purchase of books, or in the publication of translations of Oriental texts, has been absorbed by this claim upon it. But the expenditure was absolutely necessary, and indeed legally incumbent on the Society; and it will not recur for many years to come.

The Council has to express its regret that no item appears in the accounts for 1891 for expenditure on books. The margin of available funds was so very narrow that the Council felt it could not recommend any expenditure on this head. But there are a considerable number of books, in various branches of Oriental literature (over and above those the Society receives as presents from the authors or from public or semi-public bodies) which the Society ought to possess. An amount of £100 a year at least would be required to supply the gaps on the Society's shelves where books of first class importance and interest ought to stand. And at least £50 a year will have to be spent for several years to come on bookbinding and repairs in order to put even the existing library in a satisfactory state in this respect. The Council would venture urgently to press home upon the members and on all friends of Oriental and historical research the desirability of donations either of books or of money to meet these crying defects. In this respect the Council has much pleasure in announcing the gift of a handsome selection of books on Siamese history and allied subjects from Mr. Satow, late Her Majesty's Consul at Bangkok.
The Council regrets that the same want of funds has prevented it pushing forward, as it would have wished, the revived Oriental Translation Fund. But as the Society is aware, the generosity of one of their number has already rendered possible the publication of two volumes, and others are to follow under the same auspices. The Council has very much pleasure in announcing that the President of the Society, the Right Honourable the Earl of Northbrook, has most generously undertaken to defray the cost up to the amount of one hundred guineas of the publication of some standard work, if possible Sanskrit, dealing with Indian history. The Council has accordingly selected the Harsha Carita, a work, perhaps, more urgently required than any other, and is glad to inform you that Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, has undertaken, with the assistance of Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, to make the translation into English.

As announced in the lists read at the commencement of the Report, the Society has lost during the year 1891 no less than five of its Honorary Members. Under the rules of the Society vacancies in the list of such members can be filled up only at the Annual General Meeting; and the total number of Honorary Members is not to exceed thirty. The thirty names should be, as far as possible, those of the thirty most distinguished Orientalists in the world, and due regard being had to the representation of as many countries, and also of as many sides of Oriental activity as possible. With these objects in view the Council recommends for election on this occasion

Prof. Schrader,
Brugsch Pasha,
M. Emile Senart,
Sumangala Mahā Nāyaka Unnānsē, and
Prof. Vasilief.

By the rules of the Society Professor Robertson Smith and Professor Sayce, who were elected Vice-Presidents of the Society three years ago, retire from office at this meeting.
The Council begs to recommend that they be elected Vice-Presidents for another three years, and that the Rev. James Legge, D.D., Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, be also elected a Vice-President of the Society.

By the rules of the Society the following five members, of whom two are re-eligible, retire this year from the Council.

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. Arbuthnot,
Mr. Dickins,
Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and
Prof. Macdonell.

The Council proposes for election to fill these vacant places:

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot,
The Rev. J. C. Ball,
Mr. E. W. Gibb, and
Dr. Rost.

Copies of the yearly Balance Sheet, as certified by the Honorary Auditors, lie on the table.

Mr. Delmar Morgan moved, and General Pearse seconded the adoption of the Report. This motion, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

21st June, 1892.—The Earl of Northbrook, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced.

1. Mr. H. Altuart.
2. Mr. G. T. Peppe.

Surgeon-Major Oldham, M.R.A.S., read a paper on the Ancient Course of the Sarasvati. The paper will be printed in full in the Society’s Journal.
II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

1. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
   Band vi. Heft 2.
   A. von Kegl, Seibâni, ein moderner persischer Dichter des Pessimismus.

   Band xxv. Heft iv.
   Kresmárik, (J.). Das Wakarecht vom Standpunkte des Šari'atrechtes nach der hanefitischen Schule.
   Hommel, (Fritz). Über den Ursprung und das Alter der Arabischen Sternnamen und insbesondere der Mondstationen.
   Schmidt, (Dr. R.). Specimen der Dinālāpanikāçukasaptatī.
   Jacob, (Georg.). Kannten die Araber wirklich sicilischen Bernstein?

III. Obituary Notices.

   General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S., M.P.—The news of the sudden death of this amiable and distinguished officer, at the age of 67, fell heavily on the ears of his numerous friends and admirers. He joined this Society in 1858, and had served on the Council, and contributed papers to this Journal. He went out to Bombay in the Native Infantry
in 1841, but at a very early date he was employed in the Political Department under Sir James Outram and General John Jacob, and he accompanied the former in the Persian expedition in 1856. In 1859 he was Secretary of Legation at Teherán, and became Chargé d’Affaires on the retirement of Sir Henry Rawlinson. In 1861–2 he acted as Consul on the East Coast of Africa; in 1862 he became Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and in 1872 he accompanied Sir Bartle Frere on his mission to Zanzibar. In 1873 he was Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputána, and in 1874 he was Special Commissioner at Baróda. In 1876 he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the frontier discussion of Afghan affairs, at the special desire of the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and soon after he returned to England, having received repeatedly the thanks of the Government of India, and the Orders attached to his name. His public career in India and Persia was most remarkable.

But there was a literary side of his career also: he was an admirable Persian scholar, and he contributed to the Proceedings of Scientific Societies, published separate pamphlets, was a constant writer in periodicals and newspapers, and under his direction was collected and published the Miracle Play of Hasan and Hasain, a set of thirty-seven dramatic scenes, concerning which the Times, in a long review under date August 19th, 1879, remarked that it was full of matter of the highest value to the student of comparative theology; in fact it was a work unique of its kind, and which no one could have put forth who had not the peculiar experiences and knowledge of Sir Lewis Pelly.

In 1885 he stood successfully in the Conservative interest for the Northern Division of Hackney, and sat for that borough up to the date of his death. He knew certain subjects well, and wisely confined himself to those subjects, and when he spoke, his words had due weight. He was a Director of the Imperial British East African Company, and his last utterance in the House of Commons was in connection with the affairs of East Africa, with which his official experience had made him very familiar.
He was extremely courteous in his manner, and agreeable and instructive in his conversation, and he was one of the best type of the Anglo-Indian officials.

*June 9th, 1892.*

Mr. Stephen Austin, of Hertford.—The death, at the age of 87, occurred at Hertford on Saturday, the 21st of May, of one who in years was perhaps the oldest member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Austin was printer to the East India College at Haileybury until it was closed in 1858. Supported by the authorities of that institution, he started the printing and publishing of works in Oriental languages, and for many years he was one of the very few Oriental printers in England. As an Oriental printer he acquired a worldwide reputation, and many of the finest specimens of Oriental typography have borne his name. In 1834 he started the newspaper since known as the *Hertfordshire Mercury*, and for upwards of fifty years he actively superintended its publication. After the extinction of the East India Company the college buildings at Haileybury were purchased by the British Land Company as a speculation; and it was largely owing to the unwearying exertions and persevering energy of Mr. Stephen Austin that the old college was preserved as a place of education, and the present successful public school founded on its site. For the last 25 years the Journal of the Society has been printed at Hertford, and a great variety of Oriental types have been introduced into its pages in beautiful style and with great accuracy: books were produced from his press in the following languages, Sanskrit, Bangali, Arabic, Persian, Pashtu, Hindustani, Hindi, and Hebrew, all these with different or varying alphabets: there were also considerable issues in the more familiar languages and alphabets of Europe, Greek, Latin, French, and English.

Mr. Austin received gold medals from Her Majesty the Queen and the Empress Eugenie of France, in acknowledgment of the taste and skill displayed in his productions, and medals of the first class at the International Exhibitions of
Paris and London, and in 1883 the Congress International des Orientalistes presented him with a diploma for services rendered to Oriental literature.

Full of enterprise in early life, and of sympathetic intelligence in his declining years, he secured to himself firm and lasting friendships; he was highly appreciated for his services by his fellow citizens, and his death has left a gap which will not easily be filled.

June 8, 1892.

R. N. C.

IV. Notes and News.

The Game of Wei Chi.—At a recent meeting at Shanghai of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, M. Volpicelli read a paper on “The Game of Wei-chi,” which, he said, was the great game of China. It is considered by the Chinese to be far superior to chess, and to be the special game of the literary class. Wei-chi possesses interesting features and requires great skill in playing. It has for us the merit of absolute novelty, because it differs essentially from all Western games. Unlike chess or draughts, the men are never taken, but remain where they are played. The game is not a series of skilful evolutions, but a successive occupation of points which, joined together, give a final winning position. Though the game is on a very extensive scale, the board containing 361 places and the men employed being nearly 200 aside, still it is very simple in principle, all the men having the same value and the same powers. To achieve the object of the game on such an extensive board requires great foresight and profound calculation. This object is to occupy as much space on the board as possible. He who at the end of the game commands most places has won. This can be carried out in two ways—by enclosing empty spaces on the board with a certain number of one’s men, and by surrounding and capturing the enemy’s men. The name wei-chi comes from wei, meaning “to surround.” Though it is so easy to state
in general terms the object the player has in view, it requires great skill to effect it if the player is matched with a good adversary. While he is trying to surround the enemy’s men his are being surrounded by the adversary’s, and this often occurs in the same part of the board, so that the men get interlocked and the position of one additional man may turn the scale. As there is no piece of vital importance, like the King at chess, and as the object of the game is of a general arithmetical character—to secure most places—the places lost in one part of the board may be compensated by surrounding the enemy in another quarter; so that wei-chi, instead of concentrating the attention of the player in one spot, as in chess, on the King, diffuses it all over the board. Very nice calculation is always necessary, so that one may balance the losses here with the gains there. The game was first mentioned in Chinese writings about B.C. 625. It was probably derived from the Babylonian astronomers, who were at that time the teachers of the East. Chinese Emperors have been very fond of the game, though it subjects them to the necessity of forgetting their rank, and those who play with the Emperor sit in his presence. It is recorded of an Emperor of the fourth century that on one occasion he made a move irregularly. The courtier who was playing with him held the Monarch’s finger, and the Emperor was not offended. This was thought important enough to be mentioned in history.

Khalsa College.—The Sikh community at Lahore has been celebrating the opening of the new College for the education of the Sikhs there.

Mr. Fleet.—We are glad to see that the University of Göttingen has granted to Mr. Fleet the Honorary Degree of Philosophia Doctor for his distinguished services to Indian epigraphy and other branches of historical study in India.

Captain Bower’s Expedition.—This traveller, together with Dr. Thorold and the rest of the party, arrived safely in Shanghai on Tuesday, the 12th of March, having traversed Ladak and a portion of Tibet.
The Mythical Bird (Syena, Saena, Rok Garuḍa).—Mr. Casartelli, M.R.A.S., has sent to the library a copy of his brochure on the Vedic, Persian, Arabic, and later Indian forms of this legend. The little pamphlet is a very excellent guide to the literature of the subject, and contains a very ingenious and probably true explanation of the mysterious name Rukh, or Rokh, given to this gigantic bird in the Arabian Nights.

Jñānēṣvāra.—At Alundi, about ten miles from Poona, an annual festival is held in honour of an old Mahratta scholar of this name, who is supposed to have lived at the end of the twelfth century, and to have completed his Dnyānesvari (a commentary in old Māraṭhī on the Bhagavad Gītā) in the Saka year 1212. He is also the author of the Jñānēṣvārārashtaka mentioned in Burnell’s Catalogue.

Cremation of D. A. De Silva Batuwantudava Pandit.—A correspondent, Mr. Capper, of the Ceylon Times, has sent us the following interesting particulars as supplied to that paper:

“Last Saturday morning there was a copious supply of white sand strewn from one corner to the other in Dam Street, which, according to Eastern custom, indicated an occurrence of a most dismal nature. It was the cremation day of Pandit Batuwantudava, an oriental scholar, whose equal can hardly be found in Ceylon. As the day wore on groups of sympathizers and friends were wending their way to his residence; and by 3 p.m., the appointed time for the removal of his remains, there was a large concourse of people assembled, not deterred by the inclemency of the weather which continued throughout the day. Precise to time, the hearse moved on in the following order of procession: First, there was a cart containing pori (roasted paddy), which was sprinkled all along the way as a mark of respect for the departed. Next followed a number of boys with banners and flags, succeeded by a dozen tomtoom beaters, who played a sort of dead march. Then came the hearse with the pall-bearers, followed closely by the principal mourners, sons, and near relations of the
deceased, the numerous sympathizers and friends closing the procession.

"At the crematorium over 200 Buddhist priests of different sects awaited the approach of the hearse. There were the high priest Sumangala and his followers, Dharmarama and his followers, Suriyagoda priest representing the Malwatta Vihara, Mulleriyawa priest representing the Cotta sect, and also the priests of the Amarapura sect.

"After the coffin was removed and laid on the pyre by the relatives of the deceased, the usual offering of cloths (pansakula) was made by them to the priests. The time having come for the oration over the deceased, the high priest by right of office had to discharge this duty. He was, however, overpowered with grief at the sad bereavement he had sustained in the loss of one who was dear to him as a fellow student in early days, and as a fellow labourer in the literary field later in life. He could only speak a few words, deputing the work to priest Nanissara, his ablest pupil, who delivered a short and comprehensive speech, first dwelling on the unselfish, pure, and modest life led by the deceased, combined with abilities in the department of oriental languages rarely to be met with; next, the duty of relations and friends to honour such a man; and, lastly, what benefits they will derive therefrom. The discourse being over, the pyre was set fire to by the nephew (sister's son, Mr. F. S. Abeyratna) of the deceased, in accordance with ancient rites.

"Thus closes the last scene in the life of Pandit Baṭu-wantudava. That he has rendered eminent service for his country's good goes without question. A better knowledge of medicine has been disseminated among the native vedaralas by Sanskrit works being translated into the vernacular by the pandit; and his efforts in the direction of religious and metaphysical works have given an impetus to oriental studies among Buddhist priests and laymen, and have also opened the way to those interested in the study of Buddhism. His work in connection with the Mahāwansa, required by the Ceylon Government, should receive marked
recognition. A few pages of the Tikā (commentaries) was being revised by the pandit when he was cut off. One of his sons is treading in his footsteps, and with oriental studies he combines a knowledge of modern languages which was wanting in the pandit, and which placed him at a very great disadvantage with oriental scholars in Europe.—*Ceylon Times*.

**Mohammedan Coins.**—Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has just finished his "Catalogue of the Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum," from the invasion of Baber in 1525 to the establishment of a British currency by the East India Company in 1835. It contains descriptions of over 1400 coins, chiefly gold and silver, 500 of which will be represented in the autotype plates illustrating the work. As the Museum possesses incomparably the finest collection in the world of this splendid coinage the volume will offer a special interest to Indian students and collectors. In his introduction, Mr. Lane-Poole deals with the various historical, geographical, and other problems suggested by the coinage, and with the difficulties of classification presented by the early imitative issues of the East India Company and the French Compagnie des Indes. This volume, the fourteenth, will complete the description of the entire collection of Mohammedan coins in the Museum, which has been in course of publication since 1835 and with which may be grouped the same author's analogous "Catalogue of the Arabic Glass Weights," 1891, and Mr. R. S. Poole's "Catalogue of Persian Coins."

**Indian Numismatics.**—Mr. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, has finished his "Catalogue of the Coins with Persian or Arabic Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum," and practically finished his "Catalogue of the Coins in the Calcutta Museum." His own immense collection has now been purchased by the Pañjāb Government, and he has nearly completed his catalogue of that. These catalogues will be of very great importance alike for the numismatics, and for the modern history of India, and we congratulate the distinguished author on the completion of his laborious task.

*J.R.A.S. 1892.*
Indian Scholars.—We have been requested to publish the following correspondence:

63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.,
27th May, 1892.

My Lord,—I am one of the oldest students of the Languages of British India, and venture to address your Lordship on the subject of the necessity of extending some additional encouragement to the study of these languages, and of Indian Archaeology.

The abolition of the Indian Army, and of a Covenanted Civil Service trained in a special college, has cut away the sources of the former supply of Oriental scholars. No civilian of the past generation would have had any scientific knowledge of languages if he had not been trained at the East India College of Haileybury.

The Civil and Military services do not now produce scholars; no doubt for their special duties they are equally, or even more, efficient, but the steady flow of Oriental scholars has ceased. The Educational Department does not supply the void, and language is but a small fraction of that Department. Nor does the native community, with some rare and splendid exceptions, supply scholars who can hold their own in European circles.

This failure is becoming yearly more manifest at the triennial Congresses of Oriental Scholars held at the different capital cities of Europe, nearly all of which I have attended.

If any post falls vacant, requiring scholarship, in Great Britain, or the Colonies, or even in British India, a Continental scholar has to be sent for, which wounds the amour propre of the subjects of Her Majesty.

It occurs to the undersigned, who at the close of a long career dedicated to the best interests of British India, has no personal object to serve, to suggest that your lordship might, with advantage, extend to young scholars in Oriental Languages and Indian Archaeology, the same encouragement of Imperial favour, as is properly extended to the great Engineer, or Soldier, or Judge, or Administrator; some members of the very distinguished Civil and Military
Services might then be induced to strive to maintain the
glories of the epoch which produced Sir W. Jones, Mr.
Colebrook, and Dr. H. H. Wilson, and others of a later date.
At present this branch of study is nearly entirely neglected.

The undersigned takes the liberty of illustrating his argu-
ment by two instances: Mr. Brian Hodgson, still living at
the age of ninety, and the late Sir Henry Yule; the names
of both these scholars is mentioned with respect and admira-
tion in Continental circles. In their own country their
services to literature have, in the first case been entirely
unacknowledged, and in the latter, so tardily, that death
accompanied the honour. It is true that they, and others
of the older generation, have laboured for the work's sake,
not for the chance of honour, and in that they have their
full, and to them sufficient, reward; but the object of the
State should be to encourage others, and it seems as if the
younger generation is compelled now to enquire, what will
pay best in the long run, and, as certainly Oriental study
does not in that sense pay, it suffers, and the high repute of
the British name suffers with it. It is an object of desire to
secure to the British name an all round reputation in arts
and arms, and in every branch of human science, especially
in a branch so closely connected with the religion, customs,
and culture, and welfare of the great Indian nation confided
to our charge.

It is therefore, with the profoundest respect, that I suggest
to your lordship, that year by year a certain number of
honorary decorations be reserved to those who have dis-
tinguished themselves in the advance of Indian Languages,
Literature, Archæology, and Culture, whether Europeans or
Natives of Asia. Some men return to their home, illustrious
as Soldiers, or Statesmen, or Judges, or Engineers; let it be
possible that to some it should be permitted to be honoured
as Scholars, and possibly the fruit of their labours will
survive into the next generation, when the achievements of
the other illustrious public servants will be forgotten. It
may perhaps be argued that in this respect, viz., in the
enduring of their reputation to future ages, they have their
reward, and that the Father of Buddhist research and the Author of the Life of Marco Paolo would gain no additional lustre from anything that the Secretary of State for India had it in his power to give, but perhaps the Secretary of State himself might derive honour from the fact that he honoured those who were deserving of honour; at any rate younger scholars would be encouraged. There are some who have not attained such honours, though worthy of them; there are others who would not care for them, if offered for their acceptance; but there are others who in youth or middle life, with still unexhausted powers, might be encouraged to labour on the prospect of the fruits of their labour being recognized, and in behalf of the young scholars now in India I venture to intrude on your lordship's patience.—I am, your lordship's obedient servant,

R. N. Cust.

To the Right Honble.,
The Secretary of State for India,
India Office.

Copy of Reply.

Sir,—I am directed by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, and to thank you for the suggestions contained in it as to the encouragement of Oriental Scholarship.

His Lordship desires me to say that your remarks will be borne in mind, and that a copy of your letter will be sent to the Viceroy for his information.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. W. William Wynn.

India Office, June 10th, 1892.
V.—Notices of Books.

ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK DES MAHĀBHĀRATA. VON
Dr. ADOLF HOLTZMANN. (Kiel, 1892.).

In this work the Epic is traced by Dr. Holtzmann (who incidentally complains of the almost exclusive attention bestowed on Vedic and dramatic literature) from its primeval Indo-Germanic home, to its development in India. There he asserts, "Epos und Veda sind gleich alt," the Epic flourishing alongside of, but quite independent of, the religious and philosophic poetry of the Brāhmans, being specially the property of the warrior caste, composed by bards at the courts of kings, and handed down by oral tradition. It had in its oldest forms as its gods Brahmā, Indra, and Agni, and in its later developments Vishnu and Siva, and it was only gradually united into a chronological sequence, arranged so as to please the king at whose court the bard resided.

The instances of Polyandry, the rules of family right and caste customs, as well as the great freedom of women, are examined to show the age of the underlying portion of the poem. The construction of the poem, in its collected form, is believed by Dr. Holtzmann, after a careful and critical study of the chief personages, to be the work of one individual poet, whom he believes to have been a Buddhist, at the court of Asoka, or one of his immediate successors. The invasion of Alexander the Great is said to have roused a national spirit, and the Hindu monarch, who ruled at the time, is supposed to be depicted in the character of Suyodhana, or, as he appears afterwards in the Brāhmansical revision, Duryodhana.

References to Buddhism are suggested in Cārvāka, the mendicant monk, in the connection between the name of Āsvatthāman and the *ficus religiosa* (asvattha): in the passing of the amulet in the forehead of Āsvatthāman (the personification of decaying Buddhism), to Yudhishṭhira, the believer in Vishnuism, and in the red cloth, Kṣaṭyā (Pali
Kasāva) of the Buddhist (?) mendicant. The absence of any clear signs of Buddhism in the poem is accounted for by the suggestion that the Buddhism in its earliest form differed but slightly from Brahmmanism, and that all signs of Buddhism were carefully expunged by the Brāhmanical revisers. The first Brāhmanical revision is ascribed by the author to the revolt from Buddhism caused by its leanings towards Sivaism adopted from the Demonology of the Dravidian aborigines. This revision was a wholesale falsification of the old Epic, Yudhishṭhira being in the new version extolled as a king after the hearts of the Brāhmans, and Krishna exalted into an incarnation of Vishnu, a type of the pantheistic deity. The Brāhmanical tendency is shown in the introduction of the Brāhman Vyāsa as the author of the poem substituted for Bhīshma as the father of Dhrītarāṣṭra, Pāṇdu, and Vidura. A second Puranic revision was undertaken by the Brāhmans between the years 900–1100, who found it necessary, as soon as all fear of opposition from Buddhism had passed away, to retain their supremacy and strengthen their position by incorporating the old Sivaitic superstitions into the poem, where they may be traced, according to Dr. Holtzmann, as mere mechanical mixtures, the old Vishnavite portions being on the other hand chemically combined. The enlargement of the poem, the metre and grammatical forms of which were then definitely fixed, the introduction of didactic sections, and even the addition of entirely new books were the result of this Puranic revision. The whole argument is in the highest degree interesting and suggestive. It will be followed by two further volumes. The first of these will give a critical survey of the additions, etc., of the whole poem, and also of the meaning and history of the various parts of it; and the second will deal with the relations of the poem to the rest of Sanskrit literature.

C. H.

This is one of the important series of Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars of the principal Asiatic and European Language, and the twenty-second of that series. The author is a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and his knowledge has been obtained on the spot from intercourse with people who speak the language. The language is one of the important Arian languages of Northern India, which make up what may be called the Neo-Sanskritic family, as they occupy to the Sanskrit the same relation that the Neo-Latin Languages of Europe occupy to Latin. The population which speaks this language exceeds seven millions.

Our author is by no means the first, or the only, grammarian in the field. The literature of this language in the strict sense is poor, but there is great activity in the Native presses, and a great many newspapers are published in Gujarati: there is one distinct and well-defined dialect, the Parsi, and the whole Bible is translated into the language. There is a form of written character peculiar to the language.

The author tells us in his preface that when he arrived in Bombay not a single copy of the earlier grammars could be obtained; he alluded to two Vernacular Grammars of later date, one by the Rev. J. Taylor, and the other by Sir T. C. Hope, Educational Inspector. He mentions also a Handbook of Gujarati Grammar by P. M. Bhatt.

The Grammar is accompanied by a set of Reading Lessons and a Vocabulary, and is very creditably turned out, and no doubt will be very useful. 

March 25th, 1892. 

R. N. C.

Grammer of the Telugu Language. By Henry Morris, Esq., late of H. M. Indian Civil Service. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1890.)

The Telinga or Telugu language is one of the four great Dravidian forms of speech of South India, which have been
enriched and strengthened by an infusion of Arian words. It is spoken by a population of nearly twelve millions, according to the Census of 1881, in a ring fence, and occupying the northern portion of the Province of Madras. It has a written character of its own; the symbols differ in form from the Nágari alphabet of North India, but the group of the symbols in both alphabets is homogeneous indicating a common origin.

It is a language with a considerable literature, and well supplied with grammars and dictionaries, and the whole Bible has been translated into it; it is a vigorous and important vernacular. Mr. Morris' Grammar is carefully prepared, beautifully printed, and will be of great use to future students. A short text is given with a careful analysis.

*March 25th, 1892.*

R. N. C.

**A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language.**

By Abraham Mendis Gunasekara, M.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch. (Colombo, Skee.)

This substantial volume of 516 pages, royal 8vo., is by far the best and most complete grammar of the Sinhalese language which has yet appeared. Adapted primarily for the use of students and writers in the Ceylon Civil Service, it will also be found the most reliable work of reference on the subject by philological students here in Europe. It is a pity, however, that the book has not been constructed on historical principles. The forms given, not only in the paradigms of nouns, verbs, etc., but also in the examples on the rules of syntax, are not always in current use, and obsolete forms of different periods are given indiscriminately side by side. Sinhalese literature having lasted through so many centuries, during which the language was constantly changing, it is not possible to give any grammar that will apply equally to all the books it contains. It would have been better therefore either to omit the Elu forms not now in use or to trace the history of the various grammatical forms now obsolete, the insertion of which has so much increased the bulk of the work.
Art. IX.—Catalogue and Description of 27 Bâbi Manuscripts.
By E. G. Browne, M.A., M.R.A.S.¹

To my second paper on the Bábís in the J.R.A.S. for 1889 I added an Appendix (App. IV, pp. 1000–1008), wherein I briefly described some of the chief Bábí works of which I had obtained MSS. in Persia, arranging these according to their authorship and the date of their composition, where these could be determined. Of the MSS. themselves (some of which were of composite character) I gave no description. This I now regard as an error of judgement, since, for many reasons (and chiefly that in the future, when they shall pass into other hands, there may be no difficulty in identifying them), it is desirable that their contents should be clearly and succinctly stated. This defect in my previous work I now propose to remedy; but I should not perhaps have done so were it not that since the year 1889 I have acquired a considerable number of new MSS. from authentic sources, a description of which may facilitate the identification of Bábí MSS. in other collections. To each of these MSS. I shall now give a distinctive press-mark, which shall be inscribed on the title-page, and which shall serve for its future identification. The whole class I denote by the letters BB (the first B indicating that they are Bábí MSS., the second that they form part of my collection).

¹ Throughout this article I employ, in referring to my previous writings on the Bábís, and to those of Baron Rosen, the abbreviations already explained at the beginning of my last article (J.R.A.S. for April, 1892, pp. 259–260), which is itself denoted by the abbreviation B. iii., just as this article will in future be referred to as B. iv.
I further subdivide them according to the source whence they were obtained as follows:

(I.) MSS. obtained in Persia between the dates February 28th, 1888 (when I first succeeded in establishing communications with the Bábís at Isfahán), and August 22, 1888, when I acquired my last Persian MS. (the Persian Beyán) in Rafsinján near Kirmán. MSS. of this class I denote by the letters BBP (the P standing for Persia).

(II.) MSS. obtained from Cyprus as a result of the correspondence which, through the kindness of Captain Young, the Commissioner of Famagusta, I have been enabled to carry on since July, 1889, with Subh-i-Ezel (see T.N. ii, pp. xviii.–xx.) All these MSS., with the exception of three or four which were brought to Subh-i-Ezel from Persia in the summer of 1890, were transcribed by himself. I feel that it is only due to him to state that he undertook this laborious task solely from a desire to render the writings of his beloved Master accessible to the western world and out of sheer kindness to myself. I was unable to make him any return, save sundry little services utterly incommensurable with the value of his gifts, and quite undeserving of mention. All these MSS. (including one or two which he placed in my hands while I was in Cyprus in March–April, 1890) are denoted by the letters BBF (the F standing for Famagusta).

(III.) MSS. obtained at Acre in April, 1888, or from Acre since that date. These were in all cases given or sent to me by Behá'u'lláh’s eldest son, ‘Abbás Efendi, his second son, Badi‘u’lláh, or his third son, Zíyá'u'lláh.¹ When sent, they were accompanied by letters in which the title or nature of

¹ I believe that Behá has or had more than three sons, but these are all that I have seen or corresponded with.
the book was stated. These MSS. are denoted by the letters \( \text{BBB} \) (the \( \text{A} \) standing for Acre).

(IV.) MSS. obtained from Sheykh \( \text{A} \)——, a learned Ezeli resident in Constantinople, who is in constant communication with \( \text{Subh-i-Ezel} \), and is implicitly trusted by him, and of whose learning and integrity alike I have had good proof. These MSS. are denoted by the letters \( \text{BBC} \) (the \( \text{C} \) standing for Constantinople).

The MSS. in each class are further specified by a number appended to the class-letters, which number denotes simply the order in which they came into my hands. Thus the first MS. obtained from Famagusta is denoted as \( \text{BBF. 1} \), the second as \( \text{BBF. 2} \), and so on. With this preliminary explanation of the plan of classification adopted (which, it will be observed, is empirical rather than rational, but which nevertheless appeared to me for several reasons the most satisfactory), I proceed to the detailed enumeration of the MSS., some of which, having been elsewhere sufficiently noticed, can be dismissed very shortly, while others will need a fuller description.

**Class I. MSS. Obtained in Persia.**

**BBP. 1.**

\( \text{ایقان} \)

FF. 82 (ff. 1\(^a\), 81\(^b\), 82\(^a\), and 82\(^b\) blank), 22\(\times\)25 × 11\(\times\)25 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Bought at Isfahán on March 1st, 1888, for 26 kráns (rather less than sixteen shillings). Unfortunately it has twice suffered serious damage, firstly by the bursting open of a portable ink-bottle with which it was packed, whereby the margins of the leaves were much stained; and, secondly, by the adhesion of a good many opposite leaves (either from undue pressure or unusual stickiness of the ink) in the process of
binding. In many parts it is consequently now almost illegible, though when I described it in 1888 it was in good condition.

For a general account of the work see Baron Rosen's description in Coll. Sc. iii, pp. 32–51; B. ii, pp. 944–9; and Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 143–4.

The work was composed, as I have already shown (p. 305 supra), two years after Behá's return to Baghdad from the mountains of Kurdistán, i.e. in a.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858–9), while he still owned allegiance to Subh-i-Ezel. The passage which proves this has been already alluded to (cf. also B. ii, p. 946), but it is so important that, as it is not included in the extracts given by Baron Rosen, I here give it in full. It occurs on ff. 78b–79b of the present MS., and ff. 123a–125a of the Acre MS. which will be described presently. I follow the latter, which offers a better as well as a more legible text.

باری امید داریم که اهل بیان تریبیست شوند و در هوای روح طبران نمایدند و در فنسای روح ساکن شوند حتی را از غیر حق تعیمر دهد و تلبیس باطل را بدیده بصیرت بشناسند (123b) اگرچه در این آیات را رآی ست که هزینه ی زیده که قسم برتری وجود از نسب شهبان که از اول بنای وجود عالم با اینکه آن را اولی نه تا حال جهانی علی و حسد و بغضیانی ظاهر نشده و نخواهد شد چنانچه جمعی که رآی ست انسان را نشیب دادند رایان نفلق بر افتخاراند و بر خلافت این عید اتفاق نموده اند و بر هر جهت رحمی آشکار و از هر سرمت تیره طیار با اینکه باحده در امره افتخار نمودن و بینینی برتری چشم با هر نفی مصاحبی بوده در نواخت مهران و رخیقی باقا بردار و رگان را فقرا مثل فقرا بوده و با علما و عظیم در کمال تسنیم و زنیم مع دیک فواسته الذي لا الله الا هو با آنمه ابتلا و باعده و ضرر که از اعدا و اولی کتاب وارد شد
نزد آن‌چه از احیاء، وارن شد مدعی صرف است و مدقع قائل بهت باری، چه اطلاع نعایم که امکان را اگر‌انصاف باشد طاقت ایین بیان نه و ایین (۱۲۴) عبد در اول برود ایین ارض چون فی الگمعله بر امورات مسجدیه بعد اطلاع یافتن از قبل مهاجرت اختیار نمودم و سر در بیابان‌های فراق نهادم و دو سال و حده در صمراء‌های عجر بسیر بردم و از عیون عیون جاری بود و از قلم بحور، دم ظاهر چه لیالی که قوت دست نداد و حسه ایام که جسد راحت نیافت و با این بی‌بیایی نازل و رزابایی متواتر، یافلی که نفسی بی‌بیده کمال سرور، موجب بود و نهایت فرح مشهود زیرا که از پرورد و نفع و علیه و علم فی این که این، مهاجرت شیا باعث ماجرا نه و از این اشک اندازی از کم‌مدش اجتا ب نه و اراده اش را جز شک جا چن که این منی باز ماجرا خیال مراجع عید بنواد و منساز نمود امید مواصلات نه و مفتون جز این بنود که مسال اختلف احباب نشوم و مصدر انتقال (۱۲۴) اEMALE امیرا و خبر و حسب نی‌تقدیر و سبب نم‌م‌نامه نشوم و علیه حسن قلی قیام یافم، خبر از آن‌چه ذکر شد خیالی بنیاب و امری منظور نه اگرچه هر نفسی یافم، خیالی بست و به‌واح خشبع خیالی نمود باری تا آن‌چه از مصدر امر حکم رجوع صادق شد و لا تسلیم نمودم و راجع شدم دیگر قلم عاجز است از ذکر آن‌چه بعد از رجوع ملاحظه شد حال دو سته می‌گذرد که اعدا در اهل‌الاک ان عبد فانی به‌این‌سی و اهتمام دارند، جناییه جمعی مظله‌شده اند مع ذلك نفسی از احباب نصرت نمودود و به‌یاری اعانتی منظور نداشته بلکه از عوض نصر

1 BBP: 1. om. zl bene.

Ff. 24 (ff. 1a, 23b, 24a, and 24b blank), 18.75 × 12 centimetres, 18 lines to the page. Written in a small neat naskh hand. Bought in Isfahán along with the MS. described above.

Begins:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي قد حرك الذرات بحركة جذب صمانتيته وقد موجّع أبحر الكلمات بما هبت وفاحت عليها من ارتفاع مرّ نورانيته وقد طرّز الوجاز الموجود بالنقطة التي اندريجت واندريّجت فيها الخروفات والكلمات.....

The Persian preface begins on f. 2a, l. 7, as follows:

وَبَعْدَ بِنَاظِرٍ إِنْ كُلُّمَاتِ وَواَقِفٍ إِنْ آِشَارَاتِ مَعْلُومٍ وَمَشْهُورٍ

بُدِّدَ نَظَارُ جَوْهَرُ وَتَلَّبَّ سَالِكَ مَسَاكَ هَدَايَتُ وَبَنِّى حَلِقَة

بِكُبْوَ شَاهُ وَلَيْتُ وَتَلَّابُ آِسَارَ غِيْبَيْةَ الْهَيْهِ وَواَقِفٍ آِشَارَاتِ
خنفیتی ربانی‌ه‌ی صحبت خاندان و اهل بیت حصرت مصطفی دوست درویشان و منظور نظر ایشان متوسل بعوره ائله الوثنی و السبب الاقوی على شوکت پاشا ولد مرحم آقا حسین پاشا وقته ائله لما پیشآ این دویش اراده نموده که شریف خاتمی و تفسیری و مجز و مغیدی بحذف قدسی مشهور که کنت کنزا خنفی فاحبیت ان اعرف فنجهخت انتخاب لاعرف مرقوم دارد ... 

Ends:

ای حبیب این بال و بر درهم شکسته گل آوردرا که از قدم عالم حکایت میکند بپیچ از بهره‌ی عزّ توحید در ایر نفتی و سبیع وسماء (۲۳،۴) منبع پرواز نعمانی بجان بکوش تا بعائده بدیعه که از سماء هولته در نزولست منظم گردی و بفواهید قدسیه از شجرد لا شرقتیه ولاغریتیه مرزوق شوی این طیور آتشیه حیرت را شوری دیگر در سرست و این آوارگان سبیع میمونه جذبی دیگر در ایل باید چهار تکبیر بر ما کان وما یکن زن و عزم کوی جانان کرد چشم‌ها از غیر دوست بر بست و بجمال مشهود کوشید و سامع‌ها از كل اذکار یاک و مظهر ساخت تا از زرآمار آل داور المان بدلیع ملیک ۰جمود استعمال نمود.

So far as I have read this treatise I find no mention of the author's name, but Bábí tradition ascribes it to 'Abbás Efendi. Scattered through the commentary, which in the main reflects the ideas of the Súfis, are hints of Bábí doctrine, including discussions on the meaning of the “Point” (نقطه) and the “Unity” (ولحد), which latter is regarded as the “manifestation” of “the One” ( واحد).
BBP. 3.

كتاب اندس

Ff. 67 (ff. 1ᵃ, 67ᵃ, and 67ᵇ blank), 16 × 10.25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a small neat naskh hand. Heading, as well as initial or final words in some parts, written in blue ink. Given to me by one of the Bábís of Shiráz on April 2nd, 1888.

See B. i, p. 495; B. ii, pp. 972–981 and 1007–8; Coll. Sc. vi, p. 144. To this work I formerly gave the name Lavh-i-Akdas which I had heard applied to it by the Bábís in Persia. I was informed at Acre that its proper title is Kitáb-i-Akdas, and that the name Lavh-i-Akdas properly denotes an Epistle addressed to the Christians. This detail is independently confirmed by M. Toumansky. (See Coll. Sc. vi, p. 243, n. 1.)

BBP. 4.

كتاب اندس

Ff. 104 (ff. 1ᵃ–17ᵃ and 90ᵇ–104ᵇ blank), 13 × 8 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Invocation (بسمه الحاكم على ما كان وما يكون) in red. Written in a good bold naskh hand by Hájí Mírzá H——, the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shiráz (B. i, pp. 492, 495; B. ii, p. 972, and p. 312 supra), who received in return the sum of one tūmán (six shillings).

The same work as that last described.

BBP. 5.

تاريخ جديد

Ff. 189 (ff. 1ᵃ–2ᵃ and 189ᵇ blank), 21 × 13 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in legible Persian ta‘lík of an unpretentious character by a scribe who, from the mistakes in orthography of which he is not seldom guilty, was evidently a man of no great
education. Given to me by the Bábís of Shíráz in April, 1888. Concerning this important work see pp. 318–9 supra; B. i, p. 496; B. ii, pp. 1002–3; Coll. Sc. vi, p. 244; and T.N. ii, pp. 192–7 and passim.

Recent researches have thrown no small light on the origin and authorship of this history. As the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have consented to publish an abridged translation of it which I have prepared, I prefer to reserve a full discussion of these points for the Introduction to that work, and will here confine myself to a brief statement of the more important facts.

I have previously had occasion to observe (p. 319 supra) that the Tárikh-i-Jadid was in great measure based on a contemporary history of the Bábí movement written by Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in 1852. Till quite recently all my attempts to discover some trace of the earlier work proved ineffectual. Last Easter, however, I at length found opportunity to examine the five Bábí MSS. belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris which were brought back from Persia by Count Gobineau. Of these five MSS. two were in Persian and three in Arabic. Of the former, one (Suppl. Pers. 1,070) contained part, and the other (Suppl. Pers. 1,071) the whole of a partly doctrinal, partly historical work which at once rivetted my attention, and which, as I hope to prove conclusively in the Introduction to my translation of the Tárikh-i-Jadid, appears to be nothing less than the hitherto lost work of Hájí Mírzá Jání. I was not able to subject this MS. to an exhaustive examination, the period of my stay in Paris not sufficing for this, but I found in it, reproduced almost word for word, the bulk of the more important narratives quoted from Hájí Mírzá Jání's work in the Tárikh-i-Jadid, these being told either as the writer's own experiences, or as accounts heard at first-hand from those concerned. If this Parisian MS. be indeed (as I for my part feel assured is the case) the history of Hájí Mírzá Jání, its value can scarcely be over-estimated.

J.E.A.S. 1892.
Not less important are the results of inquiries instituted amongst the Bábís of ‘Ishkábád by Lieutenant Tounansky (of whose previous researches some account will be found at pp. 318–322 supra). Of these results, for the communication of which I am indebted to the unfailing kindness of Baron Rosen, Lieutenant Tounansky has most courteously permitted me to make use for this article. As I cannot possibly express them more clearly or more concisely than Baron Rosen has done, I prefer to quote his words. He writes:—"M. Tounansky me donne en outre quelques informations sur le Tarikh-i-Djadid. c. à-dire sur l’histoire de la composition de ce livre. Il tient ces informations de Mirza Aboul-Fazl, ابو الفضل غلایگانی, domicilié à Samarcand, qui vient souvent à Ashkabad. Cet Aboul-Fazl est cité dans le Tarikh-i-Djadid, comme m’écrir M. Tounansky, sur une des pages 306–322 est de votre manuscrit en ces mots:

جنب مسجد شامی اللقاب میرزا ابو الفضل مرقوم داشته هنگامی که اصفهان مطلع آقتاب طلعت آخترسرت بود مقرر شد که مجلسی بر با دارند و در حضور معتضد الدوله منچهب خان آلی

Aboul-Fazl était jadis un des oulémas Shiites. Son frère est Moudjtehid et fut un des membres de la conférence aux ‘Kazimein’ (Traveller’s Narrative ii, 85–87). C’est Aboul-Fazl auquel appartient le commencement du Tarikh-i-Djadid jusqu’aux mots:

بنابر- ے

این ایکنجانب نیز بر ذمہ خود فرض دانست qui se trouvent sur le page 3 du manuscrit de M. Tounansky. C’est cet Aboul-Fazl qui a appris à M. Tounansky ce qui suit an sujet de la composition du Tarikh-i-Djadid. En 1297 Aboul-Fazl fit a Téhéran connaissance avec Manouktechi. Ce dernier dans ce temps avait l’intention de publier deux ouvrages historiques. L’un d’eux, une

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1 The passage in question actually occurs on pp. 321-2 (f, 162b.-163a) of my MS.
2 In my MS, these words occur on f. 3b, l. 10.
histoire des rois iraniens avant l'islamisme fut composé sur l'ordre de Manouktchi par Ismail Khan Zend. La composition de l'autre, c. à dire l'histoire du Bab, fut confiée par Manouktchi à un babide nommé Mirza Hosein Hamadani (qui mourut à Resht en 1299). Manouktchi lui-même ne pouvait écrire, car il n'était pas habitué à écrire les lettres arabes, mais il désirait voir insérés dans le livre ses souvenirs et ses opinions. Mirza Hosein Hamadani s'adressa à Aboul-Fazl, qui lui conseilla de prendre pour base la chronologie du Násikh-ut-teváríkh, et renfermer les souvenirs et récits de Manouktchi dans ce cadre chronologique. Aboul-Fazl lui-même écrivit une espèce de préface, عنوان. Mirza Hosein Hamadani soumettait son brouillon à Hadji Seyid Djevâd (จอวั้ด) Kerbelâi, qui donnait à l'ouvrage la rédaction définitive. Ce hadji était un des savants shiites les plus connus. Il était de la famille du Seyid Mehdi surnomméardo] ["the Ocean of Sciences"], avait fait ses premières études à Kerbela sous la direction du Sheykh Ahmed Akhsâi [شيخ أحمد احسائي].

Plus tard il avait profité des leçons de Kázim Reshtî, et enfin devint Bâyby. Il avait connu le Báb encore avant l'âge de 100 ans.—M. Tounansky m'a autorisé à vous écrire ce qui précède. Tout cela repose naturellement sur l'autorité de Aboul-Fazl. Vous trouverez peut-être encore des renseignements pour confirmer ou réfuter ces remarques sur la composition du Tarîkh-i-Djadid."

The only observation which I need at present make on the foregoing version of the compilation of the Târikh-i-Jadîd is that it seems difficult to ascribe its final recension to Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, inasmuch as he was one of Subh-i-Ezéel's most loyal supporters (See T.N. ii, p. 342, n. 2), while the Târikh-i-Jadîd, in so far as it alludes at all to the later history of the Babi movement, manifests Behá'i sympathies, and systematically ignores Subh-i-Ezéel. Moreover, as will be set forth at the end of this article,
when I come to describe the MSS. bearing the press-marks BBC. 1 and BBC. 2, Seyyid Jawád actually composed two large volumes (the *Hasht Bihisht*, vols. i and ii) on the Theory and Practice of the Bábí religion, which are strongly Ezelí in their proclivities. (See also *T.N.* ii, pp. 351–371, and pp. 296–7 *supra.*) It is not unlikely, however, that the two or three passages in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* which refer to Behá may be interpolations of the copyist, and that, on the other hand, passages bearing reference to Šubh-i-Ezel may have been excised. In any case the information obtained by M. Toumansky is invaluable, as affording a definite basis for further investigation.

**BBP. 6:**

كتاب اقدس. اللواح سالمين. اشعار و اللواح مستغرقته.

Ff. 40 (ff. 1\textsuperscript{a} and 40\textsuperscript{b} blank), 17.5 × 10.5 centimetres. The number of lines to the page varies from 15 to 24, and the writing, a minute and rather illegible *shikasté*, becomes smaller as well as closer after the first few pages. The contents of this MS., as well as the circumstances under which I obtained it at Kirmán, on July 29th, 1888, are fully described at pp. 284–291 *supra*.

**BBP. 7:**

زيارت نامه. لوح نصیر. دلائل سعیه. اشعار و اللواح مستغرقته.

Ff. 220 (ff. 1\textsuperscript{a}–19\textsuperscript{a}, 45\textsuperscript{b}, 46\textsuperscript{a}, 52\textsuperscript{a}–53\textsuperscript{a}, 90–92\textsuperscript{a}, 161\textsuperscript{a}–164\textsuperscript{a}, 193\textsuperscript{b}–196\textsuperscript{a}, 213\textsuperscript{b}–220\textsuperscript{b} blank); 20.25 × 6.5 centimetres, 10 lines to the page throughout the prose portions. The poems, which are all at the end, are written in double oblique lines, between which, in some cases, two extra *beyts* are inscribed. Written for me by a Bábí telegraph-clerk at Kirmán in July–August, 1888.
Contents:

Ff. 1\textsuperscript{a}–19\textsuperscript{a} blank.

Ff. 19\textsuperscript{b}–45\textsuperscript{b}. The Ziyarat-nâmê (زیارت نامه) or "Book of Visitation" (Gobineau’s "Journal du Pèlerinage") composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission.

This work I discussed at pp. 896–902 of my second article in the J.R.A.S. for 1889, and I there attempted to prove that it was identical with a Bábí work described by Mirza Kazem-Beg at pp. 498–502 of vol. viii (series vi) of the Journal Asiatique. In one of my earlier letters to Subh-i-Ezel I enquired as to the authenticity of this work, and he replied, in a letter dated Oct. 1st, 1889, as follows:

"The Book of Visitation of which you spoke is by His Holiness the Point [\textit{i.e.} the Báb], and was [written] after the Manifestation,\textsuperscript{1} as is witnessed by [some of] the expressions occurring in it. He wrote many Visitations: they are not limited by any [definite] limitation. But there is also a Book of Visitations by myself. That is [written] in a different style, but there is in this land [\textit{i.e.} Cyprus] but a little of it.” Concerning this work see B. ii, pp. 896–902 and 1000.

Ff. 45\textsuperscript{b}–46\textsuperscript{a} blank.

Ff. 46\textsuperscript{b}–51\textsuperscript{b}. A short Epistle, of uncertain authorship, beginning with an Arabic exordium and continuing in Persian.

\textsuperscript{1} I had in my letter expressed the same opinion which I advanced in B. ii (loc. cit.), viz. that the Báb wrote it before the Manifestation.
هو الباقی الفرد الرفیع
سبحان‌الذی یسیجد له کل من فی السماوات و الأرض و کل الیه
یرجعون ستب الله کل من فی الوجود من الغیب و الشهود و کل
الیه یقبلون بیبد الامر والخلق یخلق ما یشاء بآمر لا اله الا هو
العزین القدوم......

The Persian part begins on f. 47b, l. 1, as follows:

ان یا اخی شمیده ام که یقبل آز ایین حفرات بعوضات الشرک
در گیاه ایین عبد حرفها میگودن و استادها میهدند که نسبت
دون حی باشد ین یا بعوضات الشرک قد جاجکم فنا عن شطر الالله
المهمی القدوم ان اختیر الفرار علی الفرار تائلاه الحق قد ظهر جمال
الوجود واستوى في عرش قدس منیر......

Ends:

از خداوند طلب نعیمی که در ظل فنا یارجع نوشید شاید در
ظل شجره باقا مستقل شوید که این است ثمره وجود انسانی که
در ظل الله سدره رئیسی مستقر شود یه اینکه ثابع بریتی هوا شوید که
شان ایشان بجیز فنا و ضللت نبوده و نیست الیهم فارق بیشما
و بیمهم الی ایام بفاتکب تم......

This Epistle appears from internal evidence to have
been written by one of those who claimed to manifest
God, but whether by the Bab or Beha I cannot con-
fidently decide, though it seems more probable that
the latter was its author. In this case the "brother" addressed
is probably Subh-i-Ezel.

Ff. 52a-53a blank.
Ff. 53b-89b. The La‘uh-i-Naṣīr (لوج نصری). See B. ii,
pp. 949-953, and 1004. The Bábis of Kirmán
informed me that this document was composed by Behá at Adrianople, and that in it he first formulated his claim. It appears that my copy of this important epistle is not, as I formerly supposed, unique in Europe, for I have learned from Baron Rosen that another copy exists at St. Petersburg.

Ff. 90a–92a blank.


About this work also I questioned Subh-i-Ezel in the letter alluded to in connection with the Ziyárat-námé. His reply (contained in the letter of October 1st from which I have already quoted) ran as follows:

"The Seven Proofs is by His Holiness the Point [i.e. the Báb], if it has not suffered interpolation.¹ There is no copy of it here. It was composed, as you say, in the Mountain of Mím [Mákú]. Most of the [Báb's] books were revealed during the few years of his imprisonment in Mákú and Chihrik. The rest were composed in Shíráz and Isfahán, save such as [he wrote] during the pilgrimage-journey, etc." I took with me to Cyprus a copy of the "Seven Proofs," and submitted it to Subh-i-Ezel, who kept it by him for several days, transcribed it for himself, and returned my copy to me with a few corrections, declaring it to be the genuine work of the Báb. He

¹ Sr. at the hands of the followers of Behá. Subh-i-Ezel often complained that the Behá'ís had tampered with the Báb's writings to give colour to their own doctrines and views, and was always careful to guard himself by this or some similar expression from giving an unqualified guarantee to any book which he had not himself seen.
added that it was written by the Báb for his amanuensis, Aḵá Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd.

Ff. 161ᵃ–164ᵃ blank.

Ff. 164ᵇ–192ᵇ. The masnavi poem attributed to Kurratu’l-‘Ayn, briefly described in B. ii, p. 1002.

Ff. 193ᵃ–196ᵃ blank.

Ff. 196ᵇ–213ᵃ. Other Bábí poems, as follows:

Ff. 196ᵇ–197ᵃ. The ghazal attributed to Kurratu’l-‘Ayn which I have published with a translation at pp. 314–316 of vol. ii of my Traveller’s Narrative.

Ff. 197ᵇ–198ᵃ. The poem of which Baron Rosen quotes the first beyt at the bottom of p. 251 of Coll. Sc. vi. The text here given (consisting of only 11 beyts), together with an English translation, will be found in the Appendix to B. iii (pp. 323–5 supra).

Ff. 198ᵃ–199ᵇ. Another poem of 18 couplets in the same rhyme and metre as the last, beginning:

هو العينوب
هل ه اى گروه عمائیان بکشید هلیلیہ ول
که جمال دلبرهاییان شده فاش وظاهرو برما

and ending:

زغم توایی مه مهریان زفراتت ای شه دلبران
شده روح وهمیکل [و] جسم [و] جان مانعفانها مانعفیل

Ff. 200ᵃ–213ᵃ. A poem, or group of poems, of the nature of a tarkib-band and tarjī-band combined, the refrain being constant in some parts of the poem and varying in others. The words are very wild, and the phraseology and allusions very obscure. I subjoin a few typical verses taken from different parts of the piece:

هو المعبود

طبرقدم طیار شد

نارسید شرارشا شد

صد رقوقا نغار شد

ماه هویت جارشند

¹ MS. Shiraz.
از نقطه ابداع با
از نقطه ابداع با
بجرد فا هیاه شد
طرح منا ولچ شد
موج لقا ارتاج شد
رشم نیا بلوچ شد
از نفعه صافور با
از نفعه صافور با

شمسات حق شق آمده
یعنی که جه یعنی که جه
طلائع عز صدق آمده
یعنی که جه یعنی که جه
طایر معلق آمده
یعنی که جه یعنی که جه
الجز معلق آمده
یعنی که جه یعنی که جه

از جنب درای با
از جنب درای با

های فانشکوا عطر ایها
مسکن ایها استراحه
اطیاف ایها انفاشها

حبوبه نجذب با
حبوبه نجذب با

خود آمد این خود آمد این
این طفل ها این طفل ها
در قطب ها در قطب ها
یا اهل ها یا اهل ها

این جذبیت بستان با
این غلیظ بستان با
سر حلقة بستان با

Ff. 213a-220b blank.
BBP. 8.

بيان فارسي

Ff. 114 (ff. 1a, 114a, and 114b blank), 21·5×11 centimetres, in oblong form, like a pocket-book. Written in bluish ink, in an unformed and ungraceful nim-shikasté hand. The lines of writing, which run parallel to the back and shorter side of the book, are unevenly distributed, and vary from 21 to 30 per page. Headings of chapters are written in red. Given to me, after much urgent entreaty, in Rafsinján, near Kirmán, on August 22nd, 1888.

The Persian Beyán is a work of such capital importance that I have had occasion to allude to it and quote from it repeatedly both in B. i and B. ii, and in vol. ii of the Traveller's Narrative. The contents have been fully stated by Baron Rosen (Coll. Se. iii, pp. 1–32). See also B. ii, pp. 918–933 and 1001–1002, and p. 259, n. 1, supra. The present MS. ends with the following abominably ungrammatical colophon:

قد نًصت الكلام من لسان العبد ملك العلام على يد هذا العلام للجند الفعال الخواص والعوام عمدة الخوانين العظام زبدة المشاهير الكرام ذي الشكرة والاحتشام ذى العظمة والاحتراز

On the blank leaf at the end of the MS. (f. 114a) are sundry notes with dates, recording, as it would appear, the times when its owner's children were born. The first entry is dated Muḥarram 22nd A.H. 1282 (June 17th, A.D. 1865), so that we may fairly assume that the MS. was transcribed before that date. There are five entries in all, the last a most extraordinary one. They are as follows:

(1) تولد كربلائي اصغر ولد كربلائي محمد جعفر موتاب (؟) شب
شمسه 22 شهر 1382 هـ حرام جهار ساعت ازسر شب

کذّشته سنیه
(2) تولَّد كوكبه طُقبه ساعته طلوع شمس 13 شهر ربيع الجمهور سنة 1311
(3) تولَّد فاطمه طاهره جمعه 20 شهر ذا الحجه (Sic) سنة 1311
(4) تولَّد ربابه مطهرة يكشبة 6 شهر ربيع الجمهور سنة 1311
(5) تولَّد (Sic! perhaps is meant) الرباع العدين
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(6) يوم السبت 12 شهر ربيع الثاني سنة

Class II. MSS. obtained from Subh-i-Ezel.

BBF. 1.

من آثار البيان (مناجاة).

Ff. 238 (ff. 1a-2a and 237a-238b blank), 17.75 x 10.75 centimetres, 10 lines to the page. Written in a peculiar ta'liq much used by Subh-i-Ezel for the transcription of the sacred books.

This MS. accompanied the first letter (despatched on July 29th and received on Aug. 15th, 1889) which I received from Subh-i-Ezel. In the letter he wrote as follows:

كلماتكِه از آثار بيان خواصته بوردند نظر بآنکه ایس مئنفویرأ
بعنی از مردام غارت نعمدہ بوردند بیشتر از الواح وکتبنا از
میان بردند آتیه میشدرود بود کتابی مشتمل بر بیست
جزو ایفان مئرعلی نعمدہ مس بعد هم عنی از کتب که مبیتا
شود سواد آنرا خدمت ذی جود عالی خواهم فرستاد هرگاه ایس
زمان زمانی بود که ایس مئنفوی در عراق عرب ماکن بود ارسال
کتابنی بسیار میشدر بود لیکن چه سود اکثر بسد جهال رفت
ونغارت نعمدند دریس بدل قليلی باتی مانده بود آنهم بصعوبت
"As regards the words comprised in* the writings of the Beyán for which you asked, inasmuch as certain persons did plunder this recluse, and steal away most of the Epistles and Books, all that is [at this moment] available, [namely] a book of twenty folios, I [herewith] forward to you. Hereafter I will send you copies of such books as are accessible. Were it now the time when this recluse dwelt in Irák-i-'Arab [i.e. Baghdad], many books could have been sent; but what avails it [now]? Most of them have passed into the hands of ignorant men, and these have pillaged them. [Only] a few remain in this land, and even these were conveyed [hither] with difficulty, because of the fewness of [my] friends. For this reason most of these books, whereof the worth was great, are no longer in my hands, save only a small fraction."

In answering this letter I enquired further as to the name and nature of this book, and in Șubh-i-Ezel's second letter, despatched from Famagusta on Oct. 1st, 1889, received reply as follows:

*کتابی‌که ارسال نزد مخصوص عالی شده از آثار بیان و ممنوب بح-curت نکته و بیشتر آن مناجات با بر آورنده حجات است کرا تدارت بر این نوع کلم آنچه از قبل نازل شده هریک باسمی مذكور لیکن در اواخر ایام تمام را بیک نام و همرا بیان نامیده اند و فراوانی در نزدیک جلد امر نمویان اند چنانچه شرح آن در بیان فارسی مندرج است لیکن دریبان شون مختلته مشهود است شأن اوّل چون کتاب سابقه است و ثانی بر سریل مناجات و دعوات و سومی شون خطاب که در آن فصاحت و بلفت ملموسا داشته اند و رابعی شون علمیه و تفسیر و اجواب سائلین و خامس

بلسان فارسی که نفس شنونات مذكور است.*
“The book which was sent to you is [part] of the writings of the Beyán and belongs to His Holiness the Point [i.e. the Báb]. It consists for the most part of prayers to the Fulfiller of needs. Who [else] is able to produce such words? What was revealed at first was called each book by a different name, but during the later period [of the Báb’s life] all received one title and was called ‘Beyán.’ And much [of this] he [i.e. the Báb] directed to be arranged in nineteen volumes, as is fully explained in the Persian Beyán.¹ But² in the Beyán different grades [or styles] are apparent. The first grade resembles previous [revealed] books³; the second is of the nature of supplications and prayers; the third is [in] the style of exhortations, wherein he [i.e. the Báb] had regard to clearness and eloquence; the fourth [consists of] scientific treatises, commentaries, and answers to enquirers; and the fifth, which is [substantially] identical with the preceding styles, is in the Persian language.” I have already pointed out in another place (T.N. ii, p. 346) how fully Subh-i-Ezel’s account of the Báb’s writings and the meaning of the term ‘Beyán’ accords with Gobineau’s (Rel. et Phil., p. 311).

This present work, then, contains a collection of Prayers belonging to the “second grade” of the Beyán, using this term in its wider signification as connoting all the Báb’s later writings. Owing to the number of these prayers, and the limited space at my disposal, I can only give the opening words of each.

¹ See Persian Beyán, Váhid vi, ch. i, and T.N. vol. ii, pp. 344-346.
² Translated at pp. 343-4 of T.N. ii.
³ i.e. the Kur’án.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم لَكُمَّ الحمد لَهُ (No. 2, on f. 4b) 
الأَهْوَامُ سَامِعَ الدُّعَاءَ وَدَائِمَ العُطَا، وَوَاسِعَ الْأَلَّامَ 
وَمَالِكُ الْإِسْمَاءِ الْحَكِيمُ (No. 3, on f. 5b) 
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ سِبَاحَكَ اللَّهُمَّ وَبِكَ خَيْرَتَكَ بَنَوْيَتَكَ بِتَوَجُّيدهِ إِياكَ وَبِمِلَانِ أَظْهَارَكَ وَأَقْرَأَ بِذَاتِكَ وَإِيْلَى ثُقَافَتِكَ وَإِيْلَى بَوْحَانِي كَيْفَ كَأَنَّكَ دَانِيَتِي وَكَأَنَّكَ تَوْلِيدَكَ الْعَزِيرُ (No. 4, on f. 21b) 
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ سِبَاحَكَ اللَّهُمَّ كَيْفَ أُذْكِرْكَ بِذَكَرِي إِياكَ وَأَلْسَأُلَكَ بِبَسْبُوْكَي إِيْاَيْلَانَ (No. 5, on f. 26b) 
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنّهُ لَا لَهُ الْأَهْوَامُ 
وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ وَأَوْلُو الْعَلَمِ قَائِمَةً بِالْقُسْطَ لَهُ أَهْوَامُ 
الْعَزِيزُ الْأَكْرَمُ (No. 6, on f. 27b) 
(دِعَاءً لِمُحْرَفَ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ 
الْعَمَيْنَ الْأَقْدَسَ سِبَاحَكَ اللَّهُمَّ أَنتَ فَاطِرُ 
الْسَّمَاءَ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَمَتَّعَهُمَا وَصِيرَتِهِمَا 
وَمَبْدَعُهُمَا وَمُنْصِرَهُمَا لَمْ تَنْزِلَ كَنْتَ إِلَى الْحَيَاةِ وَاحِدَا 
أَحَدًا وَنَزَالًا صَمَدًا حِيَانَا قَبْوَا الْجَبَّاتَ (No. 7, on f. 57b) 
سِبَاحَكَ اللَّهُمَّ لَا شَهِيدُكَ وَكَلِشَةً عَلَى أَنْكَ 
أَنتِ اللَّهُ أَلاَّ أَنتِ وَحْدَكُ لَا شَرِيكُ لَكَ 
لَكَ الْمَلَكَ وَلَكَ الْحَمَدَ الْخَيْبِيَّ وَتَمِيُّتَ ثُمَّ 
تَمِيُّتَ وَخَيْبَايَةً وَأَنْتِ حَيٌّ لَّا نَمْوَتُ الْجَبَّاتَ 
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْعَمَيْنَ الْأَقْدَسَ سِبَاحَكَ اللَّهُمَّ يَا الْيَيِّي لَمْ 
تَنْزِلَ كَنْتَ مُذْنِرًا فِي مَلَكَ الْقُدُسَ الْحَكِيمُ (No. 8, on f. 60b)
لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(No. 9, on f. 63b)

(No. 10, on f. 66a)

(No. 11, on f. 68b)

(No. 12, on f. 71b)

(No. 13, on f. 74b)

(No. 14, on f. 76b)

(No. 15, on f. 79b)

(No. 16, on f. 81b)

(No. 17, on f. 83b)
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سيحانك اللهم انك أنت فاطر السماوات و
الارض وما بينهما عالم الغيب والشهادة
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم اني استعلك
باسمك يا الله يا رحمن يا رحيم يا ربي أنت
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أنت فاطر السماوات والارض عالم الغيب والشهادة

لي يقرب من علمك من شيء لا في السماوات ولا
في الأرض ولا ما بينهما آنذاك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جهر كينونتي وسنج ذاتي ومجدد نفسانيتي
و كافور أنني باتك أنت اللهم لا الله إلا انتم

وحذرك آنذاك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أنت فاطر السماوات والارض عالم الغيب والشهادة

لي يقرب من علمك من شيء آنذاك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يا الأبدى وحبيبى ومقصودى آنذاك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أنت فاطر السماوات والارض آنذاك

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يا الأبدى وحبيبى وقيقى آنذاك

لا شهدتك وكلشي على أنك انتم اللهم لا لله إلا

انت وحدك آنذاك
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(No.26, onf.102)

لا شهده لفنك وكل شيء آله

(No.27, onf.104)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إنما الربح من الله الذي لا اله إلا هو على فردك وفرد من في فردك

و على روحك وروح من في روحك آله

(No.28, onf.110)

لا شهده لفنك وكل شيء في هذه الليلة ليلة الجمعه

(No.29, onf.114)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وأنا كنت ليلة الجمعه

أو يومها بين يدي نقطة البيان أو واحد من مظاهر

الجية طيب نفسك عن كل ما يكرهه فردك آله

(No.30, onf.121)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم صل على ذات

حروف السبع ثم حروف الأولى بالملك و

الملكوت آله

(No.31, onf.124)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبكانك اللهم يا النبي

لا شهده لفنك وكل شيء على أنك أنت الله آله

(No.32, onf.129)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبكانك اللهم يا النبي

لا شهده لفنك وكل شيء على أنك أنت الله آله

انت وحدك لا شريك لك آله

(No.33, onf.132)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم أنى أسملك

بادينك التي أنها هي مرتفعة فوق كل شيء أن

توجد شجرة الإنبات وما ينسب إليها آله

(No.34, onf.136)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم أنى أسملك

باختينك التي أنها هي مرتفعة فوق كل شيء

J.R.A.S. 1892.
ان تخذل كل ذات الف ينسب إلى شجرة
النفى لله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No.35, onf.140b)
باوليتك التي انا هي ممنونة فوق كل شيء ان
تنصرف كل ذات الف ينسب إلى شجرة
الثبات لله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم يا البيت
لاستنكر باوليتك التي انا هي مرتفعة فوق كل
شيء ان تعدد من شجرة النفى وما ينسب إلى الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم يا البيت
لاشهدك وكل شيء بما قد خلقته كشفت له الحق

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم يا البيت
لاشهدك وكل شيء على ما استشهدتني عليه
من شهادة ان لا الله الاانت وان خروف الواحد

أقرب اسماءك ليك في كتابك لله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No.39, onf.156b)
لا الله الاانت ياها، لا الله الاانت اذا لا الله الاانت
ان تصليس على حرف البا، يا ما انت عليه من
بها لا الله الاانت انك كنت يا فصل عظيما لله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No.40, onf.158b)
لم تنزل انك كنت خالق كل شيء ورازته و
معميت كلشي وعميه لم تنزل كنت اذا واحدا

احدا صعدا لله
بسم الله الرحمن الامن (No.41, on f.162b)
لا كيدك وكل شيء على أنك أنت لا الله إلا
انت الواحد أحد الصمد الفرد الحي الحم
(No.42, on f.166b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
هذ ليلة قد عظمتها وشرفتها وجلالتها وجمالتها
و قدستها بما قد نسبتها إلى نفسك وطلعتت
فيها آية التي تدل على أنه ليلة بديعة من شهر
عبد الله
(No.43, on f.171b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
يا من يقبل من يقبله
نقطة البيان (No.44, on f.174b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
اني استلمت ببابة
فيها علا رضاء روبينت آله
(No.45, on f.178b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
اني استلمت بك
لا شيء عندك عملك ولا كفوك آله
(No.46, on f.180b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
ساكنكم اللهم يا أي
لا كيدك وكل شيء في هذه الليلة آله
(No.47, on f.185b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
لا كيدك وكل شيء في هذه الليلة آله
باذكرني التحيتينها إنها مرتونة فوق كليشى ان
تعدل كنبونة كل ذات النف ينسب إلى شجرة
النار بالثور
(No.48, on f.189b)
بسم الله الرحمن الامن
باذكرني التحيتينها إنها مرتونة فوق كل شيء
أن تحفظ وتفتن كل ذات النف ينسب إلى
شجرة الأثبات
In the middle of this prayer, at the bottom of f. 202b, occurs a form of "Visitation" for believers presenting themselves before "the First who believed" or "the Letter Sin," by which terms Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh appears to be designated. It is entitled زيارت أول من آمن بالله, and begins:

وان كنت مثل تلك الليلة عند شجرة الباها،
فلترح في قلبك وحيد شجرة السبيع، فإن من
ظهور الله الاغرة، ومن بطون الله ابطنه، ومن جلال
الله اجله أنت

من عندنا هو الذي يبعثه الله الأنع
القدس سبجانك اللهم يا النبي لشهدك، و كل
شي على أنك أنت الله أنت
In the course of this piece also occurs, on f. 209a, a form of "Visitation," which begins:

وأن كنت مثل ذلك اليوم عند شجرة السين او أحد من حروف النجى فلتبين اعلى يا آدم قد اتاك الله ولتدخلك باذن الله على ساحل امره ثم تقول بيس يدي الله ان استدركت او بين يدي حروف النجى ان استدركت انما النبأ

(No.53, on f.213b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لتصلين اللهم رب على شجرة وحدانيتك ولتنزل اللهم عليها ما ينغي لعل جونك ومليك من صدامانيتك آلم(No.54, on f.214b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

انت لم تزل كنت أنت يا أبدا احدها سما آلم(No.55, on f.219b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كل شيء على أنت انت الله آلم(No.56, on f.223b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لاجتمعت من اسمانتك باعتضها آلم(No.57, on f.225b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لاجتمعت من الوهيتكم باعتضها آلم(No.58, on f.229b)

ثم في ام الكتاب اللهم اني استلنك من ابديتك بتأبدها وكل ابديتك متدبدة عندك

كلها آلم.
DESCRIPTION OF BABI MSS.

(No.59, on f.233\textsuperscript{a})

(\textit{Colophon}, on f.236\textsuperscript{b})

BBF. 2.

\textbf{Shaf\textsuperscript{a}on Khamsa}

Ff. 200 (ff. 1\textsuperscript{a}-2\textsuperscript{a}, 46\textsuperscript{b}, 199\textsuperscript{a}-200\textsuperscript{b} blank), 20·5 x 12·75 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in \textit{Subh-i-Ezel's clear and legible naskh} hand.

This MS. accompanied \textit{Subh-i-Ezel's second letter to me} (despatched from Famagusta on October 1st, received on October 11th, 1889). It contains specimens of each of the "five grades" or "styles" into which the Báb divided his writings, and is consequently partly in Persian. The nature of these "five grades" has been already explained at p. 453 \textit{supra}. Concerning this MS. \textit{Subh-i-Ezel} wrote in the aforementioned letter as follows:

\begin{quote}

و آنچه در این نوبت ابلاغ مخصوص عالی شده از شفاهت خمسه است که هرچند ورق شبانی است و این کتاب از حضرت نطقه است مداخله بعضی در آن نیست. مگر آنچه از قلم كتاب خارج شده باشد اگرچه حقيق نسخه سابقه و این نسخه را خود نوشتهام ليکن شاید تصویر در وضع ترتيب آن شده زیراکه نسخه اصل موجود نیست ولی از مداخله ندارد چنانچه در بعضی موارد بعضی مداخله نموده و تغييرات حاضر این إتام آنچه از اين عبد معفر افتاد انشاء الله تعمیر در آن نموده.
\end{quote}

"What is sent to you this time is of the 'Five Grades,' whereof each few \textit{[successive]} pages are in a different style. This book is by His Holiness the Point \textit{[i.e. the}
Báb]. There has been no tampering with it on the part of certain persons, save in so far as may have resulted from slips of the pen. For though I myself copied out the previous manuscript and this one, still it may be that there has chanced some defect in the manner of its arrangement, the original copy not being available. But [at least] it has not been tampered with by outsiders, as certain persons have tampered with some passages, whereby textual corruptions have arisen. Please God there has been no interpolation in what this humble servant [of God] has written.” To the first piece (on f. 2b) is prefixed the title بيان.

The contents of the MS., stated as briefly as possible, are as follows:

1 MS. خليفة, which is doubtless a mere slip.
(What follows the exordium is mostly in Persian.)

(The last four and a half lines on f. 46a and the whole of f. 46b are blank, but there appears to be no interruption in the continuity of the text.)
(Part of this piece will be found on pp. 318–319 of T.N. ii. What is here the third clause is there placed over the line immediately under the title. Thus it is written; but a fresh examination of it convinces me that it is intended as an insertion, as here placed.)

Binder: 2. SHU'UN-I-KHAMSA. 465

كتاب النآء يا طاهر بسم الله الابي الابي بالله

(No.11, on f.49)

الابي الابي آن

(No.12, on f.54)

بسم الله الابي الابي سبعان ك اللهم يا الابي

لاشهدك وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا الله

لا انت وحدك لا شريك لك آن

(No.13, on f.59)

بسم الله الابي الابي الحمد لله الذي قد اطزر

ذاتيات الحمديات باطاشر طبرز طبرز طبرايطه

واشر كيثناثيات الذاتيات باشراب شوارق شرق

شرقيته آن

(No.14, on f.65)

بسم الله الابي الابي الحمد لله الذي لا الله الا

هو الابي الابي وانما البهاء من الله على من

يظهره الله ثم ادلا نفسه في الاخرة و الإولى وبعد

فأشهد ان الله سبعانه لا يوصف بوصف خلقه

ولا يعت بعنصت عباده آن

(No.15, on f.70)

بسم الله الابي الابي حمد و سباس بى قياس

ذات محبوب لم يزل يا سرا است كه لم يزل

باستলال استغال ذات مقدس خود بوده ولا

يزال باستزاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود خواهند

بود نشانخته اورا هدي شئ حتى شناخته آن
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 16, on f. 75b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 17, on f. 81a)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 18, on f. 85b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 19, on f. 90b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 20, on f. 96b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (No. 21, on f. 102b)
لا اله الا العز الاقوم اللغه 

الله لا اله الا الهو المؤتقوم

المتقاوئ الح

بسم الله الا قوم اللغه (No.22, onf.107)

لا شهدوك وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله

لا انت وحدك لا شريك لك الملك

و الملكوت و لك العز و الجبروت و لك القدر

والهون و لك القوة و الباوقت الح

بسم الله الا قوم اللغه (No.23, onf.112)

من صبح الزل على هياكل الموجودات بظهورات

عز فردانيته و انا على كل الممكنات بشرح

بتعد صمانيته اتح

بسم الله الا قوم اللغه (No.24, onf.117)

الله الذي لا اله الا هو

الاقوم اللغه و انا البه جن على من يظهره الله ثم

ادلائه لم يزل ولا يزال و بعد فاشهد ان الله سبكانه

لم يزل كان غيما ممتنا مرفعا مستبدا مجدلا

مجدلا موحدا موحدا مصدما مفتردا و لا يزال

ليكون مرنا مثل ما قد كان اتح

بسم الله الا قوم اللغه (No.25, onf.121)

ترفيع و تنفيذ باسط قدس

حتى قيبومي را سئلاور بوده و هست كه لم يزل

بارتفاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود بوده و لا يزال

باستقلال استقلال كنه مقدس خود خواهد

بود اتح

1 MS. بوز، but this appears to be a mistake.
(No.26, onf.126°)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا اله الا الله و لا الله الا هو الا جد

الحمد لله الذي لا شريك له

(No.27, onf.131°)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا شريك له

لا ع ليت و حك

(No.28, onf.1)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هنا واحدا احدها سيدنا موسى عليه السلام

(No.29, onf.141°)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هنا واحدا احدها شهيد الله انه لا اله الا هو

(No.30, onf.146°)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هنا واحدا احدها تسبيح و تقديس باسط

(No.31, onf.151°)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هنا واحدا احدها بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(No.32, onf.156°)

كما شهيد كه لا نستأنت الله الا هو
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(No.33, on f. 161)

(No.34, on f. 166)

(No.35, on f. 170)

(No.36, on f. 175)

(No.37, on f. 181)

(No.38, on f. 184)

(No.39, on f. 189)

(No.40, on f. 194)

(No.41, on f. 199)
Excluding the last of these pieces, which appears to form a kind of appendix or peroration to the rest, it will be observed that the remaining forty fall into groups of five, each group beginning with the same formula. Thus the first five begin with the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, the second with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, etc. We may fairly assume that within each group the first piece represents what the Báb calls the “first grade” or “style” of his writings, the second piece the second grade, and so on. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the last piece in each group of five is in Persian, and therefore corresponds to the Báb’s “fifth grade” (see p. 453 supra). Of the majority of these pieces it must be frankly confessed that they are not only untranslateable, but almost unreadable, consisting merely of endless permutations (often etymologically and grammatically impossible) of the different “Names” of God.

BBF. 3.

من آثار البيان

Ff. 200 (ff. 1a–2a, 199b–200b blank), 20·5 × 13 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in  sluhi-Ezel’s clear and legible naskh hand.

This MS. accompanied sluhi-Ezel’s third letter to me (despatched from Famagusta on Dec. 3rd, 1889, received on Dec. 18th, 1889). It contains selections from the Báb’s writings of almost every variety; prayers; forms of visitation; letters to sluhi-Ezel and other believers; extracts from the Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yūsuf, etc. Concern-
ing this MS. Subh-i-Ezel wrote very briefly. Alluding to the visit which, as I informed him, I had paid to Sheykh Tabarsí, he said:

"If you have visited Tabarsí it is as though you had been at all [the holy] places. The form of visitation specially [appointed] for that place is contained in the book which will reach [you] this time: read it." In reply to further enquiries, Subh-i-Ezel said that this form of visitation was composed by the Báb himself. To this MS., as to the last, is prefixed the title بيان, evidently in that wide sense to which I have already adverted (p. 453 supra). As it contains a great number of pieces, I must, for the sake of brevity, confine myself to the briefest enumeration of all save the most interesting.

The first five pieces (extending from f. 2b to f. 27b) begin with the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, and appear to represent each of the "five grades" above described, the fifth of the group being, as usual, in Persian, and beginning in the same way as the Persian pieces already described. The first of these, containing endless permutations of the root تقدم, is much the longest, extending to f. 23b.

Next follows another similarly arranged group of five pieces (ff. 23b–55a), each beginning with the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. Of these again the first contains permutations of the root تقرب, and the last is in Persian.

Next follows a third group of five pieces (ff. 55a–76a) beginning with the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, and arranged like the preceding.

The 16th piece (ff. 76a–78b) is preceded by the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, and begins:
The 17th piece (ff. 78b–82a) begins with the formula بسم الله المتمتع المديع, and proceeds:

وإن هذا للكتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم على من قد جعل الله ذكر اسمه اسم نبيل قبل على ذكر من عند للعالمين إن يا نبيل قبل على لم يكن لي من أول ولا آخر وإنني أنا كنت ازل قدما.

Since Nabil is, as I have shewn (B. ii, p. 997), equivalent to Muḥammad, it is clear that we have here an epistle addressed to a Bábí named Muhammad ‘Alí, presumably either to Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí of Bárfurúš (Jenáb-i-Kuddús) or Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí of Zanján, and probably to the latter. For on f. 97b we find the following words:

كنا قد جعلناك من قبل في القرآن حجيتكنا عل العالمين ثم قد جعلناك في السباق حجتنا عند حجيتكنا في مظاهر واحد الأول على العالمين.

And from the Tárikh-i-Jadid we learn that Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí of Zanján enjoyed the title of Jenáb-i-Hujjat ("the Proof" or "Authority").

The 18th piece (ff. 82a–93b) is another epistle addressed by the Báb to one of his chief apostles, beginning thus:

بسم الله المقدّر المقتدر هذا كتاب من عند نقطة البيان عبد الله وحجيتك للعالمين جميعا الي من قد جعل الله ذكر اسم حجيتك وجعله من عند حجيتك حجة للعالمين جميعا قال إنني أنا أول ما قد خلقني الله ربي وجعلني من عنده يبيانا بها الله
The following passage of this epistle (on f. 84b), wherein the Báb asserts his identity with all previous and future prophets, is noteworthy:

و إن من ظهور بديع الأول إلى حين قد ظهرى الله في كل ظهور باسم ما قد ظهر وكل آية يتبوع كنست في يوم نوح و في يوم إبراهيم و في يوم موسى موسى وفي يوم عيسى عيسى وفي يوم محمد محمد وفي يوم على قبل نبيل على قبل نبيل و لا كون في يوم من يظهر الله من يظهره الله وفي يوم من يظهره الله وفي يوم من يظهره الله في يوم من يظهره الله من يظهره الله من بعد من يظهره الله من بعد من يظهره الله والى آخر الذي لا خبر له مثل أول الذي لا أول له كنت في كل ظهور حمیة الله على العالمين هذا معنى قول حق انتم تذكرون.

The 19th piece (ff. 89b-93b) is entitled أز جملة وصايا بسم الله الأجزاد الأجدود, and consists in great part of permutations of the root جود. From the expression occurring on f. 91b it would appear to be addressed to a believer named Jaucad, who is commanded in one passage to write to "Muḥammad in Calcutta," and to "forward this letter to him and to such as be on the sea beside him," and, in another passage at the end of the epistle, "to ascend by the way of Basra," if he desires "to meet God," and to "direct Muḥammad before Taḵi" [i.e. Muḥammad Taḵi] thither (presumably to Makú), as well as all others in whom he sees "augh of the light" [of faith].
The next piece in the collection which is of special interest is the 23rd (ff. 98b–107a). This is the form of prayer ordained by the Báb for the visitation of Sheykh Ṭabarsí and the commemoration of the martyrs who fell there, and is headed accordingly—되 على الشهداء في الطبرسی

It begins thus:

بسم الله الرحمن الامن الحمد لله يا النبي لم يكن لي قلب اقدام انذكرك ولا فؤاد ان استحلك ولا روح ان اقدستك ولا نفس ان وحدك وقد ذاب كلي بما قد قضيته وان لك الامرو لمثلك فيما قضيته وتقضي الله

A little further on the martyrs are thus described:

تلك انفذت ما صبت دونك وتلك ارواح ما حمدت سواك وتلك انفس ما وحدت غيرك وتلك اجساد ما عبّدت دونك

"These were hearts which glorified none but Thee, spirits which praised none but Thee, souls which declared Thy Unity alone, bodies which did service to Thee only."

A few lines lower curses are invoked on the persecutors as follows:

ان تعذب الذين قتّلوا حمّجبك واستكرروا على أوليائك وعبدو غيرك بكل عذابك ما انت متّقدر عليه في الانشآء وان تأخذنهم وما ملكت إيمانهم بما قد احاط به علمكم من مقدار اخذك ومواقع شدتك ان لا عزل ممن خذلت ولام شئ لمن أعّدمته ولاحیات لمن عذبت ولشيئاً لمن قد عبد غيرك ونفوذاً بما اتته

Two pages further on (f. 100b) similar curses are repeated:

فان الشهداء من قطع من شجرة حمّجبك ورقة او فضنا او فرعا بكل لعن قد أخطئت به علمنا انت جبار الذي لا يغفر عن قبيحتك من شیءٍ altre
The instructions to the Bábí pilgrim who intends to visit the shrine begin on f. 102 as follows:

وعندك على احص ما كنت مقتدر عليه واعلم ان هنالك اعلي اقفو العرش ومنتهي ذروة الفردوس وإن الله لم يزل ناظرك ومظاهر نفسه اجليك الغي

The purifications to be performed and the prayers to be offered up, before setting out for the shrine, and on arriving there, are then specified in full. One of these prayers, which is to be recited on entering the inner shrine, appears to be addressed to Mulla Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who is described as “the Friend of God, whom he hath chosen unto Himself, and elected for this revelation.” It is in many ways remarkable, but I must confine myself to quoting a few lines from it:

أن أعلني يا عيني يا نبي الشهدا، من ملكي الإنشا، ومستدر الشبا، عليك يا جوفر القرآن وطلز البنان ويا مقد الخصا لله بما لا خص واحد من عباده حيث قد تجل في كه بنفسك قبل كل شئ وعرزك نفسه وشهدك على وحدانيته قبل كل شئ ثم قد خلقت بك كل شئ ورزق بك كل شئ وامات بك كل شئ واحيا بك كل شئ وابعت بك كل شئ.... أشهد أنك وان قلت لك الشك عند الله ... فقد انقطعت إلى الله بكل ما اعتقد إلى ذروة علم ما سبقت أحد ولا ب俭ك من شئ فتعالى ما تدرك لوطئي لما قد شهد عليه فأشهد أنك ومن قد سعد معك أولئك هم في افتقي الأعلى من العرش وذروة البهاء من سما الكرسي هنالك يستكون الله رحمهم ثم بذكرة ليومان ... وما أكبر من هذا عزا في البنان فاشهد أنك
The 24th piece (ff. 107a–126a) is of considerable length, but a superficial examination of it reveals no points of special interest.

The 25th piece (ff. 126a–126b) appears to be addressed to Subh-i-Ezel, and is described as az Jumla' wa 'ayna'. It begins:

الله أكرم بسم الله الكريم ذي الكرامين بسم الله الكريم ذي الكرام
قد أتبتني ان يا اسمى في العرائس الزانية حيث قدم حكى عن الله
ربه ودل على الله موجده.

The remainder of the epistle, which is very short, is partly in Persian.

The 26th piece is short, and not specially noteworthy. The 27th is long (ff. 127a–130a), is written partly in Persian, and contains answers to sundry questions addressed in writing to the Báb.

Nos. 28–45 (ff. 130a–141a) are all short epistles addressed to believers who had written to the Báb. The names of these correspondents are mentioned in several cases, but their identification cannot be satisfactorily effected in a brief notice like this, and I therefore reserve them for future consideration.

The 46th piece is the document which I published and translated at pp. 996–7 of B. ii, wherein Subh-i-Ezel is designated the Báb's successor.

The 52nd piece is the same as the first in BBF. 1, already described at p. 453 supra.

The 53rd piece (ff. 150a–153a) is the 57th chapter of the Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf (see pp. 261–8 supra), containing the explanation or expansion of v. 56 of the Súra.
The 58th piece is an extract from the Book of the names (كتاب الاسم; see T.N. ii, pp. 202, 318, 338), to which are prefixed ordinances bearing on the arrangement of the Bábí calendar. The year is here explicitly described as consisting of 361 days (19 x 19), and no mention is made of the intercalary days used by the Behá’ís, so that these would seem to have been introduced by Behá (cf. T.N. ii, pp. 419, 422-5). This preface concludes with a command that all letters shall be fully dated, according to the Bábí method, and, as a specimen, a date (seemingly that whereon this document was written) is given in full, as follows:

ولا تكتبان من كتاب الاسم ابualeام اليوم واسم ما قصى من عدد الشهر اسم الشهر اسم السنة مثل أن حينئذ يوم الاستقلال من يوم العلم من شهر العلم من سنة الجاّم كذاك انتم في الزمان تسلكون

The date thus given is "the day of Istiklál [Friday], the day of 'Ilm [the 12th day] of the month 'Ilm [the 12th month] of the year Jáb" [ب + 1 + ج = 6], so that the document must have been written during the last year of the Báb’s life (October, 1849). For this reason, if for no other, it is interesting.

The 59th piece is a letter of instructions to Subḥ-i-Ezel, who therefore prefixes to it, as to some of the letters previously described, the words—از جملة ولا西亚 بابن عبد "Some of the behests given to this servant." It begins as follows:

بسم الله الزل الزل

هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيممن القيم إلى الله العزيز المجيب
شهد الله أنه لا اله له الخلق ولامبرمن قبل ومن بعد بحبي
ويحبني ثم يحبني ويكحبي وآنه هو حي لا يموت في قبته مكونت
The following passage (on f. 175a) is important, as implying not only that the Báb regarded Šubh-i-Ezel as his sole vicegerent, but that he did not contemplate such a contingency as the appearance of “Him whom God shall manifest” in Šubh-i-Ezel’s life-time:

"Exhort to virtue those who believe in me and in my words, that they disagree not touching the Religion of God, [for then] shall they stray away from the Path. And if God cause one like unto thee to appear in thy days, then he it is to whom shall be bequeathed the authority on the part of God the Single, the One.¹ But if [such an one] appears not, know for a surety that God hath not willed to make Himself known, and render up the authority to God, your Lord, and the Lord of the words, all."

Almost immediately after this comes another passage, which is of considerable importance, as shewing that the Báb intentionally left the [Persian] Béyan incomplete, only publishing 11 of the 19 Váhidís,² and, as stated by the Ezelí author of the Hasht Bihišt (see T.N. ii,

¹ Here, as elsewhere (B. ii, p. 997), Wahid probably stands as equivalent to Faḥiyd (i.e. Šubh-i-Ezel).
² This affords another instance of Count Gobineau’s extraordinary accuracy in all that he states concerning the Bábí literature and doctrines. See Religions et Philosophies, p. 332.
p. 353), conferring on Subh-i-Ezel the right of completing it if the time should be propitious. This passage is as follows:

وَأَنَّ ابْوَابِ الْبَيَانِ ۖ قُدْ قَدَرَ عَلَى عِدْدِ كُلِّ شَىءٍ وَلَكِنْ ما أَظْهَرْنَا أَلَّا أُحْدَى وَعِشْرَةَ وَاحِدًا لَّكِنِ هَيْكَلٌ وَاحِدٌ مِّنْ هَيْكَّٰلِ الْهَيْكَّٰلِ النَّكِعَةِ ۖ مِّنْ قَبْلِ الْعِشْرَةِ أَحْدَى عِشْرَةِ وَاحِدًا ذِكْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَلَى عَظِيمٍ ذِكْرُهُ لَّكْ ذِكْرُ جَوْدٍ وَالْكَلِلِّ اللَّهِ وَكُلِّ الْيَهِيدَ لَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَلَنَظْهَرِ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أُمَّا كَذَٰلِكَ فَأُظْهَرُ منْ عَظِيمِ الثُّمَانِيَةِ بَذَٰلِكَ اللَّهُ بِمَا كَنَّهُ عَلَى هَمَّةٍ مِّنْ أَكْرَمِينَ.

From a passage on f. 175b it would appear that with this epistle were sent to Subh-i-Ezel seven Vâhids of one of the sacred books. Of these he is instructed to keep one himself, and to distribute the other six to the “Lands of Fá, ‘Ayn, Khá, Alif, Mím, and Káf” (i.e. Fárs, ‘Iráq, Khurasán, Azarbaiján, Mázandarán, and (?) Kirmán). The particular believer in each of these provinces to whom the vâhid intended for that province is to be sent, is designated, but in a somewhat enigmatical manner, as follows:

وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ النَّفَّذَ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ السَّمَّاَءِ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ السَّمَّاَءِ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ السَّمَّاَءِ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ السَّمَّاَءِ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . . وَأَنَّ وَأَحَدَ أَرْضِ السَّمَّاَءِ يُؤْمِنُ ۖ بِنَامِ السَّمَّاَءِ وَمَنْ أَشَّارَ ۖ بِنَامِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ ۖ وَلَيْسُ رُجُعُونَ . . . .

In a letter written by Subh-i-Ezel on March 13th, 1892, in answer to questions addressed to him by myself as to the identity of the persons to whom allusion is here made, the
following explanations (some of which refer to other documents described in this article) were given. By *Ismu‘l-Anis* (اسم الالنس, “the Name of the Intimate”) Hájí Suleymán Khán, who accompanied the Báb on his pilgrimage-journey, and suffered martyrdom at Tehrán in 1852, is meant. *Ismu‘l-Jawád* (اسم الجواد, “the Name of the Generous”) denotes Áká Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who died some eight years ago at Kirmán. (See *T.N.* ii, p. 342, n. 2, and pp. 443–4 supra.) The *Letter Sin* (حرف السين) sometimes means “*Jenáb-i-Báb*” (i.e. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who inherited this title when his master declared himself to be the “Point”), and sometimes *Ḥaẓrat-i-Ḵuddús* (Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí of Bárfurúsh). *Ism-i-Muṣāvvar* (اسم مصوًر, “the Name of the Limner”) means the Báb himself. *Ism-i-Ḥujjat* (اسم حجة, “the Name of the Proof”) means Mullá Muḥammad ‘Alí of Zanján. (Cf. p. 472 supra). *Ism-i-Ṣādiq* (اسم صادق, “the Name of the Faithful”) means Mullá Muḥammad Ṣādiq, called *Muḥaddas-i-Khurásán*, “the Saint of Khurásán.” *Ism-i-Raḥim* (اسم رحيم, “the Name of the Merciful”) was a Tabrizí, reports of whose death had been circulated. *Ism-i-Nābil* (اسم نبيل, “the Name of the Noble”) denotes a certain Hájí Sheykh Muḥammad of Kazvín, who died at Láhijrán in Gilán during the Baghdad period. (The name Nābil always stands for Muḥammad, with which it is numerically equivalent. Cf. B. ii, p. 997). By *Ismu‘l-‘Alí* (اسم العلي, “the Name of the High”) in the Land of Fárs, Hájí Seyyid ‘Alí, the Báb’s maternal uncle and guardian, and one of the “Seven Martyrs,” is no doubt meant.

The 60th piece (ff. 176b–177a) contains more “instructions” (وصايا) addressed to “the Name of the Merciful” (اسم الرحيم), who is very probably the same Raḥim mentioned in the last piece. Şubh-i-Ezel’s authority is again asserted and confirmed in the following words:
وان الأمریمتهی ای اسم الوحید ان ظهوره بیشتره حجیة و من بعد ان ظهور الله بعده ذا حجیة فیمئئیه الیه والامیرمته الیا شهیدان

نیویتیمینیه میا حی ثانیان نیا نیو لی الیا لیتیاوازیون

The 61st piece, containing the Báb's testamentary dispositions as to his burial, is translated in part in n. 1 on p. 46 of the second volume of my Traveller's Narrative. From the introduction of the words Anis, مونس, in the first line it would appear to be addressed to Hájí Suleymán Kháñ b. Yahyá Kháñ of Tabriz, to whom this title of Anis was given by the Báb. (See preceding page.) This piece, which is as short as it is interesting, I give in full.

(از جمله وصایا لاجل الدفن)

الله اکبر الله اکبر الله خیرمونس و انیس تکمییر بعمره ازلیه رسانیده و آنچه در هر حال سزاوار است بعون الله و قوتو بهمودای باشد بقعته شاه عبد العظیم ارض نیکوست باوسالمه عرب و حدید در حفظ و الله خیر المافلیین

The 62nd piece (ff. 177a–182b) is a prayer for daily repetition written by the Báb, who here styles himself, according to Subh-i-Ezel's explanation given on the preceding page, مظهر اسم الم ćeتتر.

The 63rd piece (ff. 182b–188a) begins with a long doxology, which is followed by what would seem to be a form of visitation to be used by such as present themselves before (or before the grave of) "the First to believe," otherwise called "the Tree" (elsewhere "the Letter") "Sin," i.e. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh. This is implied in the opening words of the "visitatio" (on f. 185a), which run thus:

هذی صوّة وزيارة لول من اجباره بیه و مظاهر نفسه و المستشهدین
From allusions to "afflictions" and "calamities" suffered by "the Tree" (or "Letter") "Sin" and his "branches" (i.e. followers, it seems probable that this is another form of visitation for Skeykh Ṭabarsi comparable to No. 23 supra.

The 64th piece consists for the most part of praise and prayer, but also contains a form of salutation to the Sun, similar to that whereof I gave a translation (from the Persian Beyán) at pp. 929-930 of B. ii. This form, interesting as illustrating the revival of Zoroastrian ideas by the Báb, begins as follows:

The 65th and last piece (again described by Ṣubh-i-Ezel as جملة الإحكام ووصايا) contains the Báb's instructions to those of his followers who shall visit the place of his martyrdom ("the place where this Tree shall be struck down"), together with the form of prayer to be used by them. I subjoin the text of the former only:

1 Gobineau says well (Relig. et Philos., p. 316) in speaking of the Báb conception of the Divine Nature:—"En un mot, soufys, guèbres sémitisés,—c'est à dire tous les guèbres depuis les Sassanides,—et avant eux l'Orient tout entier, ont confessé et chéri et cherché ce dieu-là depuis que la science a commencé dans ces contrées."
على ما قد قُسِلَنا فِي الكِتَاب ثَمَّ يَقُولُونَ وَيَكْشَفُونَ رُؤْسَهُم وَيَقُومُونَ
على التَّرَاذِمِ مِنْ دُونِ النَّعْلِينَ وَيَخْرُجُونَ عَنِ ابْدَانِهِم لِبَاسِهِم مِنْ
لَمْ يَكَى عِنْدَهُم الْأَمْثَلُ مَا هُمْ بِيَكْفُونُ وَأَنْ قُبَلَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنْ
مِنَ اللَّهِ أَن يَغْتَسَلُوا لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ فَأَذَا نُزِلَتِ تَلَكَ الْأَرَضِ وَصَلَوْ
تَلَكَ الْصُّلَاةَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْمَقْعَدُ لَمْ يَجِلَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنْ يَخْرُجُوا مِنْ حُولِ
تَلَكَ الْأَرَضِ تَسْعَة عَشْر لَيَوْمَ يَعْتَمِدُونَ هُمَا لِيَسْبُحُونَ اللَّهُ وَ
يَقْدِسُونَهُ ثُمَّ يَعْتَمِدُونَ اللَّهُ وَيَتَوَسَّبُونَ تَلَكَ مِنْ حُدوْدِ اللَّهِ فَرَضَتْ
عَلَى النَّاسِ كُلِّهِمْ أَجْمَعِنَوْنَ وَلَقَدْ كَتَبَ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ بَعْدَ النَّسْبَةِ
وَالْعَشْرِ هُمْ يَرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَخْرُجُونَ أَنْ يَقُولُونَ سَبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُ أَنْ
اِنَّ فَاعِلَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرَضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمْ الخَلْق

This piece ends on f. 199a as follows:

واَنْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ امْ كَتَابُهُ سُنَّةُ اللَّهِ مَا يَحْكَمُ نَمَّا يَرِيدُ

*اْنَّ فَاعِلَ لَمْ يَرِيد

BBF. 4.

Writings of Jenáb-i-Kuddús. آثار قدسية

Writings of Šubh-i-Ezel. نغمات الروح للذالٍ ومجالي

Ff. a, β, and 208, (a1, a2, β1, 1a, 21a–22a, 102a–106a, 204a–205a, and 208b blank), 20.5 × 12.75 centimetres, 14 lines to page in first and last parts, which are written in naskh, 17 in second and third parts (which are written in nim-shikasté, or what Šubh-i-Ezel calls shikasté-i-hayawán). The letter which accompanied this MS. bears the date J(emádi-uth-)tháni 13th [A.H. 1307 = February 4th, A.D. 1890], and is bound up with the MS., of which it now forms (additional) ff. a and β. In it
Subh-i-Ezel thus writes of the accompanying volume:

"The three books previously sent are [a part] of the Beyân, nor have they been tampered with by any persons. This time, however, since no [more] portions of the Beyân were at hand, a few folios of my own words and two folios of the writings of Hazrat-i-Kuddús are sent to you, that you may ever bear in mind this recluse."

The contents of the MS. are divisible into five parts:

I. (ff. α-β, additional). Subh-i-Ezel’s letter, quoted above.

II. (ff. 1β-20b). Writings of Hazrat-i-Kuddús (six separate pieces).

III. (ff. 22β-101b). Naghamátu’r-Rūḥ ("Songs of the Spirit") by Subh-i-Ezel, consisting of text (written in nashkh) and commentary (in nim-shikasté), both in Arabic, and both composed by Subh-i-Ezel. From the heading prefixed to the text (الجُنبَل الثاني) it would appear that there is a first part of this work which I do not possess.


1 Cf. p. 447, n. 1 supra.
2 i.e. Mullá Muhammád ‘Ali of Bárfurúsh, who suffered martyrdom at his native place in the summer of 1849 after the fall of Sheykh Ţábarú. See Gobineau, Rel. et Phil., pp. 230-2.
3 First published in Europe in the original Arabic, with a Persian translation, and Latin glossary and notes, by Professor Stícke (Jena, 1834).
V. (ff. 205b–208b). A short piece in Arabic without title, apparently by ʻUbādi-Ezel, certainly not by the Báb, whose death is thus alluded to (f. 206b):

يا أهل الكتاب أذكروا ركاب فقد جاؤكم ركاب والملك حوله فقد حاججتم بالله من دون شئ وأدرمتكم عن الحق وتقلتم نقطة الأولى من دون حق وتعديتم في الأمر وكمتم من المماليك واطعمتم نفس الطائفتين بينكم وقاتلتم الذين امروا إلى أن سفكتم دمائهم على الأرض وكتاب شاهدين.

* Of each of the last four parts I shall now give a brief description.

Writings of Hazrat-i-Kuddus (آثار قدوسية).

بسم النعمة على الكبير المتكرب العظم لله الذي قد أقام العرش على الهواء، وأكفر على الماء، سلبتائه وقد رشح على النار سراله، فإنه لا الله إلا هو و هو الذي لا الله إلا هو وهو الشهيرة القديم للهم المديد لله الذي قد احكم على السر التظهر بالظهور في ابن الطور بالسراج العجول المستور بنائه لا الله إلا هو الفعلي

لدى قديم الٌلٌح* (No. 1, on f. 1b)

بسم الله العليم المتكلم العزيز القهار وانك يا الهي لتعلم انى لا ادعي عبادك إلا للتخصيص لدى باب رحمنتك وانثانية لهم في كل وجه لدى ظهور طلمتك وانك يا الهى لتعلم حكماك وتبين سرك وظهورك فلا شك ولا ريب يا الهى ان الحجيمة لم تكن لحد عليك وإنما منك الحجيمة على الناس فلو انك قد أصطفيت إعلامني

(No. 2, on f. 6b)
عبادك ونزلت عليه حببة من عندك وان كان من ذر القدر نفيفر ألذ
بسم الرب الجبار المختار القهار اليا ابيا الورثة
المغنى في عما البياء بديعا ان استمع الكل
نعت الاستجذاب بالسرا الهوية في سطرا نما لاهل
البقاء بالسرا المرشح باني انا اعني لا اله الا هو في
سر الاليات اديعبا فقيل ان استمعوا ندائي بالسرا السطر
من الشجرة الحمراء في البحر الاحدي لاهل الونه
بالنار النور جميعا الج
بسمه الذي لا اله الا هو العلي العليم المجيد لله
مطروز ديباجة الهويات بالابية البديعة وسكون
العمليات بطرز النقطة المنيعة ومختصر
البيات بطرز الانوار من طراز الالف الجوهرية
ومباع الاوراق الاعترات بظهور ورقة السينائثية
بانيه لا اله الا هو العلي القدام الج
بسم الرب المتعال المتكبر الغزي الفعال الالهم
يا اللئي واهي ومولى وسيدى لكي الحمد على
ما يجري قيامك بالبداية وليك الحمد على ما
يعني قيامك بالوقفة الحمراء وليك الحمد حمد
الهوية في ذروة الابداع وليك الحمد حمد
على كلما في الايام الاختراع وليك الحمد حمد
ابداوى وليك الحمد حمد ابداوى وليك الحمد
حمدا ازليا وليك الحمد حمداء هائطا وليك
الحمد في ذر العما الج
These specimens of the style of Hazrat-i-Kuddús, few though they be, sufficiently show that his Arabic is even more open to the grammarian’s criticism than is usually the case with Bábí writings in that language.

Naghamátu’r-Ráh (نغمات الروح).

This, as I have already said, presents a continuous text, composed by Šubh-i-Ezel, and interspersed with his own commentary, extending from f. 22a to f. 101b. I shall give the first few lines only of the exordium, the whole of the introductory preface, and a short specimen of the commentary and text commented, the latter being here distinguished (for want of a separate fount of type) by overlining.

لاَ اللَّهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

الجِلْدُ الثانِي

من نغمات الروح

بسمه البلقى الملك الديعوم المستعان

الحمد لله ممّسک السماآ، بقدرته ومسکن الأرض بمشیته ومرفع

الجبال بعزه ومشیق الکام بقوه ومجیر الحکور حکمته وخطر

النفس بديعومیته ومطرز دیباج الذوات بهبیته ومسین الواح العماآ.

1 The handwriting of the MS. suddenly changes at the top of this page (i.e. for this piece and the last 7 lines of the preceding one) from muskh to nám-shíkasté.
برتبطه المادح نفسه بالب الوقنة والجاهل والمقدس ذاته عما يقال
و الدائم الكائن بلا انتقال والصمد الباقئ بل زوال والكائن الديموم
لم يزل ولا يزال آن.......

أما بعد نقول العبد الراجح الجاني إلى الله القيم والذكر الأحق
المائتين تلقاه الملك الديموم بأنه لما جرى الأمر العموم والقضاء
الصبر نسرت بسوا مما رضى من لديّ في مواقع الذكر والنقير و
شرحت ما انتشرته في بعض المجاهد والمعوض وقد كررت الشرح
ثانيا ولما وقع بعض الأمر شاهدت في نفس رحى من الذل والتعز
أذا أمسكت الفلم عن الجريان وحينئذ لما ذكر ذلك أقرب
الاحمايا إلى ماقه العلماء لدق واحسب الراحة عيندي وآتت
الأسدقة في ذلك الأمر إذا كررت ما شرحته وتبينت ما بقي من
تبينه في نصف الاخير ورواه عن بدءه العفو عن مودته الصنح
لعل يفسر واحد بعد ثبوت في الأمر أو لا تنزل أقدام بعد استقامتها
وثوابتها ولا تبطلها نفسها بعد ما استقرت على ملك السراور والبساط
والعزة الحقة ولا يزعم من أحد بعد ما استقام وثبت في ذلك
الدين ولا تقدم نفاة شوقه ولا يكون الناس في حجاب
فاقتول وابتدى في الشرح في الله التكلى والاستعانة والتوبيق قوله فما
كاذب النصر إلا لو كنت هذا العفوي السขายقي الذي هو من سبب
الدين وابع عبد من ربه واحتي يحاب عنه إلا لو أنه هو ينزل
ذلك البلا وجميع الباليانا ويدفعها ويأم السفسس عن جهات
النفسانية ويقرها إليه وهو الكافير لكل النصر وإنما الأمور بديه
وما لازم من مر و هو يذهب الدم ويذهب الكرير ويكنف النصر
ينظر نفس المشيي وحقيقة الباقية فإذا استقت نفسك من
ذلك الططاقة الفقير والبقر البرويلي الجهنام إذا شهد ما جلب الله
As will be apparent from the above extract, the commentary is very profuse, if not very clear.

Ends (on f. 101b):

The cyphers at the end of the Naghamātūr-Rūḥ are repeated at the end of the La'ālī û Majālī (f. 203a), and at the end of another MS. containing some of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's Persian writings which will be described presently. They indicate, as Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel informed me by word of mouth, that the writings to which they are appended are by him. Their significance, however, he was not willing to divulge to me. Probably they refer in some way to the abjad notation.

La'ālī û Majālī (للائى ومجالى).

Of this piece also I shall give first of all the opening words of the exordium, then the short introductory preface, then a few specimens of the aphorisms or "Sententiae," which, arranged in groups according to the position of the initial (or sometimes the final) letter in the alphabet, make up the remainder of the work.
واظهر حيث لا ظاهرة فوقه والباطن حيث لا باطن دونه ولا شيء معه كان أو ولذيذ بالآوائل وكان آخر ولا يعرف بالواعر وكان ظاهر ولا ينعت بالظاهر وكأن باطنا ولا يوصف بالبواطن أتى . . .

و بعد قد طلع ما ظهر وشرق وسطح من سائل مهتدى بالله و
الشهير بهدهي فقد سجل في كتابه نظيرا لما ظهر وتنظيرا لما تطلع واشتهروا من أمام الصدق العدل الغالب على ابن أبطال صلوات الله على مجمعه وسلمه عليه وعلى الأئمة من بعد ما دامت الشمس مشروقة والقمر الأمر ساطع لامع فقد اجتنته بما ظهر منى ويسري من سبيل الأمر ليكون ذكرًا للذكرين وشرفا للمهنيدين البالغين وبالله التوفيق والاستعانة وانه لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله

بسم ربي العدل المستعان استعينوا بالله نجدوا رضا الله

استعينوا بالله نجدوا لقاء الله

استعينوا بالنصر نجدوا هناك الإجر

استعينوا بالصلة نجدوا الخيرات

and so on for 23 similar sentences, the section ending with the words

الاستعانة الاستعانة.

The second section (f. 107b) contains thirty-one short aphorisms beginning with the word ادخلوا, as, for example:

دخلوا العقود ادخلوا الوعد ادخلوا الوجود

The third section (ff. 107b–109a) consists, for the most part, of aphorisms beginning with the definite article, further arranged according to the letter in which they end, e.g.:

العلم تاج الجهل فغش ساج المعرفة سراج وهيل الرذية ليل داين

الإيمان فلاح الاليقان صلاح العرفان نجاح . . . . الغمير نور

الشري ظلم دجور الاله
The whole work, excluding the preface, consists of 179 such sections, arranged in groups alphabetically according to the initial letter of the aphorisms. The number of sections belonging to each letter varies. Sections i–xix begin with ب; xx–xxvii with ب; xxviii–xxxiii with ت; xxxiv–xxxvii with ت; xxxviii–xli with ج; xlii–xlvi with ح; xlvi–l with خ; li–lv with د; lvi–lxi with ذ; lxxi–lxv with ر; lxvi–lxx with ز; lxxi–lxxv with س; lxxvi–lxxxii with ش; lxxxiii–lxxxvi with ص; lxxxvii–lxxxviii with ض; lxxvii–xxviii with ط; xcviii–xcv with ظ; xcvi–cv with ع; cvi–cvii with غ; cix–cxii with ف; cxiv–cxvi with ق; cxvii–cxxiv with ك; cxxx–cxlii and again clxvii–clxxi with ل; clxiii–cl with م; cli–clxxii with ن; clvii–clxxii with و; clxiii–clxvii with ه; clxvii–clxxix with ي.

The work thus consists entirely of short, disconnected aphorisms, and the specimens which I have given, though few, will, I think, sufficiently indicate its general character.

The last piece contained in the MS. is separated by three blank pages (ff. 204a–205a) from the preceding one, is written in naskh, occupies only six pages, and begins abruptly as follows:

قد صلى الحكما: يومئذ وما عرفوا مقدار شيء ورجع البشري إلى حدود وسمك إلى محددة فانطلقنا حينئذ بآيات الله لنذكره وناعتث العرفه: يومئذ وما نعتهد وما عرفنا شيئنا من معنار ربك وما وحدوا الله حتى توحيده وهم إذا ماتلبنهم آله.

Ends (on f. 208a):

قد افتاز على الله كذبي فكلما دعاه إلى الله ربه موسى قد أمتنعوا عن عبادة الله واستكبروا وكان من العاليين وما قدر الله للذين كفروا آله الناري هي حسبهم يردونها وإنهم كانوا فيها من المعصرين.
BBF. 5.

آثار ازْنِه بزیان فارسی

Ff. 274 (1a and 274b blank), 17·75 x 10·75 centimetres, 11 lines to the page.

A collection of Šubh-i-Ezel's Persian writings, transcribed by himself in a clear, graceful, and somewhat peculiar ta'liḵ hand, and containing a number of sections or chapters of various lengths, to each of which is prefixed a doxology, but no title. The full examination and description of such a collection being necessarily a work of time, I confine myself here to giving the beginning and ending. Near the end of the MS. is a rather long and very important piece wherein Šubh-i-Ezel defines and defends his position, and enters a protest against the schism of the Behá'ís. This piece I hope to publish with a translation in a subsequent number of the Journal.

Begins:

لا الله
الإرادة
نتائج
هو المستعان

سِبَاس مَعْرِي از دِکَرما کاً و حمَّد مِقَدَّس از نعت، ما یکوَن مَر
خداوند تِبَار سَبِيع مَتعالی را سِزاَسَت که لِم یزَل بِبَحارگوِن و رُحمَت
اوِدِر التَّمِام اَسَت و یعَمِوم عَزَو و قَدرت اَو در اَطنَافِر در هَر لَحَظِه در
شَگْنیسَت و دِر هَر نَفِقَه در غَنِسَنِ اَبَداَع فَرِمُوده خَلَقِه هَستی، را و
وجد داَد خَلَق لَا وَجَود و نیسَتی را ما عرْفِه مَن شَی و ما وصَفَه ما
خلَق نشناخته اورا هَنیچ چَیِز و وصَف نَنِموده اورا ما خَلَقِ زِبرکَه
عرفان ذَات مِقَدَّس اورا اقتَران مِمکَن شوَد و جوْنَ اقتَران در خَلَق
وجد لَا یمکن از راَین سَبب عَرْفان او بَغیبِرَاز او نتوان نَمود و وصَف
Ends:

He began and continued thus:

And the three following MSS. (all containing works of the Báb) were not transcribed by Subḥ-i-Ezel, but were transmitted to me through him from Persia. The circumstances under which they were conveyed from Teherán to Cyprus and thence to me were somewhat peculiar. On July 9th, 1890, I received from Teherán a letter from an unknown correspondent belonging to the Ezél sect of the Bábis which bore as its date "Tuesday, Shawwál 14th, A.H. 1307" (June 3rd, 1890). After a preliminary doxology, the writer proceeded to explain that, being at Famagusta
in Cyprus in the month of Zi‘l-Ka‘da, a.h. 1306 (July, 1889), he had been present when my first letter, asking for books and information, was handed to Šubh-i-Ezel, and had perused its contents; and that he had also been present when the “Governor” (i.e. the Commissioner of the district, Captain Young), called to see Šubh-i-Ezel and to converse with him through his interpreter. On leaving Cyprus to return to Persia he had been commanded by Šubh-i-Ezel to collect together such of the Báb’s writings as he could (especially those concerning which I had more particularly enquired). On arriving at Teherán he had accordingly set to work on this task, and had succeeded in obtaining copies of (1) The Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuf, or Aḥsanul-Kīṣas; (2) The Names of All Things (اسماء الله); (3) The Commentary on the Súratul-Bākara; (4) The Commentary on the Súratul-‘Aṣr; (5) The Doxology of our Lady Fátima (تسبیح حضرة فاطمة). These books were to have been forwarded through a certain Ezelif, whose position would have enabled him to secure their safe conveyance, but his sudden death had rendered this impossible. My correspondent therefore desired me to suggest some means of transmission, adding that desire to see Western lands and to learn their languages and arts, as well as anxiety to escape from the continual persecutions of the Mullás (who had lately, without cause or pretext, slain six of his co-religionists at Isfahán and burned their bodies), rendered him very willing to bring the MSS. to England himself, if I approved of this plan, and if he could obtain money for the journey.

To this letter I replied in the manner directed. After thanking my correspondent for all the trouble he had taken, I explained to him the great expense and difficulty of the scheme he proposed, and suggested that the books

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1 My correspondent did not mention the name of this person, but I have no doubt in my own mind as to who is meant.
2 The persecution of Si-dih is alluded to. See my Traveller’s Narrative, vol. ii., pp. 406-410.
should, when opportunity offered, be conveyed to Cyprus and placed in the hands of Şubh-i-Ezel, who could afterwards, if he pleased, transmit the originals or copies of the originals to me through Captain Young. In any case it appeared to me right and proper that they should first be placed in his hands.

On September 19th, 1890, I received another letter in the same hand, bearing the Constantinople post-mark, but written, apparently, from Famagusta, whither my mysterious correspondent had again journeyed. In this letter he stated that he had, according to my advice, abandoned the idea of coming to England, and had safely brought the following six volumes with him to Cyprus and handed them over to Şubh-i-Ezel: (1) The Names of All Things, 2 vols.; (2) The Commentary on the Sūratu'l-Bakara, 1 vol.; (3) The Commentary on the Sūratu'l-Kawthar, 1 vol.; (4) The Commentary on the Sūratu'l-'Aṣr, 1 vol.; (5) The Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yūsuf or Aḥsanu'l-Ḳiṣas, 1 vol.

Having thus explained how this and the following volumes were conveyed to Cyprus, whence most of them have since been sent to me, I return to the present MS., the Commentary on the Sūratu'l-Bakara. That it was one of the Báb’s earlier works appears from a passage in the Tárikh-i-Jadīd, of which the substance will be found at pp. 902–903 of my second paper on the Bábis in the J.R.A.S. for 1889. This passage contains the account given by Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh of his conversion to Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-Wahháb of Khurásán, who narrated it to Hájí Mírzá Jání of Kháshán, from whose book it is copied by the author of the Tárikh-i-Jadīd. It is too long to quote or translate in extenso, and I must therefore confine myself to citing that portion of it which bears directly on the Commentary in question.
"After a while" [says Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh]

"I observed several volumes lying in a recess. I picked up one of them, and found it to be a Commentary on the Súrat-ul-Bakara. After reading a little I perceived it to be a commentary of singular merit, and demanded in astonishment who the author might be. "A mere youthful beginner," answered he, "who nevertheless lays claim to a high degree of knowledge and greatness." I again asked who and where the writer was. "Thou seest him," he replied; but I did not at the time apprehend his meaning, and continued to read on till I came to a passage where it was written, "the explanation of the inmost of the inmost." This appeared to me to be an error, and I remarked, "Here it should be 'the inmost,' and they have written 'the inmost of the inmost.'" "What can I say?" he answered, "the author of the Commentary lays claim to even more than this of greatness, glory, and knowledge. Consider the passage attentively." I did so, and said, "It is quite correct. But I am wearied. Do you read and I will listen." He
read for a time, and then, as men are wont, I said, "It is enough. Do not trouble yourself further."

It is this work, then, hitherto unknown in the West, that the present MS. represents. The MS. reached me, together with another (the Commentary on the Sūratul-‘Asr) to be described immediately, on December 8th, 1890. With them came a letter from Şuh-i-Ezel, dated November 25th, wherein he wrote as follows:

"The pilgrim of whom you wot also arrived about the same time" [as Captain Young, whose absence on leave from Cyprus had prevented Şuh-i-Ezel from writing for a considerable period]. "The letter which you wrote being conveyed to him, he abandoned his idea [of proceeding to England in person], and returned to his own place. The books which have been signified, six volumes, are ready, but owing to lack of opportunity they have not yet been completely copied. Now, by means of His Excellency the Governor [i.e. Captain Young] (may God Almighty guard him!), two volumes of them, one of which is the Commentary on the verses of the Sūra-i-Bukara, and the other the Commentary on ‘Wā’l ‘Asr,’ are forwarded to you. The remainder, namely three other volumes, the Commentary on the Kaethar and two volumes of the Names of All Things, will, if it please God, be forwarded by
degrees. The Commentary on the Sûra-i-Yûsuf is also ready, whenever the time to send it may come."

The description of this MS. is as follows: Ff. 110 (ff. 1a-2a, and 110a-110b blank), 19 x 11·5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a legible naskh hand, without title or colophon. F. 2a bears a seal-mark which reads—

عبده الراجی الحسینی مصیع رحمی

The text begins with the Sûratu'l-Fátîha and a short commentary on it, which I give in extenso—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

الحمد لله رب العالمین. الرحمان الرحیم. مالکكم يوم الین.

یاکی نعید و یاکی نستعين. اهدنا الصراط المستقيم. صراط الذین

انعمت عليهم غیر المغصوب عليهم ولا النجایین. هذة السورة

المباركة عند الله سبعة آیات. تجاهات النة الأولى كتاب محمد ص

ودقد جعل الله فيها احكام ووجودها مما لا بداية لها ولا نهاية وهي

جنة الفردوس قد حبل الله ظلها لمن امس بنبوته ودخل عليها بها

والثانية كتاب على ثم وقذ جعل الله فيها احكام ولایته المطلقة ممثا

هو عليه ویة جنة الواحدة قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولیته

و الثالثة كتاب فاطرة عام و قد جعل الله فيها كل ما لها وعلیها وهو

جنة النعيم جعل الله ظلها لمن امس بها واحبتها بعد ما عرفها بما

هي اهلها كما تجلبت للعارف لها بها فح (؟) حلت تلك الجنة له

و الرابعة كتاب النفس عم و فيها مكتوب احكامه واحكام شیعته

مصمم قد دخل لجنة الواحدة بیست ظل مصیعه وهي جنة الودن

وقطب الجنان ولا خطيتیة لها وقد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بوضایته

(f. 3°)

لاباه عم و الجامعۃ كتاب النفس عم و اخذ روحی فداه

منها احكم نفسه حتى قرأ فيها اسم قاتله عليه اللعنة وهي جنة

المقام قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولیة النفس عم و جاء بحبارته
The Commentary ends on f. 109\textsuperscript{b} with v. 131 of the 
\textit{Sūratu'l-Bakara} as follows:

The rest of the Commentary, therefore, would seem never to 
have been written. I have not been able to find the 
expression \textit{Tafsīr Bāṭlī Bāṭlī}, alluded to in the account of 
Mullā Huseyn's conversion given by the \textit{Tārīkh-i-Jadid}, 
which may perhaps be mistaken as to the identity of the 
work, since \textit{Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel} told me that it was the perusal of 
the \textit{Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yūsuf} which convinced Mullā 
Huseyn of the Bāb's divine mission.

\footnote{Here, without break or hiatus, begins the Commentary on the \textit{Sūratu'l- 
Bakara}. The commentary on the first verse extends to f. 8\textsuperscript{a}, so I must needs 
content myself with giving the first few lines only.}

\textit{(To be continued.)}

This Catalogue has been compiled chiefly from the following ones which are still in the Library:—


(3) A Rough Additional Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts belonging to the R.A.S. (such as are not entered in Morley's work). By Guy Le Strange, 1881.

A fuller description of many of the MSS. will be found in some one of these Catalogues which are here indicated as (1) M. Ms. Cat. (2) M. P. Cat. and (3) Le S. Cat. respectively.

The order of arrangement, transliteration, titles of works and names, are in accordance with those used in the British Museum Catalogues. Arabic MSS. not included in the above mentioned Catalogues have been referred for description when necessary to Mr. H. C. Kay, and the Persian and Hindustani to Mr. E. G. Browne. Mr. E. J. W. Gibb has examined and described all the Turkish, and the Catalogue of them is made from his notes.

Oliver Codrington,

18th January, 1892.
Hon. Librarian.
Arabic MSS.

[Table of Transliteration.

\begin{align*}
\text{ث} &= \text{th} & \text{خ} &= \text{kh} & \text{ض} &= \text{d} & \text{ع} &= ' (a, i, u) \\
\text{j} &= \text{j} & \text{n} &= \text{d} & \text{ط} &= \text{t} & \text{غ} &= \text{gh} \\
\text{ض} &= \text{h} & \text{س} &= \text{s} & \text{ظ} &= \text{z} & \text{ق} &= \text{k} \\
, &= 'a, 'i, 'u.\]


3. Korân. Well written in Naskh by Hâfiz Hafiz Allah Walad Shaikh Ibrahim. Illuminated first page. Headings of Surah in red. Ajzaa and quarter Ajzaa noted by illuminated marginal labels. Verses of Surah marked by gold pellets. Fol. 446. 11 lines on a page. Size, 12\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 3.)

4. Korân. Written in Naskh with interlinear translation in Malay. Headings of Surah, Ajzaa, and quarter Ajzaa in red. Verses divided by gold pellets. Fol. 352. 9 lines of text on a page. Some pages damaged and partly destroyed. Size, 13\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 9\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 4.)

5. Fragments of a fine folio Korân, written in Naskh. 13 lines on a page. 1st, 7th, and 13th lines in large letters on blue or pink ground. Verses marked by a gold rose. Size, 16 by 14.

7. Portions of the Korân. Parts of the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 9th, and the whole of the 8th Surah. Naskh. Fol. 69. 11 lines on a page. Size, 7¼ by 4½. (M. Ms. Cat. 8.)


11. Korân. Written on a roll of paper 20 feet long by 3½ inches broad, mounted on rollers, in a wooden glazed case. Writing very small and arranged with gold dividing lines into variously shaped areas forming here and there patterns, words, or letters. The first two Surah in large characters and illuminated with colour. The remaining Surah not indicated, the writing continuous, and the Ajzaa marked by the first words being in red and by red numerals in the margin.

12. Korân. Fine Maghribî writing. Titles of Surah, divisions, and verses, marked in red, yellow, and green. Fol. 167. 22 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 8. (Le S. Cat. 52.)

13. Extracts from the Korân, with Turkish Notes. Naskh. Fol. 75. 11 lines on a page. Size, 5 by 3½. (Le S. Cat. 53.)

14. Extracts from the Korân. Maghribî. Fol. 147. 9 lines
on a page. Imperfect. Size, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 55.)

15. Prayers, Extracts from the Koran, etc. Naskh. Fol. 79. 9 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 56.)

16. Bab fi faḍā’l Sūrat al-Kadr. On the Excellencies of the 97th Surah of the Koran. Naskh. Fol. 64. 15 lines on a page. Size, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by 4. (M. Ms. Cat. 12.)


(2) A Poetical Commentary on the Koran. Naskh. Fol. 49. 13 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1150. Size, 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 54.)


20. Kitāb as-Salat wa al-Jāwābat i al-Imām ar-Rāzi. Questions and Answers, Theological and Legal. By Imām ar-Rāzi. Naskh. Fol. 137. 24 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 61.)


22. Sharḥ al-Kāfi. Vol. II. of a Commentary on the Kāfi. Shiitī. By Muhammad Ṣāliḥ at-Tabrizī. Comprising the Kitāb al-Hajjat and the Bab at-Tukiyat. Naskh. Fol. 255. 29 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 59.)

23. Commentary on the Mukhtāṣar of Khalil. By Muhammad al-Kharashi. Maghihrī. Fol. 169. 31 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (Le S. Cat. 60.)

25. A History of the Prophets, Martyrs, etc. Imperfect. Sals. Fol. 387. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8$\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 66.)


27. Jāmi‘ at-Tawārikh. A portion of Rashīd ad-Dīn’s history, with an interlinear translation into Persian. Commencing with the 11th chapter of the Tarikh i Hind wa as-Sind, and containing the history of Shākmūnī. Text in Naskh. Translation in Nastalik. Fol. 33. 20 lines on a page. Dated a.h. 1238. Size, 13 by 9$\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 2.)


29. History of the Expeditions of Idrīs, Sultan of Burnū, in the land of Kānīn against the tribes of Bulala. Naskh. Fol. 113. 17 lines on a page. Dated a.h. 1269. Size, 8$\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 68.)

ibn al-Wardi. Maghribi. Fol. 97. 28 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1221. Size, 12½ by 8½. (Le S. Cat. 71.)


33. Daʾâwī Aklidas m'a Istibânât. Translation of Euclid, with the two additional books attributed to Hypsiclides, with marginal notes in Persian. Nastalik. Fol. 531. 22 lines on a page. Size, 11½ by 7¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 15.)


35. Marginal Gloss by Ash-Sharīf Jurjâni, on the Tahār al-Kauḍ al-Mintakyat fi Sharḥ ash-Shamsiyah of Kutb ad-Din Maḥmûd ar-Râzî. Naskh. Fol. 61. 21 lines on a page, with marginal notes. Size, 10 by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 62.)


37. Elementi della Lingua Araba, Spirigati Secondo i principi Latini in Italiano. By Professor Guiseppe Grassi. Written by Miss Forbes in fine Arabic and Italian writing. Fol. 183. 23 lines on a page. Size 10½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 16.)

38. Treatises on Arabic Grammar. Naskh. (1) Mi'at 'Āmil, on the Government of Arabic Sentences. By Abû
Bakr 'Abd al-Kūhir al-Jurjānī. Fol. 56. 15 lines on a page. (2) Paradigms of Arabic Grammar. Fol. 3. (3) Al-Ajrāmīyah; on Arabic Syntax. By Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Dāūd as-Ṣanḥājī, called Ibn Ajarrūm. Size 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 18.)

39. Al-Kāfliyah. A Treatise on Arabic Grammar. By Abū 'Amrū 'Uthman, commonly called Ibn Hājib. Nastalik. Fol. 89. 5 lines on a page, with interlinear and marginal notes. Dated a.h. 1082. Size 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 17.)

40. A Note-book containing some Arabic Verses. Maghribi. Size, 8 by 3. (Le S. Cat. 74.)

41. Muntakhāb al-Lughāt. A Dictionary of Arabic Words explained in Persian. By ʿAbd ar-Rashīd at-Tattāvī. Nastalik. Fol. 414. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (Le S. Cat. 72.)

42. Dīwān. Poetical Works. By Sharaf ad-Dīn Abū Hāfṣ ʿUmar ibn ʿAli called Ibn al-Fārid. With a Preface by his grandson ʿAli. Naskh. Fol. 65. 21 and 18 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (Le S. Cat. 75.)

43. Kalilah wa Dimnah Sharʿ Arabi. A Poetical Version of Kalilah Dimnah. Naskh. Fol. 121. 15 lines on a page in double column. Dated a.h. 1238. Size, 12 by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 19.)

44. Ālf Lailah wa Lailah. A portion of the 1001 Nights. Naskh. Fol. 168. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 20.)

45. Sharḥ i Ḥikmat al-ʿAyn. Commentary on the Hikmat Al-ʿAyn of Najm ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿUmar al-Kātibī al-Kazwīnī. Shīkastah Amīz. Fol. 138. 17 lines on a page. Size, 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 5\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 21.)


(2) Tract of Fol. 3, respecting the Sunni Doctrines of the Attributes of the Deity. By Sayid al-Ḥakīm as-Samarkandī. Size, 9 by 5\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 22.)
47. (1) A Theological Tract. Naskh. Fol. 7. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6.

(2) Kašīdat. A Poem. Ta’līk. 29 lines on one page in double column with marginal notes. Size, 16 by 10. (Le S. Cat. 63.)

48. Two Imperfect Writings. By Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsī al-Hasani. Maghribī. Fol. 79. 23 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (Le S. Cat. 64.)

Persian MSS.

Table of Transliteration.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ث}=\mathfrak{b} & \quad \text{ح}=\mathfrak{h} & \quad \text{ش}=\text{sh} & \quad \text{ط}=\mathfrak{t} & \quad \dot{\text{غ}}=\text{gh} \\
\text{j}=\mathfrak{j} & \quad \ddot{\text{j}}=\text{kh} & \quad \text{ص}=\mathfrak{s} & \quad \dot{\text{l}}=\mathfrak{z} & \quad \ddot{\text{ز}}=\text{k} \\
\text{چ}=\text{ch} & \quad \dddot{\text{j}}=\mathfrak{j} & \quad \text{ض}=\mathfrak{z} & \quad \dddot{\text{غ}}=(a, i, u) & \quad \dot{\text{س}}=(a, i, u)
\end{align*}
\]


3. An enumeration of the times which each letter of the Alphabet occurs in the first 30 Surahs of the Koran. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 32. Size, 9\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 28.)


(2) The properties of the Seven Verses of the Koran which the Prophet communicated to 'Alī ben Abī Talib. Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 5. 7 and 9 lines on a page.
(3) The Prayer Tawakkulat 'Ali Allah and its thirty-one excellent qualities. Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 8. 7 and 9 lines on a page.


15. Mahābhārat. Vol. II. Containing last ten books (books seven and eight are omitted). Nastalik. Fol. 460. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1126. Size, 12 by 7½. (M. Ms. Cat. 73.)


21. Futūḥ Aʿsam. A History of the immediate successors of Muhammad, and the early Conquests of the

22. Tārīkh i Ṭabarī. Persian translation of the general History of at-Ṭabarī. By Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ben ‘Abd Ullah ul-Bal‘amī. The history continued to a.h. 529 by some other author. Naskh. Fol. 351. 33 lines on a page. Dated a.h. 701. Size, 12\(\frac{2}{4}\) by 9\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 9.)

23. Tārīkh i Ṭabarī. Persian version by Bal‘amī. Naskh. Fol. 451. 27 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 10.)

24. Tārīkh i Ṭabarī. Persian version by Bal‘amī. Nastalik. Fol. 344. 24 lines on a page. Dated a.h. 988. Size, 13 by 9\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 11.)


27. Tārīkh i Banākītī Vol. II. containing the remainder of the work. Fol. 157. Naskh. 15 lines on a page. Size, 7\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 5. (M. P. Cat. 14.)


29. Rauzaṭ us-Safā. A general history from the earliest times to a.h. 911. By Muḥammad ben Khāwand Shāh ben Maḥmūd, commonly called Mīr Khwānd. Vol. I. Preface and history to the time of the last
Sassanian King, Yazdajird III. Naskh. Fol. 223. 26 lines on a page. Size, 13½ by 8¾. (M. P. Cat. 16.)


41. *Rauzat us-Safia*. Vol. VI. Nastalik. Fol. 403. 24 lines on a page. Size, 10 2/3 by 6 1/2. (M. P. Cat. 28.)


47. *Habib us-Siyar*. Vol. II. History of the twelve Imams, Amavi and 'Abbasi Khalifs, and of Dynasties contemporary with the 'Abbasi. Nastalik. Fol. 305. 27 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 34.)


51. *Habib us-Siyar*. First chapter of the second volume. Nastalik. Fol. 107. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 999. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{4}$, bound up with No. 19. (M. P. Cat. 38.)

52. *Habib us-Siyar*. First two and part of the third Chapter of Vol. III. comprising the history of the Mongols, Khâns, Mamlûks, Muza'farîdes, and other contemporaries, and of Timûr and his descendants. Nastalik. Fol. 395. 21 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 39.)


54. *Habib us-Siyar*. The fourth chapter and conclusion of Vol. III. comprising the history of the Safavî dynasty and of Persia to A.H. 930, with cosmographical notices and brief account of notable men. Shikastah Amîz. Fol. 277. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1239. Size, 11 by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 41.)


Nastalik. Fol. 402. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1228. Size, 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{3}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 45.)

59. Ṭabaḵāt i Ṭabarshāhī. A general history of India, from Sabaktagīn Ghaznavī to the Author’s own time in Akbar’s reign. By Nizām ud-Dīn Aḥmad ben Muhammad Muḵīm ul-Haravī. Nastalik. Fol. 517. 21 lines on a page. Imperfect in places, and has been disarranged in binding. Size, 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 4\(\frac{3}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 46.)

60. Tārikh i Ḥakki. A general history of the Muhammadan Dynasties of India to the time of Akbar. By Shaikh Ḍab ul-Hak̄k ben Saif ud-Dīn Dīhlavī, called Ḥakki. Nastalik. Fol. 118. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 5\(\frac{3}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 47.)

61. Tārikh i Firishtah, or Gulshan i Ibrahīmī. A general history of India. By Muhammad Kašīm Hindūshāh Astarābādī, Surnamed Firishtah. Nastalik. Fol. 602. 21 lines on a page. Size, 16\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). (M. P. Cat. 48.)

62. Tārikh i Firishtah. Nastalik. Fol. 593. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1147. Size, 13\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\). (M. P. Cat. 49.)


64. Tārikh i Firishtah. Introduction and first two books, up to the death of Akbar. Nastalik. Fol. 349. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7. (M. P. Cat. 51.)

65. Tārikh i Firishtah. Introduction and first two books. Nastalik. Fol. 322. 19 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7. (M. P. Cat. 52.)

66. Khulāṣat ut-Tavārikh. A general history of India, from the earliest times to the death of Aurangzīb. By Sujan [Sanjan] Rāi Munshī. Nastalik. Fol. 325. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1130. Size, 12\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\). (M. P. Cat. 53.)

19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1223. Size, 12½ by 8¾. (M. P. Cat. 54.)


69. (1) Haššākat i Rājahāi Mutasārrikah i Hindūstān. A short history of the early Rajahs of India. Nastalik. Fol. 23. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 56.)

(2) An account of the early Rajahs of Hastinapūr. Nastalik. Fol. 5. 15 lines on a page, Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 57.)

(3) Haššākat i Rājahāi Ujjain. An account of the early Rajahs of Ujjain. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 58.)

(4) Haššākat i binā u 'Urūj Daulat i Rājahāi Satārah. A short history of the Rajahs of Satārah. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 15 to 17 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 79.)

(5) Haššākat i binā u 'Urūj Daulat i Rājahāi Satārah. Shikastah. Fol. 8. 10 and 14 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 80.)

(6) An account of Mādhurāo Peshwā, comprising the events which took place between A.H. 1174 and 1187. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 5. 9 and 10 lines on a page. Size, 7½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 82.)

(7) Haššākat i binā u 'Urūj i Fīrkah i Sīkhān. A short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 19. 15 and 16 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 83.)

(8) Haššākat i binā u 'Urūj i Fīrkah i Sīkhān. Nastalik. Fol. 23. 14 to 17 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 84.)

(9) A letter from the Emperor Shāh 'Alam to the King of England. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 3. 14 and 15 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 134.)

70. Tārīkh i Sind. A history of Sind from the Muhamma-
dan conquest to its annexation to Akbar's Empire.

71. Khutṣṭ i Sirājī. Letters, Firmans, and documents relating to the transactions between the Mahrattas and Aurangzib. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 34. 9 and 11 lines on a page. Size, 9¼ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 81.)


(2) A Short History of the Sikhs from the time of Nānak to A.D. 1806. By Bakht Māl. Shikastah. Fol. 55. 12 lines on a page. (M. P. Cat. 85.)


78. Muntakhâb i Tavârikh i Bahri. Notices, Extracts, etc., relating to the History of the Dakhin. By Kâzî 'Abd un-Nabî. Partly Nastalik, partly Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 155. 13 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 66.)

79. Târikh i Nizâm 'Ali Khân u Nâşir Jung. A History of the Nizams of Haidarâbâd from the origin of the family to A.H. 1206. Nastalik. Fol. 212. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 7\(\frac{3}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 67.)

80. Târikh i Sultân Muḥammad Kutbshâhî. A History of the Kutb Shahi dynasty of Galkandah. Nastalik. Fol. 303. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 68.)


82. Mir'ât i Ahmâdî. A History of Guzerat, from the origin of the Kingdom to A.H. 1174. By 'Ali Muḥammad Khân. 1st portion up to A.H. 1131. Nastalik. Fol. 246. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{2}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 70.)

83. Mir'ât i Ahmâdî. 2nd portion. History from A.H. 1131 to 1174. Nastalik. Fol. 309. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 71.)

84. Mir'ât i Ahmâdî. The Khâtimah or Appendix, giving an Account of the City and Sûbah of Ahmadâbâd. Nastalik. Fol. 43. 15 lines on a page. Size, 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 8. (M. P. Cat. 72.)

85. Mir'ât i Ahmâdî. Detached portions of the work. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 92. 13 lines on a page. Size, 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) by 5\(\frac{3}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 73.)

86. Aḥvâl Râjahâl Maisûr u Nagar. A concise history of the Rajahs of Mysore from Timmarâj to Ḥaidar 'Alî. Nastalik. Fol. 21. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. P. Cat. 74.)


91. 'Imād us-Sā'ādat. A history of the Nawabs of Oude, from the origin of the family to A.H. 1216. By Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naḵavī. Nastalik. Fol. 239. 11 lines on a page. Size, 14 by 8½. (M. P. Cat. 89.)

92. Intikhāb i Akhbar i Navāb Vazīr 'ul-Mamālik Bahādur u Intikhāb i Akhbar i Durbār Mu'alla u Atraf. A journal of occurrences which took place in Oude and at the court of its Nawab A.H. 1208-1209. Nastalik. Fol. 293. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, 9¾ by 6¼. (M. P. Cat. 90.)

93. Intikhāb i Akhbar i Durbār i Navāb Vazīr 'ul-Mamālik Āsaf ud-Daulah Bahādur. A journal of events which took place at Oude and at the court of its Nawab, A.H. 1209-1210. Nastalik. Fol. 328. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 8¼ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 91.)


95. *Zafar Nāmah.* Nastalik. Fol. 302. 21 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, 11 by 5 ½. (M. P. Cat. 93.)


97. *Tūzak i Timūr.* Institutes of Timūr. Talik. Fol. 26. 7 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 4 ½. (Le S. Cat. 49.)

98. *Tūzak i Timūr.* Nastalik. Fol. 126. 10 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1229. Size, 7 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 50.)


104. Ma’asir ul-Umarâ. Biographies of the most celebrated Amirs and others who lived during the times of the Timurides. By Šamsâm ud-Daulah Shâhnavâz Khan Khwâfî Aurangâbâdî, with additions by Ghulâm ’Ali. First portion to the middle of the letter Dâl. Nastalik. Fol. 220. 21 lines on a page. Size, 11 1/2 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 101.)


106. Ma’asir ul-Umarâ. First portion to letter Fâ. Nastalik. Fol. 231. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 9.)


129. *Shāh Jahān Nāmah* or *Mulakhkhas.* A history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. By Muḥammad Ẓāhir,
commonly called 'Ināyat Khān. Shikastah Amīz. Fol. 87. 29 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 16 by 10. (M. P. Cat. 125.)


133. 'Alamgīr Nāmāh. Shikastah. Fol. 425. 17 and 19 lines on a page. Size, 10⁷⁄₈ by 6¼. (M. P. Cat. 129.)


135. 'Alamgīr Nāmāh. Nastalik. Fol. 490. 18 to 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, 12½ by 6½. (M. P. Cat. 131.)


137. Tārīkh i Pādshahān i 'Ajām. An Epitome of the History of Persia from Kayūmars to A.H. 1046 in the reign of Safī I. Nastalik. Fol. 115. 11 lines on a page. Size, 6½ by 4½. (M. P. Cat. 133.)


142. *'Alam Arāī 'Abbāsī*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 674. 17 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 10½ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 141.)


144. *'Alam Arāī 'Abbāsī*. Vol. II. Latter portion of the first part, A.H. 1016 to 1025; and the second part, completing the work. Nastalik. Fol. 429. 17 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8½. (M. P. Cat. 143.)


Naskh. Fol. 245. 18 lines on a page. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, 11½ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 146.)


156. Tārīkh i Hasht Bahist. A History of the Ottoman
Dynasty from 'Osmān Beg Ghāzī to Bāyīzīd Khān II. By Maula ʿIdrīs ben Ḥusām ud-Dīn Bidlīsī. Nastaliq. Fol. 260. 21 lines on a page. Size, 10½ by 6½. (M. P. Cat. 157.)


(2) An Account of the Holy and Learned Men of Bukhārā from a.h. 54 to 814. Nastaliq. Fol. 46. Dated a.h. 1246. Size, 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 71A.)


170. Risālah Muḥtavi bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi. Shikastah. Fol. 7. Size, 8½ by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 112.)

171. A Description of the Seals, Flags, Standards, Inscriptions, etc., used by Tipū Sultan. Shikastah. Size, 9 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 113.)


173. Copies of Persian Letters, Accounts, etc. Fol. 88. Size, 9¼ by 8½. (Le S. Cat. 17.)

175. *Description of the Tomb of Shāh Jahān, with Inscriptions,* etc. Nastālīk. Fol. 107. 8 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 4.)

176. *Risālah i Mister Wilford.* Extracts and notes from Captain Wilford's Routes in Afghanistan, Bukhāra, etc. By Mughāl Beg. Fol. 46. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1806. Size, 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 117.)

177. *Masir i Ţalibi.* The Travels of the Author in Europe, A.H. 1213–1218. By Abū Ţalib ben Muḥammad Isfahānī. Nastālīk. Fol. 306. 15 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\). (Le S. Cat. 2.)


179. *Ajā'i̊b ul-Tabaḵāt.* The Wonders of the Universe. By Muḥammad Tāhir ben Abūl-Kāsim. Nastālīk. Fol. 178. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 5\(\frac{1}{2}\). (Le S. Cat. 3.)


181. *A Description of the Public Buildings at Shāhjahānabad,* with copies of the Inscriptions on them. Nastālīk. Fol. 64. 11 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8\(\frac{1}{2}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 98.)


183. *Nuzhat ul-Kulūb.* Geographical portion. Nastālīk. Fol. 122. 20 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 32.)

184. *Majmal ul-Hikmat.* A Compendium of Philosophy. Translated from the Arabic. Nastālīk. Fol. 334. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, 6\(\frac{1}{4}\) by 3\(\frac{1}{4}\). (M. Ms. Cat. 251.)


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<td>Zadeh Efendi, Kazi</td>
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LIST OF
THE TIBETAN MSS. AND PRINTED BOOKS
IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
BY
H. WENZEL, PH.D.

MANUSCRIPTS.

(I.) Damamūsho (sic !) jaũs . blun zhes bya vai mdo [Mdo xxviii. 1, Feer, p. 283], fol. 300, line 7. Miniatures of Çäkyaräja, Maitreya, Çuddhodana, Mâyä (?), and, on last leaf, Guru sen-ge · sgra · sgrogs and Gëug · gtor rnam · par rgyal ma. 22 by 7½. (Presented by Hodgson, 1833.)

(II.) 26 by 8¼. Fol. 315 (desunt 68–126 incl.), line 8. Begins: Arya daça dig andhakara bhiddhansananama mahäyäna sutra¹ (sic !), 'in Tibetan.' The 'venerable treatise of the great vehicle called the entire chacing of the darkness of the ten regions.' (See Mdo xxii. 3, Feer, p. 272.) Vol. marked 5 · (ra, i.e. 25). Fol. 9. Arya meitraya prasthänan nama mahayana sutra (sic.), Tib.: the entry (?) of Maitreya.

(III.) 26 by 8¼. Lines 8.

1. Sign 5 (nga=?), fol. 2–6, begin and end incomplete, no title.


3. Sign 5* (cha=6), fol. 33–166 (fol. 37b, book 4; 40, 'fourth chapter, the showing of examples').


¹ The Sanscrit titles are given exactly as found in the Tibetan transliteration.
(IV.) 22\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). Lines 8. Silk labels with embroidered 'Book 1,' etc. (Hodgson). Çatasahasrika praṇāṇa paramitā, title in gold on blue under silk.

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<td>&quot; 6. ((\textcircled{6})} desunt.</td>
<td>&quot; 15. ((\textcircled{15})) &quot; 340.</td>
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<td>&quot; 7. ((\textcircled{7})}</td>
<td>&quot; 16. ((\textcircled{16})) &quot; 316.</td>
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<td>&quot; 8. ((\textcircled{8})) &quot; 250.</td>
<td>&quot; 17. ((\textcircled{17})) &quot; 317.</td>
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<td>&quot; 9. ((\textcircled{9})) deest.</td>
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(V.) Line 5. Fragments, negligently written on coarse paper.

1. Sign \(\textcircled{1}\) (2). Fol. 25, 30–33, 41.


4. Subhabusmatamgha, Gser ὸd dam · pai sna rgai gruṅs. Fol. 14, lines 6 (desunt 4, 11), signed W (24), and, from fol. 7 on, I. (25).

5. Çatasahasrikā praṇāṇa paramita. Fol. 2.


8. Vajracchedikā. Title white in black. 1 fol., and 16 stray leaves from different works.

(VI.) 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 4. 5 lines (3 black and 2 red, interchanging). Fol. 3–7, 9–11, 13–15, 17, 18, 20, 22–28, 30–47 (end). Vajracchidikā—ink in places very much faded.

(VII.) Ārya bhadracarya pranidhānaraṇaja · phags · pa bzaṅ · po spyod · pa smou · lam · gyi rgyal · po [Phalchen 45, Feer, p. 212]. Fol. 9, lines 6. 15\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 4\(\frac{1}{2}\).
(VIII.) Sarvadurgati pariçiôdhani tejo rîja ya (sic!) tathāgata arahate samyag-sambuddhasya kalpa namo [Rgyud ix, 1, 2, Feer, p. 306]. 8¼ by 3½. Lines 5 (3 silver, two gold, alternately) on blue. Fol. 1-4, 6-10, 12-26, 28-33, 36-88, 91, 92, 95-128, 130-152, 155-185 (end).

(IX.) Ārya vajracehedikā prajñāparamita ghuna dhora sutra (sic!). Rdo rje good · pai phan yon bṣad · pai · mdo (i.e. ‘Sûtra explaining the usefulness of the Vajrachê- dîkā’). Fol. 12. 20½ by 7¼. Lines 8.

(X.) Sêdg · pa thams · chad bṣags · pai · mdo (‘Sûtra of the confession of sins’). 20½ by 7. Fol. 5, line 8.

(XI.) Ārya pradha jñâna nama mahâyana sutra (sic!). gyis pa mda · ga ye · çes zhes · bya · va theg · pa chen · poi mdo (‘Sûtra on the knowledge of death’). Fol. 3. 19½ by 6. Lines 5. Signed Ga (iii).

(XII.) Arya mañjuśrî nama sangiti. Fol. 20. 17 by 6. Line 6 (phags pa jam · dpal · gyi mchen yan · dag · par bjod · pa).

(XIII.) Byan · chub ltun · va bṣags · pa (‘The Bodhi (sativas) confession of their faults.’) This on front and at end, on fol. 5. On fol 1b. Trîkanta sutri (sic!). Puñ · po gsum · pai mdo (sic!) (Sûtra of the three Skandhas.’) Fol. 5. 19½ by 6. Lines 6.

(XIV.) Gṣug · tor nag · mo (‘The black turban’ or rather ‘She with the bl. t.’). On fol. 1b. Dema hebhi maheçara (sic!). Lha · mo · rol · par byed · pa (‘The play of the godess?’) Signed Cha (vi.) Fol. 3 (incomplete). 19 by 5¼. Lines 5.


(XVI.) 19 by 7½. Lines 7. Fol. 83-91, 94, 100 (?200), 117, 123-132 (the same fol. numbered 132 and 133), 169, 186-194, 201, 202, 208-211, 213-234 (incomplete). Signed Ka (i.) On fol. 89a. Klu · yun dkar · po of which a German translation by Schiefern was published in the St. Petersburg Academy (‘Das weisse Nâga Hunderttausend’.) It is preceded here apparently by another work on the Bon religion.
(XVII.) Rje bla ma gsol debs dga ldan lha rgya ma 'The Rev. Lama's prayer, (called?) Steelyard of the Tushita gods.') Fol. 3. 13 by 3½.

(XVIII.) Mkha gro bu skor gyi mo dpe sna gsal ni mai dkyil khor ('Circle of the sun, illustrating the ten divisions of Dākini's'). 9½ by 2¾. Fol. 32 (stitched at small side, and written straight on like European book). Lines 6.

Cursive.

All the following MSS. are written in Cursive; mostly of the 'stiff' kind:

(XIX.) 16½ by 4¼. Fol. 30. In dark green cloth cover.

(1) Lha bsam bar chad kun sel gser skyem da n bcas pa ('That with the gold drink, dissolving all impediments withstanding (?) the gods'). Lines 7. On Fol. 15, 16. Magical diagrams (a hand, circle, square, human body, scales, scene of adoration, etc.), with explanation (in running hand). Fol. 17, 18, 19a. Badly written flying cursive.

(2) Fol. 29, 30a. Coarsely written cursive.

(XX.) 18 by 3. Lines 7 and 8: Bde mchog mkha groi snyam rdbus las lhan cig skyes ma .... Sign in margin Ya (xxvi.). Fol. 11 (incomplete).


(XXII.) 17¾ by 3. Lines 8. Title (in Dbuchan): Ti lo gzhun chu gi grel pa mkhas pa dga byed mtho ni va don grub zhes bya va.

Two miniature portraits. Margin signed Ou. Fol. 1, 2, 4–12 (incomplete).

(XXIII.) 18½ by 3. Lines 7. Snyan rgyud rka gi sa bead ma rig mun sel zhib mo bkod pa zhes bya va. Fol. 5 (incomplete).
(XXIV.) 18½ by 3¼. Lines 7. Begins: Rta nag rcan dgod, etc. Fol. 3 (incomplete).

(XXV.) 17½ by 3 (and little smaller).

(1) Bla· ma dgoṅs· pa dus pa las ... thus sgrubs gsal byod thugs· kyi nor· bui bsgrub· pa dan las sbyor. Fol. 1 (incomplete).

(2) Rdo· rje rnam· par· jom· pa zhes bya· va. Fol. 1 (incomplete).


(4) Opal ze· ces· kyi mgon· po phyag bzhi pai chog sgrigs. Fol. 13 (incomplete).


(7) Gzhad· pa. Fol. 2 (incomplete).


(10) Bla· ma mchod· pai thun thabs deaṅ mchog. Fol. 3 (incomplete). Lines 5.


(12) Two leaves, coarse writing. Signed, Cha (v.) 2, 3 (incomplete).

(13) 26 stray leaves from different works.

(14) 12½ by 2¼. Bzlog· pha lam gyis zhal gdam. Fol. 3.

(15) Two leaves apparently of same work. Lines 9, 13 by 2¾.

(16) Fol. 1, 3–5. 12¼ by 3. Lines 7. Jam· dpal nog· poi ... .

(17) Two leaves. 7¾ by 2¼. Khor· gyi phag· yon, etc.

(XXVI.) Lhan geig skyes sbyor· gyi khrid· yig (‘Instruction (how to) conform with the (divinity) born together (with oneself)?). 19½ by 3¼. Fol. 1–14. Line 7.

(XXVIII). Fol. 6 and end leaf of some work. 19 by 3. Lines 7.
(XXIX). Fol. 2–6 of some work. Incomplete. $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$.

PRINTS.


(2) Same. Another copy. Likenesses not coloured.

(3)=(2). (4) same. (5) s. (6) s. (7) s. (8) s. (9) s. (10) s. (11) s. (12) s. (13) s. (14) s. (15) s.

(Ib.) Same. 14 copies.


[No. 6.]

(III.) Id. 11 copies and stray leaves. [No. 5.]

(IV.) Id. 2 copies. $16\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 35. Lines 6. desunt, in copy 1: 26, 29, 32: in copy 2: 12. Duplicates fol. 6 (twice) 8, 11.

(V.) Id. $16\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 35. Line 6. Likenesses as i. 2.

(VI.) Legendary biography of Padmasambhava of Udyāna (U-rgyan ghu-ru (sic!)). Padma bhyi gnas 'khyi skyes 'rabs rnam 'par 'thar 'pa rgyas 'par bkod 'pa padma bkai thain 'yig). 20 by 4. Fol. 252. Lines 6. Of this work there is an incomplete manuscript in the British Museum (15,522).

(VII.) ‘Coherent exposition of perpetual offering’ (?) (Rgyun 'gtor khrigs 'su bkod 'pa). A ritual. $19\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 17 (dust 16). Lines 7.

(VIII.) Ārya 'aparimita-āyurjñāna 'nāma mahāyana sūtra (Kanjur, Rgyud xiv. 30; Feer, p. 329). $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 25. Lines 5. Extremely well printed on stout European paper (watermark).
(IX.) A great number (about 600) copies of leaf 53 of some work. Lines 7, 18 by 4¾, and two end leaves of different works with roughly coloured likenesses.

(IXb.) Great number of leaf 22 of Vajracchidikā and some more of the leaf 53 of ix.

(X.) Fragments of different works, disorderly put together, beginning of many leaves cut off, so that signs and numbers have disappeared. But the following may be recognised as being each the parts of one work, all about 10½ by 4. Lines 6. Mostly ritual.

(1) Chos spyod (i.e. Dharma-caritā?) in margin. Fol. 9, 10, 12, 14, 16–20, 24–29, 31–37, 39–42, 44–53, 80–86.

(2) Same title in margin, but ka (=1) before. Fol. 16, 27, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 46, 50, 51 (twice), 59 (twice), 65, 75, 79, 84, 98 (twice), 99.

(3) Same title as 1; but apparently different (edition?). Fol. 16, 17.

(4) Gsain dkyil (‘Circle of mystery’; perhaps Guhyamandala) on margin; two different (editions?). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 3, 6–10.

(5) Ka (=i), Gzhuṅ lam (‘The main road?’). Fol. 8, 12, 17, 18, 23, 26–32, 43, 45, 63, 102, 108, 109 (end).

(6) Bya · rgyud don · gsal. Fol. 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 192, 194, 197, 213, 215, 217, 218, 280, 307, 310 (twice), 311, 314, 315 (twice), 316, 317 (twice), 318, 320 (twice), 321, 340 (?), 370 (?)


(8) Gsain rnam (‘Classes of mystery?’). Fol. 3, 5, 12–39 (38 twice), 41, 42, 43.

(9) Lam gdo (‘The excellent way’). Fol. 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 42, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55.

(10) Gsain mgon (‘The evident secret’). Fol. 9, 13, 14, 17, 19.

(11) Gzhi gsum (‘The three fundamental causes’). Fol. 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 37.

(12) Gzhi gsum gsal byed (‘Explanation of the three fundamental causes’). Fol. 10, 12, 13.
TIBETAN CATALOGUE.

(13) Bde mgon ('Evident happiness'). Fol. 5, 6, 8, 9 (?), 12, 13, 18, 19, 20–24.
(14) Skyabs gro ('Caranaṣagamanam'). Fol. 3, 5, 7, 11–18.
(15) Las chog ('Rite of work'). Fol. 21, 22, 30, 32, 34.
(16) Kha (=II) Gsanh bskyed ('Birth of mystery'). Fol. 4, 5, 50, 51, 52.
(17) Bde dkyil ('Circle of happiness'). Fol. 28, 33–36, and one with number cut off.
(18) Brgya bzhi ('Hundred and four'). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7.
(19) Žigs · byed bskyed rim ('Method of producing the fearful' viz. 'divinities'). Fol. 27, 30.
(20) Ka (=I). Fol. 10, 12, 28, 38 (twice).
(21) Thor · bu ('Separate' (sc. work)). Fol. 45, 46.
(22) Dül · va ('Vinaya'). Fol. 3 (twice).
(23) Ka (=I) Ggcod dkar gyes. Fol. 13, 14, 15, 16.
(24) Single leaves of the following: Rnam thar ('Legend') Ka (I.), fol. 48; Lam rim gsol  ždbs ('Prayer for the way of perfection'), fol. 3; Çila, fol. 3.; Ka (I.), Bla khris ('Guidance above'), fol. 3; Ma (=XVI.) Sman · bla ('The supreme physician,' i.e. god of medicine), fol. 4; Ca (V.) Syrub thabs ('Method of coercion' i.e. Sādhana), fol. 20; Thig · le beu drug ('The sixteen spots'), fol. 16; Bde lam (Way of happiness') fol. 5; Gser zhun ('Gold Melting'), fol. 6.; Žigs · dkyil ('Circle of fear'), fol. 5; Grains gel, fol. 38; Sna dchos ('Various') Ja (=VII.), fol. 22; Tha (=XIV.) Lam ('Path'), fol. 8; Ca (V.) Où, fol. 2; Dpal jkar · lo sdom · pai zhi · vai skyin · sreg gi cho · gai rim pa gsal var bkod pa ('Ritual of the burnt offering of the glorious wheel'), fol 1; Bla · mai bka · drin dran · pai gsol ždbs ('Prayer remembering the Guru’s kindness'), fol. 1, 3, (end); Snags khri bla brgyud, fol. 3 (end).
(25) 30 leaves whose beginnings are cut off, so that it was not to be seen to what work they belonged.

(XII.) Bla·ma'gsol·debsbyin·rlabs·myur·jug (‘The Guru’s prayer: Quick entrance to blessing’). 14½ by 3½. Fol. 6 (complete). Lines 4.

(XIII.) Dohakočanāma mahā mutra upadeśa, first leaf1 and first leaf of another work, printing blurred and unrecognisable; together with four leaves of mystical diagrams (of human figures) and calculations. Also two large sheets (20 by 19 and 15 by 19) with magic circles. Diagrams and the rest manuscript.

(XIV.) About 300 leaves of various works, among which are apparently 110 belonging to the same volume. Among them are also the following leaves belonging to works enumerated in x. Ca Ewam (see x. 7), fol. 206-209, 218; Gsān mñon (x. 10), fol. 12, 15, 16; Bya rgyud don gzal (x. 6), fol. 21, 303, 308, 309, 310, 312; Bde' lam (x. 24), fol. 6, 7, 10-15; Ka Gzhun lam (x. 5), fol. 106; Ka chos spyod (x. 2), fol. 35; Lam·gö (x. 9), fol. 15, 18; Las chog (x. 15), fol. 26, 27; Kha Gsān bskyed (x. 16), fol. 10; Bde mñon (x. 15), fol. 15; Dpal gsaṅ va dus·pai dkyil·khor gyi cho·ga·nag·don·gyi·rim·par·bsgrigs·pa (being the full title of x. 4), fol. 1, 2; Gsān rnam (x. 8), fol. 2; Skyabs gро (x. 14), fol. 10. Further, Bcom ldan·dus·ma phags·ma gdüs·dkar·can·gyi·sgrub·thabs·mchog·tu·grub·pai·snīn·po (‘Method to coerce the Bhagavāni, the Noble Holder of the white umbrella, called Essence of Excellent Coercion’), fol. 1 (incomplete); Ta (=ix.) Dkar chag (‘Index,’) fol. 1 (complete), end leaf of a work (24), blurred printing; Nāro·hugs·kyi·bde·mchog·beu·gsun·gyi·khor·loī·dṣisin (? khris) (‘The bringing of the thirteen Čambaras in Nāro’s (a celebrated Blama) manner,’) fol. 9 (incomplete); Maitri·pai·phyag·

1 This being apparently the first leaf of the Vol. mentioned last in xiv, I have reunited them.
rgya chen po tshig bsdus pa, on end leaf ('The great Mudrā (mystical gesture) of Maitreya, condensed,' fol. 2-13 (end). On fol. 12b the Skr. title; Mahāmutra sañcamitha (!); fol. 11a, Adhi sidhisama, Tib. Lta ca mdor bsdus pa ('The views (opinions of Nāro) collected'); fol. 9a, Mahā mutra (sic!) upadeça, etc.

(XV.) 18 by 3\(\frac{1}{4}\). Lines 6. Fol. 371. 1. Chos skyon vai rgyal po bsoṅ btsan rgam poi bkah bum las smad kyi cha zhal gdams kyi bskor. Fol. 1-319. 'From the collected works of the Defender of the Faith, King Srôngtsangampo': The Circle of Instructions?¹ Fol. 320 begins: 2. Chos skyon vai rgyal po bsoṅ btsan rgam poi zhal gdams phags pa nam mkhai rgyal poi miṅn rtogs sogs phran ga.

(XVI.) 1. Rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyi yoṅs su bsoṅ va (i.e. Vajrabhairava-parināma). [Phal chen 30, Feer p. 211.] 20\(\frac{2}{3}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\). Fol. 3. Line 7.

2. Šarya vipule praveça mahā sūtrana (sic!). phags pa yaṅs poi groṅ khyer du jug pa [Rgyud xi, 4; Feer p. 311.] Fol. 9.

(XVII.) 1. Āryadaçadigandhakāra vidhvasana (see MS. ii.) 20 by 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). Line 7. Fol. 1, 5-9, 12, 13 (incomplete).

(XVIII.) One leaf. 12\(\frac{1}{3}\) by 3. In margin Ka (i.) Line 6. Prayer (10 strophes).

¹ Being short speeches of advice from the king to his subjects on different occasions, beginning with his two queens (the Nepalese and the Chinese princesses); preceded by a short explanation, which Avalokiteśvara gives to the king, of the meaning and power of the Om maṇi padme hum, which latter is repeated in each section. (The six syllables are said to belong each to one of the six divisions of animated beings (gati)).
Art. XI.—Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek. By F. F. Arbuthnot, M.R.A.S.

A short notice of this most industrious and intelligent Orientalist has already appeared in the obituary notices of the Journal of January, 1892. But as my deceased friend had devoted the whole of his life to the cultivation and propagation of Oriental knowledge and Oriental literature, it was considered desirable to place on record a more detailed account of his varied labours in this particular field of thought and culture.

Of Mr. Rehatsek’s early life very little is known. It is said that his father was a Forest Inspector on the estate of Princess Odescalchi, in Hungary, and that he was born on one of the estates at Ilack on the 3rd July, 1819. He was educated at Buda-Pesth, studied at the University there, and took the degree of Master of Civil Engineering. Leaving Hungary at the end of 1842, he spent a few months in Paris, then four years in the United States of America, and in 1847 sailed to India from New Orleans via Liverpool and the Cape of Good Hope. Arriving in Bombay on the 5th of December, 1847, he settled down in India, and remained in that country for the rest of his life, dying in Bombay on Friday, the 11th of December, 1891, aged 72.

I have some idea that on Mr. Rehatsek’s first arrival he was employed in the Public Works Department, in which, however, he did not remain long. He then continued his studies of Oriental languages and literature, and sometimes accompanied Dr. Bhau Daji, the well-known Bombay scholar and antiquary, in his travels of research over various parts of India. Later on, being a competent mathematician and a distinguished Latin scholar, he was
employed as Professor of Mathematics and of Latin in the Wilson College, Bombay, which office he held till 1871.

Being acquainted with some twelve languages, he also taught private pupils, and gave lessons in Latin, Persian, Arabic, and French. He further translated a number of Persian and Arabic works, read many papers before learned Societies, and wrote many articles for Indian Reviews and Journals generally, the details of which will be given presently.

For twelve years up to 1881 Mr. Rehatsek was Examiner at the Bombay University in Latin, Persian, and Arabic, and for one year in French also, but such was his independence that he gave up these duties as soon as the application system was introduced. In 1873 he was made a Fellow of the said University and was twice the Wilson Philological Lecturer there on the Hebrew and Semitic languages. In 1874 he was elected an honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in recognition of his Oriental learning, and also became an honorary member of some learned European and American Societies interested in Oriental research. All these honours were unsought for, and as a general rule, it may be said, that he never asked for anything during his whole career.

Mr. Rehatsek was unmarried, and a man of regular habits, living the life of an ascetic and recluse. He was his own master and his own servant, for servant he kept none, thereby showing the truth of the Sanskrit saying, "Ascetics are their own servants." He abstained from wine and spirits altogether, and tried also to do without animal food, but he found, as he told me himself, that this weakened him so much that he was obliged to revert to it, though he took it very sparingly. His usual food consisted of bread, milk, tea, coffee, rice, and plantains. At the door of his house there was a box into which the baker put a loaf of bread every morning, and the milkman filled with milk a jug that was placed there. His other necessities he purchased himself in the bazaar, and he prepared all his own food, using a spirit lamp to boil the water for
his tea and coffee, as he told me that it was more economical than a fire. Doing without servants, he said, was a great source of peace, comfort, and repose, and he certainly adopted Schopenhauer's ideas that the two great principles in life were to live, if possible, without pain and without ennui.

The only real property that Mr. Rehatsek possessed was a small house situated in Khetwady, Bombay, and which he had purchased. His furniture was of the poorest kind, and so very scanty that one wondered how it was sufficient for his wants. His library consisted of Arabic, Persian, English, German, Latin, and French works, and with these he worked all day, going out every morning and evening for a walk, and latterly I believe on a tricycle, to the sea-side. His manuscripts and translations were all written in a very small, but very legible, hand, and he had several cases full of them.

Most of the above has been taken from an obituary notice of Mr. Rehatsek which appeared [13th December, 1891] in "Native Opinion," an anglo-vernaucular bi-weekly journal published in Bombay, and to which the deceased had been a constant contributor since 1871. So devoted was he to his work that on Wednesday, the 9th of December, while on his death-bed, he had prepared his usual article. When the editor of the paper called upon him, the poor old man, too feeble to speak, pointed to his desk, where lay, just completed, the last contribution that came from his pen.

From his latest letters to me it was evident that his health was failing, and that he had not been well for some time. In his last illness he was attended by Dr. Kunte, Dr. Deshmookh, and Dr. John de Cunha. It culminated in cystitis, and he died on Friday morning, the 11th of December, 1891, at about 6.30 a.m. attended upon by his friends, all of whom were either natives of India or Portuguese. Having expressed an earnest desire to be cremated according to the Hindu fashion, the ceremony was performed the same evening. His body, covered with
garlands of flowers, and accompanied by his friends, was carried to the sea-shore, and placed there on the usual pile of wood, was soon converted into ashes. It is said that this was the first European ever cremated in Bombay, or perhaps, indeed, in India.

Though Mr. Rehatsek had reduced the necessaries of life to a minimum, it was from his habits and tastes that he did so, and not from actual necessity. The Duke of Wellington used to say that habit was not only second nature, but ten times nature; well, Mr. Rehatsek was so accustomed to his style of living that he preferred it to any other, and it grew upon him, like every so-called virtue, or so-called vice, grows upon other people. Anyhow he seems to have saved some thirty thousand rupees, which he left for the education of the poor boys in the primary schools of Bombay, without any distinction of caste, colour, or creed. The interest of this sum [the principal being invested in Government securities] is to be awarded in money prizes to the most deserving pupils of these schools. His house is either to be sold and the proceeds added to the above fund, or to be lent for scholastic purposes free of charge, as his executors may decide. His books, manuscripts, and translations he bequeathed to the Native General Library, Bombay.

It now remains to place on record the literary work of Mr. Rehatsek during the many years he spent in India. As this is somewhat scattered, I have collected, as far as I have been able to do so, the names of the works that he translated, and of the articles that he wrote, and the subjoined list, though long, is not devoid of interest.

(1) His contributions to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* between 1874 and 1882 are as follows, twenty-six in all:

Vol. X.

Twelve Sabæan Inscriptions.

Explanations and Facsimiles of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine cups.
Façsimiles of Muhammadan coins.
The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, etc.

Vol. XI.
The subjugation of Persia by the Moslems and the extinction of the Sasanian dynasty.
The labours of the Arab astronomers and their instruments, with the description of an astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library, Bombay.

Vol. XII.
Some beliefs and usages among the Pre-islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, and Christianity, and the Mythic period of their history.
Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two kingdoms till the entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and a view of Jewish Civilization.
The Báw and Gaobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian Shores.

Vol. XIII.
Christianity in the Persian dominions from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.
Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368, comprising the Eastern Grand Khâns or Emperors with the Western or Persian Khâns.
Brief notice of two Arabic MSS. on the history of Yemen.

Vol. XIV.
Early Moslem accounts of the Hindu religions.
A few analogies in the Thousand and One Nights and in Latin authors.
Some parallel proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian.
The use of wine among the ancient Arabs.
On the Arabic alphabet and early writings [with a table of alphabets].
Magic.

Notes on some old arms and instruments of war chiefly among the Arabs.

The history of the Wahhabis in Arabia and in India.

The doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muhammadan sects.

Vol. XV.

Picture and description of Borak.

The Alexander myth of the Persians.

Specimens of Pre-Islamite Arabic poetry selected and translated from the Hamasah.

Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce before the Christian era.

(2) His contributions to *The Calcutta Review* between 1879 and 1891 consisted of twenty-one articles as follows:

Vol. 68.

Oriental humour illustrated by Anecdotes.

Vol. 70.

Gastronomical anecdotes of the earlier Khalifs.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part I.

Vol. 71.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part II.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part III.

Vol. 72.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part IV.

The Holy Inquisition at Goa.

Vol. 73.

The life of Jesus according to the Korân and Moslem tradition.

Historical sketch of Portuguese India, with a list of the Viceroy's till 1881.
Vol. 74.
How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the island of Diu.

Vol. 75.
Mandelslo and Thevenot, their travels in India.
The Monastic and Secular Clergy of Portuguese India.

Vol. 76.
Carvalho, Count of Oyeiras, better known as Marquis of Pombal.
Adamel's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part I.

Vol. 77.
Adamel's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part II.
Capello and Ivens, their exploration in Africa, 1877–1880.

Vol. 78.
The vicissitudes of the city of Baghdad from its foundation till our times.
"La nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti" of the Ex-Jesuit Curei.

Vol. 79.
Contacts of China with foreign nations from the earliest till the present times.

Vol. 81.
The pre-historic man of caves and lake dwellings.

Vol. 82.
Missionaries at the Moghul Courts; in Southern and in Portuguese India during the reign of the Emperor Akbar and after it.

Vol. 85.
The Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization.
Vol. 87.

Military career of the Prophet Muhammad, which began A.H. 2, and ended with his death A.H. 11.

Vols. 91 and 92.

The beginnings of Dutch Commerce in India. Parts I. and II.

Vol. 93.

Journey of Padre Manuel Godinho, S.J., from India to Portugal in the year 1663 by way of Mesopotamia.

(3) Between the years 1872 and 1886 Mr. Rehatsek supplied the following articles to *The Indian Antiquary*, not including short letters and explanations addressed to the same journal:

1872.

Facsimile of a Persian Map of the World with an English translation.

1873.

An embassy to Khatā or China, A.D. 1419, translated from the Persian.

Also twelve other minor contributions in the shape of reviews and translations of small pieces from the Persian.

1874.

The Establishment of the Royal City of Hirat and its dependencies, translated from the Persian.

Also nine other minor contributions and translations.

1875.

Biography of Jellal-ud din Rūmi, the great Persian poet and mystic.

Also six minor contributions.

1876.

The Twelve Imams.
1877.
A notice of Garcin de Tassy's "La langage et la litterature Hindoustanies" en 1876, and a translation of the first part of Professor A. Weber's paper on the Krishnajaanmäshtami or Krishna's birth festival.

1878.
A notice of Garcin de Tassy's Work mentioned above for 1887.

1881.
Notes and Queries.

1882.
Three Inscriptions from Raichor.

1883.
An Aden Epitaph in Arabic translated.

1884.
Did the Arabs really burn the Alexandrian Library?

1885.
Sabæan Inscriptions on an Incense-burner.
Russian Icons.

1886.
The Last Years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat. Translated from the Tārikh Sultāni of Sultān Muḥammad Khan Barukzai. This is a very interesting article, and describes events from an Afghan standpoint, but with considerable impartiality.

1887 and 1888.
A letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for the Christian Scriptures.
A Notice of the Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh, or Book of the Conquests of Ranjit Singh, by Kanhayya Lāl Sahib, Executive Engineer, Lahore.
1890 and 1891.


(4) The papers sent to The Bombay Anthropological Society were as follows:

On Religious Injunctions and Personal Vows with respect to Sexual Abstinence.
Veneration for the Dead in China.
Statistics of Suicides in the City of Bombay since 1886.
A Descriptive Alphabetical List of Twenty Occult Sciences of the Moslems.
On Hindu Civilization in the far East as represented by Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions, with a Map.
Superstitions of the Goa People from Portuguese sources.

(5) Between 1880 and 1882 Mr. Rehatsek sent the following interesting papers to The Journal of the National Indian Association:

Bombay One Hundred and Fifteen Years Ago. This account of Bombay and of Surat in 1764, by the father of the historian Niebuhr, was translated and printed in the above Journal of 1880 in five parts.
The Begums of Bhopāl, also in five parts, in the Journal of 1881.

(6) An article by Mr. Rehatsek on the subject of Oriental Armour, with a plate illustrating it; his original design, having been very faithfully reproduced in chromo-lithography, was published in The Journal of the German Oriental Society in 1882.
(7) Mr. Rehatsek’s translations from the Arabic of the Book of the King’s Son and the Ascetic, with a short preface by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, was published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* in January, 1890. About this translation Mr. Rehatsek wrote to me on the 4th June, 1889, as follows:

“The text which I have translated from the Arabic is unique, there being [as far as is known] no other MS. of it in existence, except the one given by Dr. Blau to the German Oriental Society, and printed by Dr. Hommel. The original source being undoubtedly Sanskrit or Pāli, I thought I was doing a service to those who might, by their knowledge of these two languages and their literature, be able to trace the true source and determine the real age of the composition of the Book of the King’s Son and the Ascetic.

“It requires an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit and Pāli literature to enter into this subject properly, and I, not possessing it, have been able to make only very small foot-notes, although even these may be of some use. By making a full translation of this precious Arabic text, which it would be a great pity to mutilate or abridge in any way [as cutting off the opportunity of comparison with Sanskrit or Pāli works], I have drawn the attention of, and given the best text to, Sanskrit and Pāli scholars for investigating this subject here in India, and for pointing out many more relations between Buddhism and Christianity than I was able to do myself.”

(8) Mr. Rehatsek sent the following papers to His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, at the time of the eighth Oriental Congress held at Stockholm in 1889.

1. Indian Fables in Moslem Literature.
2. The Women of the Shahnamah.
3. Seven interesting episodes from the conquest of Syria, the events narrated beginning A.D. 634–35. Translated from the Arabic of the Futuh-ush-shūm by Al-Wakidi.
4. The Indian Mahdi and his successors. Translated from a unique but reliable and faultless Persian MS.

5. Processional cross taken at Magdala from the cathedral by the British Troops in 1868; this is a drawing with translations of the inscriptions.

6. A photograph taken from a large silver dish representing the adventures of the whole life of the God Rama [a deified hero] in compartments in concentric circles.

(9) On the 28th of August, 1891, Mr. Rehatsek wrote "Having been asked for a paper to be read in Dr. Leitner's Congress of Orientalists in the beginning of September, I sent a MS., "The Pre-Islamatic History of Yemen and Hirah till the time of Muhammad." It does not appear to have been read at the Congress.

(10) For the Kama Shastra Society Mr. Rehatsek prepared unexpurgated translations of Jāmi's Behāristān or Abode of Spring, and of Sa'di's Gulistān or Rose Garden. These were printed for private subscribers only in 1887 and 1888 respectively.

(11) For the Oriental Translation Fund New Series he translated the following works:

The Negāristān or Picture Gallery by Muin-uddin Jawini,
A.D. 1334.
Biography of our Lord Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah, according to the tradition of Ibn Hiaḥām, obtained from Ibn Isrāʾīl.
The whole of the first two Parts of Mirkhond's "Rauza-tus-safa."
Of these the first Part of Mirkhond's General History has been printed and published in two volumes in 1891 and 1892. The second part will fill three volumes, which will, it is hoped, be brought out in 1893 and 1894.

(12) For the use of the Hakluyt Society Mr. Rehatsek translated from the Italian from the voyages of Pietro
della Valle his letters from India, the first of which is dated Surat, 23rd March, 1623. These are, I believe, still with the above Society, and will probably form part of a volume containing the whole of the journeys of that versatile and talented traveller.

(13) The following translations were also made by Mr. Rehatsek at various times. Those marked by an asterisk have been printed.

From the Persian.

*Amusing Stories.
*Fortune and Misfortune.
Both of these are extracts from the Shamsah-va-Quhquhah, a Persian story book of 557 large quarto pages, written by Mirza Berkhodār Turkmān. They were printed in Bombay in 1870 and 1871.

Hospitality, or Etiquette of Eating and Drinking.
A Tract on the Observances of Women and the Harem.

The Tūtināmah, or Parrot Book, by Kadiri.

From the Arabic.

Twenty-four Anecdotes, Stories, and Fables picked out and translated from the Naphut ul Yaman [breeze or breath of Yemen].

Thirty-five Stories from the Merzuban-namah.
Six Stories from the celebrated Arabic work Al-Mustatraf, or the Gleaner or Collector.
Some Stories from the Sihr-ul-ooyoon, or Magic of the Eyes.
Some Extracts from the Siraj-ul-mulūk, or Lamp of Kings, a well-known work composed A.D. 1126.
A Translation of a portion of the Arabic work "Tuhfat-ikhvan ussafa," under the title of "The discussion between Man and Animal before the King of the Jinns." This
celebrated work, written in the eighth century of our era by the society called "The Brethren of Purity" of Bosrah, is well known, and a curious notice of it was given in Vol. XVII. of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society by A. Sprenger. No English translation of the "Tuhfat" has yet been produced, but the original Arabic text of the discussion between man and animal was printed at Leipzig in 1879.

A Treatise on Falconry with an Appendix on other Birds, Poultry, and Bees.

*Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Mosques, Tombs, and Ancient Buildings for the Archæological Survey of Western India.

From the Italian,

A Mission to the Grand Moghul.

From the French.

The Indian Travels of M. de Thevenot in 1665.
Voyage of Mandelslo from Persia to India in 1638-39.
The Amours of Camoens and of Catherine D'Ataïde, by Madame Gautier, 1827.

(14) The following productions of Mr. Rehatsek may be classed under the head of "Miscellaneous." Those marked with an asterisk have been printed.

*An Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Muhammedan Civilization. This gained the prize, given by Sir Charles Trevelyan when Finance Minister in India, for the best essay on the above subject, in 1865. Printed in 1877.

*Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Mulla Firuz Library at Bombay, with full descriptions of them, 1873. This is both useful and interesting, and is known to European Orientalists as a valuable book of reference. It contains also a list of Pehlevi and Zend works added to it by
another hand. I have presented an extra copy of this work to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Anthology, containing notice of two hundred and fifty Persian poets, with specimens of their composition and English translation of the same. Also the titles of the principal historical and epistolographical works written in Persian.

The Invasion of India by Timur 1398–99, and by Nadir Shah 1738–39, traced on a map with six written folios.

The Canals of the Euphrates and the Tigris, being a description of ancient canals, vestiges of which are still to be traced, with map.

Export of Girls for Marriage to Portuguese India during the end of the sixteenth century.

Early Portuguese travellers to the East from Portuguese sources.


The Beginnings of Indo-Portuguese Journalism.

Cosmogony according to the Korān and Moslem Tradition. Could Muhammed read and write.

Horses and Camels among the Arabs.

The Emperor Akbar’s Repudiation of Islam.

(15) At the time of his death Mr. Rehatsek was engaged in preparing for the Indian Antiquary a notice on a work containing Ranjit Singh’s Diary kept for nearly forty years by one of his Pundits in Persian, and in translating for the Oriental Translation Fund New Series the third Part of Mirkhond’s “Rauzat-us-safa,” so that the old man may be said to have truly died in harness.

2nd May, 1892.
[The following is the letter referred to on pages 1 and 36 of our Journal for 1892]——

Dec. 12, 1891.

Dear Professor Davids,—As regards the occurrence of Buddhist sects in inscriptions, I would call your attention to the following documents and names, in addition to those mentioned in your article: (1) Mahāsaghiyas Karle, No. 20, Arch. Rep. W.I. iv. 112, Savasaka i.e. Sauvarshikā,1 op. cit. p. 113, Karle No. 21, Bhadāyaniya Kanheri, No. 4 (Arch. Rep. W.I. vol. v. p. 75) and ibidem, p. 85, Kanheri, No. 27; Chetiikas, Arch. Rep. South I. vol. i. p. 100 (see also p. 85), Chetiavadaaka ibid. p. 102, No. 13; Āchāryānānī Sarveśasti-vādinam (parigrahe) in a Kādambavana or Kāmarī inscr. to be published in Ep. Indica, vol. ii. Mathurā InsArs. third series, No. 42; āchāryānānī Mahisāśakānam, Ep. Indica, vol. i. p. 240–41. Possibly the term Mahāvanasūliya, which occurs repeatedly in the Amravati inscrs. as an epithet of teachers, may refer to a Buddhist school. There are also Buddhist schools mentioned on the Vardak vase (see Dowson’s article) and on Dr. Bhagvānlāl’s Lion-Pillar, at least, according to my readings, but you will have perhaps Bh.’s article on the latter. In the inscrs. of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., i.e. in those at Sanchi and Barhut, about 400 Nos., no schools are mentioned, whence I infer that the schools had no great importance. I send you my article on the Sanchi inscrs., which will appear in the

1 These are either the same as, or closely allied to, the Kassapikā.—R.H. D.

G. Bührer.

Kimbum (Lusar),
1st March, 1892.

My dear Rhys Davids,—Having been detained in this part of Kan-mu for a few weeks, waiting to complete my preparations for my journey westward, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the Salar, a Turkish people living on the Yellow River, S.E. of here some eighty miles.

Robert Shaw published some years ago in the J.R.A.S. some interesting notes about this people (he had met a couple of Salar in Kashgar, if I remember rightly). Prjevalsky mentions them, but confounds them with the Tibetans. Potanin passed through their villages, but I do not know what he learnt, as nothing of his work has been published (as far as I am aware).

The Salar traditions (their Ahars say they have no written records) state that in the third year Ming Hung-wu, three or four men, driven from Samarkand, (sic) arrived at the Yellow River, and founded the present Salar head village of Kätzu-kun. They had been driven from their country by internal discords. They were rapidly followed by others of their countrymen, and soon the eight kun (or thousands, for the Chinese chim has that meaning) were founded, and these Turkish settlements were henceforth known in this part of China as Salar pa-kun. The villages the people now occupy are probably 75 to 100 in number, and the population is estimated at 8,000 families at the lowest.

In the forty-sixth year Ch'ien-lung they rebelled under a Ahar called Ma Ming-ching. A narrative of this rebellion is found in Wei Yuan's Sheng wu chi.
For the last month I have been in daily intercourse with Salars, as a number of them had come to this place. I send you a short vocabulary, and have a much longer one, but have not now time to copy it. I have read it over to any number of the people, men, women, and children, and believe the phonetic transcription represents fairly well their pronunciation.

The Salar have in their language a number of words borrowed from Chinese, Mangol, and Tibetan. Some of these borrowed words are worth noting. It seems strange that they have no name for a mare, a stallion, or a gelding, but use the Chinese terms. The word for "language" they have borrowed from Tibetan; thus they say Mohul Kā-chá, "the Chinese language." So likewise their term for "flint and steel," cháh-mah is Tibetan. From the Mongols they have borrowed the word aihá, "wooden bowl," shinaha, "spoon," and from the Chinese a large number of terms of various classes.

I have taken a number of photographs of the Salar, both men and women, but as I have not developed them, I cannot send them to you now.

In my transcription of Salar words the accents only mark the emphasized syllables, those on which stress was laid.

I was rather surprised to find among the Tibetans (Fan-Tzü) living in the mountains along the Yellow River a large number of Bönbo. They have on the very summit of a mountain some forty miles west of Hsün hua T'ing, a lamasery (Sachung gamba), with some 100 or 200 lamas, and many more live with their wives and families in the little mountain villages. I stopped over-night in the house of one at Ssü-ké. He was very communicative, showed me his books, etc., but could tell me little about his creed. The Bönbo wear red gowns, and all their hair, but plait into it a huge tress of yek hair which is afterwards wound round the head. At the Shachung gamba they print books, and it would be well if some one visited the place, as they might have books of interest, although the two I have read of
their were a jumble of lamaist works and of undoubtedly recent date.

Trusting that I may be able to see you when I get out of this part of the world (probably sometime in the autumn of this year).—I remain, ever sincerely yours,

W. W. Rockhill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SALAR</th>
<th>1st month</th>
<th>SALAR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Pir</td>
<td>Pir-indye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Iské</td>
<td>Isk-indye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Usk</td>
<td>Ush-indye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Tüe</td>
<td>Tuétindyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Pesh</td>
<td>Pugun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>Alché</td>
<td>Été</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>Yété</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>Sekése</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>Tokos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>Un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>Un-pir</td>
<td>Pasagon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>Un-iske</td>
<td>Loyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>Un-ush</td>
<td>Yé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>Igérmí</td>
<td>Nobody knew a name for this season. They called it 7th, 8th, 9th months.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirty</td>
<td>Utush</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty</td>
<td>Kéren</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty</td>
<td>Ellé</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixty</td>
<td>Hamish</td>
<td>Winter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seventy</td>
<td>Yémush</td>
<td>Wind</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eighty</td>
<td>Siksän</td>
<td>Rain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ninety</td>
<td>Toksan</td>
<td>Snow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hundred</td>
<td>Pirens</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thousand</td>
<td>Pir-ming</td>
<td>River</td>
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<tr>
<td>Myriad</td>
<td>Pir-sanza</td>
<td>Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten myriad</td>
<td>Un sanza</td>
<td>Sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Il</td>
<td>Earth</td>
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<td>This year</td>
<td>Pilé</td>
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<td>Next year</td>
<td>Eché sagon</td>
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<td>North</td>
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<td>East</td>
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</table>
**Salar Vocabulary.**

**West**  
Isht'yi

**Ground**  
Ir

**Water**  
Su (also Ossu)

**Man**  
Erkish

**Woman**  
Kudim

**Boy**  
Ao

**Little boy**  
Balaksh

**Little girl**  
Anna

**Father**  
A-pa (families)

Mother  
A-ma  
Ichia

**Brothers**  
Aréné

(elder brother?)  
(Younger brother)  
Éni

**Sisters**  
Éhé sanyé

**Friend**  
Nuhur seda

**Face**  
Jambau

**Head**  
Pash

**Nose**  
Purni

**Lips**  
Akse

**Eye**  
Kuso

**Eyebrows**  
Kul

**Eyelashes**  
Su-kulu

**Teeth**  
T'ich

**Ear**  
Golak

**Hand**  
Èlle

**Finger**  
Pirma

**Thumb**  
Pash-pirma

**Forefinger**  
Irmum

**Second finger**  
Otta

**Third finger**  
Mazum

**Little finger**  
Séje

**Finger-nail**  
Terna

**Tongue**  
Tili

This man is good  
That man is bad

**Beard**  
Sahal

**Foot**  
Enjé

**Hat**  
Sorok

**Fur-lined gown**  
Iamak

**Belt**  
Bulh'a

**Trousers**  
Ishkan

**Socks**  
Ling-wa (Ch)

**Boots**  
E'tu

**Sandals**  
H'ái (Ch)

**Sash**  
Quene

**Button**  
T'ügma (Tib?)

**Gold**  
Altum

**Silver**  
Kumush

**Iron**  
Témur

**Copper**  
Tuguma

**Salt (white)**  
T'uss

**Coarse salt**  
Kuh t'uss

**Black**  
Karás

**White**  
Ah'asen

**Blue**  
Kuh

**Yellow (or red)**  
Kenzil

**Green**  
Yashil

**Good**  
Iskur

**Bad**  
Ishimas

**Rich**  
Parkish

**Poor**  
Yarkish

**Good boy**  
Balatsh iskur

**I**  
Men

**Thee**  
Sen

**He**  
Ush

**To write**  
Piétégan

**To drink**  
Ish

**To eat**  
Ash

**To ride**  
Min

**Kishi irshider.**

**Ukshi irshi émestér.**

*J.H.A.S. 1892.*
I beat him  Men antugur.
How old are you?  Sen myéché āseapar.
Those three men  Ush ishio
Is the food ready?  Ashva mé yurter.
Have you eaten?  Pujim ash.
I understand  Pile.
I do not understand  Pilmés.

3. BIMBOHANA.

DEAR SIR,—Childers offers no etymology for Pāli bimbohana 'pillow' or 'bolster.' Hemacandra (Deçi. vi. 98), cites bimbovanaya = ucchirāca. The Jaina-prākrit equivalent is bibboyaña 'gaṇḍuka' (Spec der Nāyādhammakahā, f. 22.)

The former part of the compound 'bimb' = Skt. bimba, offers no difficulty; but it is not, at first sight, easy to see what is the corresponding Sanskrit term to ohana. Bearing in mind such Prākrit forms as parihāna = Skt. paridhāna (see H. D. vi. 4), we can have no objection to identify ohana with *odhāna = Skt. upadhāna (Cf. Skt. upasakta with Pkt. oṣatta for change of upa to o through u, ua).

So Pāli bimbohana = *bimbodhana = bimbopadhāna; while Prākrit bibboyaña = bimbovanaya = *bimbovahana = *bimbovadhana = bimbopadhāna.—Yours faithfully,

RICHARD MORRIS.

4. A NEW VARIETY OF THE SOUTHERN MAURYA ALPHABET.

VIENNA, MAY 1, 1892.

SIR,—Prof. Bühler addressed the following letter to the Academy of the 28th May, 1892:

During some excavations which Mr. Rea, Archaeological Surveyor to the Madras Government, lately undertook in the already despoiled Stūpa of Bhattiprolu in the Kistna District, he has had the good fortune to discover some relic
caskets,¹ which bear nine votive inscriptions. Impressions of the latter were sent to me by Dr. Burgess; and, after a prolonged study, I have succeeded in making out their contents, and have arrived at the conclusion that these documents are written in a new variety of the Southern Maurya or Lâṭ alphabet, the characteristics of which may be briefly stated as follows.

(1) Twenty-three letters of the Bhättiprolu inscriptions—viz., the initial vowels, a, å, u, o, and the consonants k, kh, chh, ŋ, t, th, n, t, th, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s and h—agree exactly with those ordinarily used in the Edicts of Aśoka. The letter g has both the ordinary angular Maurya and the rare one with the rounded top, which occurs a few times in Aśoka inscriptions—e.g. in magesu (Pillar Edict vii. 2, 2)—but is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The unaspirated palatal tenuis ch has a tail, the vertical stroke being continued beneath the semicircle. The unaspirated lingual media, d, shows strokes slanting somewhat more strongly than in the abnormal da in aṁbāvadikā (Queen’s Edict, Allahābād, 1. 3). The corresponding dental d exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round, the opening of the curve facing towards the right, as in the Devanāgarī da.

(2) Five letters are entirely abnormal: (a) Gh is expressed by the sign for g, with a small curve attached to the right side, which denotes the aspiration, the letter being formed according to the same principle as the Maurya chha from cha, dha from da, and pha from pa. It occurs only in personal names—e.g. Satugho, i.e. Satrughna, Vaghacā, i.e. Vyāgrapād. (b) J has the angular form, which occasionally—e.g. Girnār Rock Edicts ix. 1, in the word rājā—is used by Aśoka’s scribes, and regularly in all later inscriptions, without the central horizontal bar. It therefore consists of a vertical stroke, with horizontal bars at the upper and lower ends. It occurs repeatedly in the words majūsa or majusam, in Sanskrit mañjūshā, a box or casket. (c) M is

¹ Described by Dr. J. Burgess in the Academy of last week (p. 497).
turned topsy-turvy, the circle standing above, and the two strokes, forming an open angle, below. It occurs in the last-mentioned word, and in well-known names like Māha, i.e. Māgha, Samano, i.e. Sramana. (d) L differs from the Maurya sign by the omission of the small horizontal bar to the left of the curve, and by the addition of a long slanting line, attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It thus somewhat resembles the Greek Lambda of the ancient Papyri. It occurs only in names—e.g. Odalo, Kelo, i.e. Kaila, Pigalo, i.e. Pingala. (e) The lingual sibilant sh is a development of the form in the Kālsī version of Aśoka’s Rock Edicts. The whole letter has been turned round, and the upper curve has been converted into a cross-bar. It thus looks exactly like the kra of the later inscriptions. It occurs in tesham, the Pali genitive of the pronoun tad, in the termination of the genitive singular of vowel-stems—e.g. in Kurasha, from Kuro, Sicasa from Sico—in the word shamugo, i.e. samudga, a small box, and in names like Samanaddāsho, i.e. Sramanaddasa.

3. There is further the lingual l, which does not occur in Aśoka’s inscriptions. Its form resembles a Maurya pa, with a horizontal bar attached in the middle to the right of the vertical stroke; and it may be compared to the sha of the later inscriptions. It occurs in the word phāl-iyashamugam, i.e. sphātikasamudga, a casket made of crystal. The initial vowels, i, i, u, e, and the consonants jh, dh, and ṣ do not occur. Bh may occur in two doubtful names, where I have noticed a sign resembling the Maurya bha, but turned the other way.

4. The notation of the medial and final vowels presents two remarkable peculiarities: (a) The short a is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke, which denotes long ā in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows; and the position of this stroke is much the same as that of the ā stroke in the Maurya alphabet, i.e., it is usually attached to the top of the consonant, but to the middle of the vertical n and of j. Hence the ja of the Bhattiprolu alphabet is exactly like the angular form of the letter in
Aśoka's Edicts. The omission of the stroke before an Anusvāra is probably due to the fact that the native lists of mātrikās, or radical letters, invariably note the Anusvāra by anī. Hence the Anusvāra came to be considered as equivalent to this syllable. (b) The long ā is marked by a horizontal stroke and a short vertical one hanging down from its end. In other respects, the notation of the medial and final vowels agrees mainly with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The o is, however, more commonly expressed by a bar, projecting to the right and to the left of the top of the consonants than by two separate strokes. The former notation occurs in Aśoka's inscriptions, sometimes, e.g. in vīgahāni (Pillar Edict vii. 2. 2), but rarely. In the syllables ni and nī, the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke, e.g. in Kānitho.

To judge from the general appearance of the letters, the Bhattiprolu inscriptions are probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. If one places the Edicts on one side, and the Nānāghāṭ, Hathigumpha, and Bharhut Torasa inscriptions, which all belong to the middle of the second century B.C., on the other side of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, one can only come to the conclusion that the latter hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the documents of the third century B.C. than to those of the second. On this evidence, which, as every epigraphist knows, may mislead under certain conditions, but which, though not absolutely safe, is for the present alone available, the Bhattiprolu inscriptions cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., and may even be a little older. If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the third century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed. For they contain a perfectly worked out system, which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a long history.

The importance of this result lies herein, that it removes one of the favourite arguments of those scholars who believe
the introduction of writing into India to have taken place during the rule of the Maurya dynasty, or shortly before its beginning. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts, proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions incised at places between which lie distances of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation; and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pātaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces, and to induce them to imitate as closely as possible the shape of the letters used at headquarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing which in some respects is radically different, and which may be reasonably supposed to be coeval with that in Aśoka's Edicts, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pātaliputra.

This is, so far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the early history of the Southern Maurya characters, and the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among the anomalous letters which, it seems to me, is in all probability more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the m, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Kharoshtri (velgo Bactrian Pali) ma—which consists of a semi-circle with two short strokes, forming a right angle, attached to its lower left side—that I am inclined to assume the evidently allied Southern ma to have consisted originally of a semicircle or circle with two strokes below. Hence the Maurya form would be the later one, obtained by turning the older one topsy-turvy. The case of gh, as stated above, which has been formed by the extension of the
principle underlying the formation of chha, dha and pha, is more doubtful. For, the Southern Maurya gha looks, prima facie, like an independent character. Still, there is just a possibility that it may have been derived from an inverted ga with a round top, to which a curve was attached in order to denote the aspirations. And in favour of this view it may be urged that the Kharoshtri gha has been derived by a similar contrivance from ga. Regarding the new l, I do not dare to offer any opinion.

But the remaining anomalies appear to be developments of the corresponding Maurya forms. The j with two horizontal bars is to all appearance the offspring of the angular form with three bars; and the central bar has only been removed in the syllables ju, jù, je, and so forth, in order to obtain a convenient means of marking the short a of ja. For, the Southern Maurya jha, which has been derived from an imperfectly formed or perhaps a very ancient ja, by the addition of a short upward stroke denoting the aspiration, shows that the central bar is an essential part of the letter. Again, the lingual sibilant sh is in all probability a cursive form, derived from the clumsy character which is used in the Kâlsî version of the Rock Edicts. Finally, the most curious feature of this alphabet, the marking of the short a, seems to me, because it complicates matters, less ancient than the omission of this vowel. The Semitic original, from which the Southern Maurya alphabet was derived, had in all probability no signs for medial and final vowels. Hence, if we find in India one system of notation with five or, including the diphthongs e and o, with seven vowel signs and another with eight, the natural conclusion is that the second is the later one. This is all that I can offer at present in explanation of the origin of the very remarkable anomalies of the Bhattiprolu alphabet. I must, however, call attention to one other curious point: the fact that, so far as I know, not one of these anomalies has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets, the signs of which are all derived from the Southern Maurya characters.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is a Prakrit
dialect, closely allied to the literary Pali. As regards their contents, the two longest, Nos. 3 and 8, which are incised on the circular lids or topstones of two relic caskets (Mr. Rea’s second and third caskets), consists of strings of names. No. 3 enumerates the members of a gothi, i.e., goshthi, probably a committee or Pañch, and No. 8 certain negamā, i.e., naigamāh, members of a guild. The remaining inscriptions record the names of the donors of the caskets, and, it would seem, of the artists who made them. I transcribe the three most interesting ones as specimens:

No. 1, incised on the lower stone of the first casket.

*Kurapituna cha Kuramâ†u cha Kurasha cha Siva[sha] cha majûsan-panati phâligashamugam cha Budhasarirānani nikhetu [ ] ] Banaeaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [ || ]

“By the father of Kura, by the mother of Kura, by Kura and by Siva (Siva, has been defrayed the expense of) the preparation of a casket and a box of crysral in order to deposit some relics of Budha (Buddha). By Kura the son of Banava, associated with his father (has been given) the casket.”

No. 6, incised on the lower stone of the second casket.


“By the sons of the Shâgarhi nigama (guild or town) chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (Kuberaka) the son of Sha.i., is the chief of the Shîha (Simha) gothi—by these (has been given) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone.”

No. 9, incised on the lower stone of the third casket.

*Arahadinânam gothiyâ majûsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [ ] ] tina kama yena Kubirako râjâ am[kî]i [ || ]

“By the gothi of the venerable Arahadina (Arhaddatta, has been given) a casket and a box. The work (is) by him,
by whom king Kubiraka (Kuberaka) caused the carving to be done."

In conclusion, I must offer to Mr. Rea my best congratulations on the important discovery which he has made, and express the hope that future operations, which he may undertake in the same district, will furnish further specimens of this interesting new variety of the Southern Maurya alphabet, which we owe to his exertions.

G. BüHLER.
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Some time ago I ventured to print a monograph on the Avars in the Journal of the Asiatic Society. I should now like to continue the story by analyzing the difficult ethnological and historical problems involved in discriminating the races which occupied the Steppes of South-eastern Europe before the arrival of the Avars. The question has exercised many inquirers, nor does it seem to me that a final and definite answer can be reached, but we can at all events secure a tentative solution of the problem.

Priscus, in a famous passage, has preserved for us an account of the immediate effect of the Avar domination, which I think deserves our close attention. He tells us how about the time when the Vandal Genseric was de-vastating Italy, i.e. about 456, the Avars fell upon the Sabiri, who expelled the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri from their country, who thereupon sent envoys to the Roman Emperor (Priscus, Excerpta, Bonn edition, p. 158). Inasmuch as the Sabiri are next found in the Steppes east of the Don and about the Kuban, the meaning of this seems to be that the Sabiri were then driven across the Volga and pushed the other tribes before them, so that
they came in contact with the frontiers of the Empire on the lower Danube.

I first propose to limit myself to the Sabiri, and to collect what is known about them. From the statement of Priscus it would seem to follow that the Sabiri were the neighbours of the Avars in Asia. They are called Σαβηρος or Σαβερος by Priscus and Saviri by Jornandes.

The name has a singular resemblance to Sibir, which gave its name to Siberia, and it is at all events curious to find that the early Arab geographers speak of Siberia as Ibir-Sibir or Abir-Sibir, and of the town of Sibir which gave its name to a small Khanate first conquered by the Cossack Jermak and afterwards to the Russian province of Siberia, which was situated not far from Tobolsk. When they were driven forward, the Sabiri apparently, as I have said, settled in the Kuban Steppes north of the Caspian, where we afterwards find them, and, as Vivien St.-Martin says, they probably then became the dominant tribe in the country afterwards occupied by the Nogais, giving their name to a league of the various Hunnic races of Sarmatia (V. St.-Martin, Geog An. vol. ii. 23). Procopius describes these wide plains as specially suited for the breeding of horses. There, he tells us, dwell nearly all the tribes called Huns. Their settlements extending to the Maeotis, whence they were wont to break through the Caspian gates and to invade the Persian and Roman borders. About the year 508 we are told that the fortress commanding the pass, i.e. probably the pass of Dariel, was in the hands of a Hun named Ambazuk, who was doubtless a Sabirian Hun. He was on friendly terms with the Emperor Anastasius, and having grown very old, offered to surrender it to him for a consideration. The offer was not accepted by the Emperor, who was a prudent person, and realized the difficulty of maintaining a Roman garrison there, and he accordingly thanked him and promised to consider the matter. Ambazuk shortly afterwards died, whereupon his sons were driven away and the place was occupied by the Persian ruler Kavad
(Procopius De Bell Pers. lib. i. ch. 10). Anastasius was praised for his prudence on this occasion; but, as Lebeau says, a different opinion prevailed when, a few years later, the Huns broke through the pass and carried ravage into the empire. This famous raid was made in the year 516. Unfortunately I can only refer at second-hand to the Armenian authors who refer to it, namely, as quoted by St.-Martin and by Avdall. Vahan, the Mamikonian, who had ruled over Armenia as deputy of the Persian sovereign and as independent prince for thirty years, died in the year 510. His brother Vard, who had been constable, was appointed in his place with the approval of Kavad, the Persian King, but he only ruled for three years when he was removed in consequence of the complaints made against him, and a Persian named Burzan or Burghan was appointed marzban of Armenia. It was at this time that the Sabiri forcing the Caspian gates invaded Armenia. Burzan fled, abandoning the country to their fury, and the Prince of the Grusinians named Mijej alone opposed them. He attacked a body of them who had invaded the mountains of the district of Sasun (Sasun is situated in the Kurdish mountains east of the Tigris, and formed part of the Armenian province of Aghdmsnik). He completely routed and drove them away, and marching his forces with those of some other Armenian chiefs, pursued the invaders and drove them out of Armenia. When this was reported to Kavad, he deposed Burzan and nominated Mijej in his place, and we are told how inter alia he restored the towns and villages which the invaders had destroyed (Lebeau, vol. vii. pp. 435–436; Avdall, pp. 329–330). The invaders are called simply Huns by the Armenian historians, but we know from the Byzantine writers that they were Sabiri. On leaving Armenia, we gather from the latter that they invaded Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus, which they laid waste. They penetrated as far as Euchaites and the frontiers of Lycaonia (Anastasius passim). It was on this occasion that Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, who had been deposed and exiled to Euchaites, fled from this place
and took refuge at Ancyra. His successor, who had also been exiled to the same town, retired for similar reasons to Gangra, where he soon after died (Lebeau, vol. vii. p. 433). Anastasius, in the MS. followed by Stritter, calls these Huns Samen, but in the corresponding passage of Cedrenus they are called Sabiri.

The next time we read of the Sabiri is in the year 522. They are not called Sabiri in the notice, but only Huns; but inasmuch as they were apparently living in the Kaban, it can hardly have been any other tribe. We read that war having broken out again between the Persians and Romans, the Emperor Justin sent envoys and gifts to Ziliqdes (otherwise called Zilgbior or Ziagbiris and Zilgbio), who engaged by an oath to help the Romans; but Justin speedily discovered that he had made the same offer to the Persian ruler Kavad, whom he had furnished with a contingent of 20,000 men. Justin now informed Kavad of the double treachery of the Hunnic chief, adding, "Brothers as we are, had we not better remain at peace than become the toys of these dogs?" Having summoned the Hunnic leader, and discovered that Justin's account was true, Kavad put him to death, and afterwards slaughtered his men, who, unaware of their leader's death, were sleeping comfortably in their tents (Theophanes, etc.; Stritter, vol. i. pp. 602-3; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 28 and 29).

Seven years later, namely, in 528, we read that Justinian, being at war with the Persians, won over by presents and royal ornaments Boarex, called Boa by Malala, and Boazer in the Historia Miscella of Paul the Deacon. She was the widow of Balakh, or Malakh, chief of the Hunnic Sabiri. She marched with 100,000 of her men against two Hunnic chiefs who "lived in the interior parts," i.e. doubtless further north, and who were probably the leaders of the Utigurs and the Kotrigurs. Their names are given as Styrax and Gloues by some authors, while by Malala they are named Turagx and Glom. They had it seems been invited to his assistance by the Persian king Kavad, and were marching 20,000 strong. She fought with them, captured one of their kings,
namely, Styrax, who was sent in chains to Constantinople; the other king was killed (Stritter, op. cit. vol. i. pp. 577 and 578; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 104-5).

The struggle between the Romans and Persians still continued, and in 530 there was fought a memorable battle near the town of Dara. The Romans were commanded by Belisarius and the Persians by Peroses, or Firoz: on the Roman side was a body of 600 Huns commanded by Sunika and Augan. Procopius calls these Huns, Massagetae. In another place Procopius speaks of two other Hunnic chiefs also commanding 600 horsemen, namely Simas and Askhau (see Procopius De Bell Pers. lib. i. ch. 13). These Huns fought very bravely, and, in fact, restored the battle after it had been lost; Sunika, as we read, fighting his way right up to and cutting down the Persian standard bearer. Meanwhile Kavad, the Persian ruler, had sent another army into Armenia, consisting chiefly of Perso-Armenians and Sunites, i.e. Suans, to whom we are told were joined 3000 Sabiri (Procopius, i. 15). This army was twice badly defeated. Thus did the two great empires, by their strife, afford their barbarous allies ample room for the display of their treachery and disinterestedness in allying themselves with either side. Well might the Persian king complain of the continued aggressiveness of the Romans—their violation of treaties, and their building a threatening fortress at Dara, and attempting to erect another at Murdonah. He complained further that he had continuously to employ two armies, one to oppose the Romans, and the other to oppose the northern barbarians, and declared that if the Romans wanted peace, they must contribute towards guarding the Caspian gates or they must demolish Dara (Procopius, i. 16). The struggle between the two empires consequently continued, and the ill success of his arms seems to have brought on an attack of paralysis, from which Kavad, the Persian ruler, died in the year 531. His death led to the raising of the siege of Martyropolis by the Persians and to fresh negotiations for peace. Meanwhile the Sabiri, who had promised to send aid to the Persians in their attack
upon Malatiya, or Martyropolis, arrived there and, not finding their Persian friends, they proceeded to invade and lay waste the second Cilicia and Comagene (Malala, part ii. p. 213). According to the Syriac chronicle of Edessa, published by Assemanni, they ravaged the environs of Aleppo (see Ass. vol. i. p. 415). They advanced as far as four leagues from Antioch, and as they retired, laden with spoils, Dorotheus met them in the Armenian mountains, surprised them in several ambuscades, and recovered a large part of their booty (Malala, loc. cit. Lebeau, viii. 175).

Peace was made between the Romans and Persians in the year 531, which was finally ratified in the year 533, and thus did the long strife which had lasted for thirty years come to an end. We are told that Dagaris, who had been captured in Armenia, was now exchanged. He defeated the Huns in several encounters and drove them out of the provinces which they had laid waste (Procopius, i. ch. 22). The peace between the two empires offered no opportunities for the Sabiri to renew their incursions for some years, and it is not till the year 550 that we again read of them, and again read of them also as taking part in the struggles between the Romans and the Persians. Gabazes, king of Lazica, having been threatened by the Persians, sought succour from Justinian, who sent him a body of 8000 men, with whom he proceeded to lay siege to Petra, with him were also a body of Alans and Sabirs who for the sum of 300 golden marks had undertaken not only to defend Lazica, but to lay waste Iberia (Procopius, de Bell Pers. l. ii. ch. 29). The Huns named by Procopius as fighting on the side of Chosroes in this campaign were probably White Huns. Jornandes, who wrote his history of the Goths as Mommsen argues in the year 551 and before the invasion of the Avars, has the following not very definite notice of the Sabiri:—“Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifarium populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Altziagiri alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas,” (Geticia, ch. v. ed. Mommsen, page 63).
In the same year when this is supposed to have been written, viz. in 551, the Sabiri are again named as taking part in the struggle between the Romans and the Persians. We read that the Romans then had in their service many Sabiri who were a Hunnic race, and were ruled by several chieftains, some of whom were in alliance with the Romans, and others with the Persians, and were kept in a good humour by continual largess. Justinian having need of their services at this time sent them some money, but the person who took it was not able to convey it to the Caucasus since the Persians intercepted the route. When he reached the camp of the Romans, who were besieging Petra, he sent word to the Sabiri to go and meet him. They accordingly sent three of their chiefs with some soldiers, who, seeing that the Romans were despairing of breaking down the walls of the place, invented or constructed a new battering engine of a kind hitherto unknown both to Romans and Persians. This was not built of upright longitudinal and transverse beams, but of wicker work covered with hides, and in the midst they suspended a beam with an iron head and it was so light that it did not need to be dragged along, but the forty men who were underneath could carry it about with them. Several of these machines were built by the Sabiri. Petra was duly taken (Procopius de Bell. Goth. iv. 11). Meanwhile the Roman commander failed to follow up his victory, and we read how the Persians, under Mermeroes, marched to attack them and laid siege to Archeopolis. In this war we are told that a body of 12,000 Sabirians were among the auxiliary troops in the service of the Persians (id. 13). Having heard of the new machines which the Sabiri had made for the Romans, Mermeroes in turn had similar ones made by the Sabiri in his service (id. 14). The Persians were foiled however in their attack, and the result was a truce of five years coupled with the payment of a considerable sum by the Romans. Chosroes, the Persian king, was not very punctilious, however, in his observance of treaties. He employed the money he received from the
Romans to pay a considerable contingent of Sabiri, whom he 
sent with some Huns, doubtless White Huns are meant, and 
elephants to the help of Mermeroes. The result of the 
treachery was not, however, successful. Many of his men 
were cut in pieces, and inter alios, the chief of the Sabiri 
was killed. A struggle took place for the body of the 
Barbarian (id. 17).

The next we read of the Sabiri is in the year 554, when 
two thousand of them commanded by Balmakh, Kutilzis, and 
Ildiger are named as in the service of the Romans. They 
were posted near Archaopolis when Nakoragan, the successor 
of Mermeroes as commander of the Persians, ordered 3000 
Dilemites, or people of Dilem, to attack them. They set 
out intending to surprise the Sabiri at night, but were 
missed by a Colchian, who had offered to guide them, and 
who meanwhile escaped and gave warning to the Sabiri. 
They accordingly arose and planted themselves in ambush. 
While the Dilemites entered their camp and used their 
lances and swords to probe the beds where their enemies 
were supposed to be, the latter broke out of their ambush 
and put 800 to the sword, and captured many of them. The 
commander of Archaopolis, at daybreak, having 
heard a noise and learnt its cause, joined his forces to those 
of the Sabiri and continued the slaughter so that barely 
1000 of the Dilemites escaped (Agathias, iii. 8). The 
Romans having rewarded the Sabiri for their services, we 
are told that they now joined the Persians. Agathias 
says of the Sabiri that they were numerous and powerful, 
accustomed to war and pillage, and were pleased to enter 
the service of foreigners when there was hope of pillage, 
and they thus changed sides frequently, fighting now for 
the Romans and now for the Persians. In the war of 
the year 555, 500 of them were encamped some distance 
from the main army and kept guard badly and lived with 
but lax discipline. Maxentius and Theodore despatched 
300 cavalry, who, we are told, easily jumped the low 
wall enclosing the Sabirian camp and speedily killed all 
the Sabiri save forty, who escaped to a wood. We are
told they were under the impression that the force opposed to them was much larger than it proved to be (id. iv. 3).

We have now reached the time when the domination of the Sabiri, north of the Caucasus, gave place to that of the Avars or Psued-Avars whose invasion occurred in the year 558.

The Sabiri, among other tribes, succumbed to this invasion. A portion of them, doubtless, marched westwards as we shall presently see under the banners of the Avars, while another portion were apparently driven into Albania, i.e. Arran, and we, in fact, read in the pages of Menander how in the year 575, when the Romans and the Persians were again at war, the Roman frontier commanders made incursions into Albania and took hostages from the Sabiri and other tribes of the Caucasus, whom they sent to Constantinople. The Albanians (or perhaps Alans as Menander's text here has it) and the Sabiri seeing their children in the hands of the Romans determined to submit to the empire. These envoys were well received by Justin. Abeir, the chief of these tribes, whose name is apparently a form of Avar, was absent from home at this time, and on his return, without regard to the hostages, he persuaded the greater part of the Sabiri and the Albanians to again submit to the Persian King (Menander, loc. cit. 119; Lebeau, x. 131, etc.). When the Roman commanders learnt of this defection, they made a fresh invasion of Albania, and to make use of them in future they transported them with their families beyond the Kur, and therefore within the Roman frontier. Justin was dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals on this occasion, and insisted that the Sabiri and Albanians should be put to the sword (id. 158 and 159). In the year 579 Menander speaks of a body of Persian troops being placed on guard against the Saracens, the Sabiri, etc. (id. Bonn, ed. 408). This is the last notice I can find of the Sabiri in the Caucasus.

It is not impossible that their blood is still present among the so-called Avars and the Khuasak of these mountains.

From the notices already given, it will be seen that the
Sabiri dominated the steppes north of the Caucasus for about a century, from the year 456 to 556. They did not, apparently, occupy the country to the north of the Maeotis, or on the lower Don, but were, so far as the notices can be followed and trusted, limited to the Kuban steppes and the country to the north. A town Suvar in the later district of Great Bulgaria is probably an evidence of them.

Let us now revert again to the famous passage which was quoted at the beginning of the paper from Priscus. As we have seen, he tells us that the Sabiri pushed forward the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri. Who then were these tribes? *Ex nomine* they then occur for the first time.

Urogi is probably a corruption of Ugori, and we have in these three names the particle Ugor present, which suggests some commentary. With other inquirers I was once disposed to treat the word as a form of Uhry or Ughri, by which the Ugrian or Hunnic tribes of the Urals, especially the Voguls, are known, but this view I no longer hold; the whole history of these tribes points to their having been a nomadic race of horsemen, and not mere fisherfolk and hunters, and I now believe they were of Turkish and not Ugrian blood. The name Ugor I believe now is to be correlated rather with the Turkish name Uighur than with Uhry, and in Saroguri this name is qualified with the particles Sar, meaning Yellow or White; Saroguri thus means White Uighurs. Onoguri apparently means the Nine Uighurs.

In regard to the Urogi, or Ugori, I do not propose to say anything more. The name occurs nowhere else in this isolated and unqualified form, and its mention on this occasion is probably due to some misapprehension, since it is apparently merely the generic name, of which the other two are specific forms. In regard to the Onoguri, I propose to deal with them on another occasion, when we may possibly try and elucidate the beginnings of Bulgarian history. At present we will limit ourselves to the Saroguri. As I have said, I take their name to be simply Sar Uighurs,
or White Uighurs, and it is a curious fact that the Kalmuks still call the Turks, who nomadize in the steppes of Northern Tibet, Sar Uighurs.

We find the Saroguri mentioned more than once with the Akatziri; thus Priscus tells us that all who could not resist the Avars fled, thus the Saroguri, in search of new homes, came to the Hunnic Akatziri, and, having fought many battles with them, sent an embassy to the Romans.

In 469 we find the Saroguri making an invasion of Persia in conjunction with the Akatziri.

In my view the Saroguri and Akatziri were merely sections of one race which had got separated. Akatziri means White Katziri or White Khazars. In a paper which I read before the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists I collected the evidence which makes it almost certain that the Khazars were Turks, and as I believe Uighurian Turks. Akatziri and Saroguri are therefore virtually synonyms. The Akatziri had occupied the district of the lower Volga for some time before the incursion of the Avars, and are numbered among the subjects of Attila. The Saroguri were in my view another section of the same race who lived beyond the Volga and dominated the so-called Kirghiz Steppes. When the Avars began their aggressions the Saroguri were displaced. One section came westwards across the Volga, and the other in my view invaded Persia and its borders, and are otherwise known as White Huns. White Uighurs, White Khazars, and White Huns being really synonyms. I hope to devote another paper to the White Huns.

As we have seen, the Saroguri, on being driven from their homes, came westwards, and sent envoys to the Romans. They settled, as I believe, in the Steppes of Southern Russia, displacing or incorporating their previous inhabitants, and from this time we find these steppes occupied by two tribes, whose names prove them to have been Uighurs by race, and who I take to have been merely two sections into which the Saroguri divided themselves. They were known as Kutrigurs and Utigurs.
I will first say a few words about the forms in which these names occur. Procopius, who first mentions them, speaks of the Kuturgurs, Agathias calls them Kotriguroi, and Menander Koutriguroi (ed. Paris, 310) and Kutriguroi (id. 344, 385–6). Theophylactus calls them Kotzageroi, Theophanes Kotragi, and Anastasius Koutrages. Jornandes has the form Cutziagiri.

Zeuss argues that the t in the form used by Theophylactus and Jornandes is the aspirate of the lingual as dz = dh in German names; thus Scandza for Scandia. Under any circumstances the Kuturgur of Procopius has a redundant r, and whether the first particle of the name be Kotri or Kutzi it seems clear that the second part of it is igrur, or ogror, corresponding to the second part in the form Utigur.

Turning to the latter tribe, Procopius, as we have seen, calls them Uturgurs, Agathias calls them Utiguroi, Menander Utiguroi, with variants in different MSS. of Uiguri (op. cit. 284), and Uittiguroi (id. 399).

Agathias professes to complete the work of Procopius, whom he quotes in his preface. In regard to the Huns he tells us they were distinguished by the names Kotrigurs and Utigurs, Ultizurs and Burgundi, etc., derived, he says probably, from the places where they lived (loc. cit. v. ch. 3). In regard to the two latter tribes he says he knew nothing of them, whether they still existed or lived in some distant country. He tells us they were famous by their military exploits until the time of Leo. His remark would make it appear that he drew his information about them from some other source, and I am disposed to think that Burgund is a mistake for Bulgar, caused by some confusion in his mind between the two tribes respectively so named, the Burgundians having been of course a Teutonic tribe. The Ultizuri or Ultirizuri, as he elsewhere writes it, seem to me to be an alteration of the Altziageri of Jornandes, whom we have already discussed. As named by Agathias, the Burgundi and Ultizuri, I therefore take to be of absolutely no value; they are mere book-names more or less corrupted, and, like Procopius,
he knows only the Utigurs and Kutrigrurs in the Russian steppes.

Procopius is the first writer who mentions these tribes. He says the Zekkhi (probably Circassians are meant) occupied the coast of the Euxine. Beyond them was the district of the Sagidæ (probably an Alanic tribe). Beyond them were various Hunnic peoples. The district beyond was called Eulysia. The people dwelling there and about the Maeotis and as far as the Tanais (i.e. the Don) were those who were anciently called Cimmerii, but were then called Uturguri. Further north dwelt the very numerous race of the Antae (Procopius, Bell. Goth. iv. 1, 2 and 3). In another place he tells us how the Huns in this district once obeyed a King who had two sons, Uturgur and Kuturgur, who, on their father's death divided the kingdom, and their people took their names from them, some calling themselves Uturgurs and others Kuturgurs. They dwelt in the Steppes and had no intercourse with other peoples, nor did they cross the marshes, nor indeed did they think they could be crossed. It so happened, to follow the legend, that some youths who were hunting a stag followed it into the water, and as it went across they also reached the other side. On their return they reported they had found a ford. Their countrymen thereupon crossed over in force and attacked the Goths who lived there; killed many of them and dispersed the rest (id. v. 1 and 2). These Goths were the so-called Gothi Tetraxitæ, who afterwards formed a small community in the mountainous parts of the south of the Crimea. It would seem that Procopius refers to the time when they occupied the whole of the peninsula and were dispossessed of a portion of it by the Huns.

Their country now became the prey of the Huns, and we are told the Kuturgurs settled with their wives and children, and says Procopius there they live now, and although they have at various times received presents from the Emperor they nevertheless do not desist from crossing the Ister and attacking his provinces, being
thus at the same time allies and enemies of the Romans (id. v. 3).

At this time we must understand that the lower Don or the Sea of Azof roughly separated the two tribes we are describing, the Kuturgurs or Kutrigurs lived in the Steppes to west, including the northern part of Krim and the Nogai Steppes, while the Uturgurs or Utigurs lived east and south-east of the Don and along the eastern borders of the Sea of Azof as far as the Kuban, being bounded on the south by the Sabiri. It would seem that both tribes united in the invasion of the Crimea, but that only the Kutrigurs settled there, the Utigurs returning home again. As they were returning, a large number of Goths fully armed, who apparently occupied the peninsula of Phanagoria, prepared to resist, but thinking better of it the two tribes made peace and afterwards lived at amity. The Utigurs continued, says Procopius, to live in their ancestral home without molesting the Romans, since they were too far off to have the power of fighting them even if they had the will. Their neighbours were the Abasgoi (the modern Abkhazians) (id. iv. 3). They were probably the Huns with whom Opsites, the King of the Abasgians, took refuge when defeated by the Romans (id. ix. 3).

The Huns, says Procopius, possessed all the country from the Bosphorus as far as the town of Cherson. At the latter place were two towns, Cepi and Phanaguris, both of which had been captured recently and destroyed by the barbarians. All the country from Cherson to the mouth of the Danube, a distance of ten days' journey, was occupied by the barbarians. The barbarians of these notices perhaps were the Gepidæ.

About the year 550, when there was a truce between the Lombards and the Gepidæ, who occupied Pannonia, the latter having determined to recommence hostilities, and being persuaded that the Romans would side with their enemies, sent an embassy to the Kutrigurs, who lived on this side of the Mæotis (i.e. north-west of the Mæotis and west of
the Don), to ask them to attack the Lombards. They accordingly sent a body of 12,000 men, commanded, according to Procopius, by Khiniaklkh, a leader of great repute in war. He is also called Zabergan (=Sabir Khan). Khiniaklkh was probably his name. He is described as a leader of great repute, and his army arrived while the truce was still in force and had twelve months to run, and the Gepidae, wanting to find their allies some work to occupy their time, persuaded them to cross the Danube and attack the Roman territory, which they ravaged far and wide (Procopius, Hist. Goth. ch. xviii.). What followed is described in greater detail by Agathias, who tells us the Danube was then frozen fast, and they passing it on the ice, and, crossing a wide stretch of country which was unpopulated, traversed Moesia and Scythia (i.e. the Dobruja) and entered Thrace. There Khiniaklkh or Zabergan divided his army into two bodies, one of which he sent to forage in Greece, where there were no garrisons, and sent the other into the Thracian Chersonese, which was well known for its fertility. The Chersonese was joined to the mainland by an isthmus, protected by a wall, and Zabergan fancied, if he could capture this, he would be master of the sea, and could secure ships with which to cross over into Asia (the transit being short), and that he could ruin Abydos. He accordingly despatched as many troops as he could spare towards the Isthmus, while he himself advanced with 7000 horses towards Constantinople, pillaged the towns and stripped the country of forage, ravaging far and wide, professing that his reason for the invasion was that his people, the Kutrigurs, had been treated differently to the Utigurs, whose chief had received many presents and honours from the Emperor (Agathias, book v. ch. 5). He presently withdrew, charged with an immense booty and an immense number of slaves, among whom were distinguished ladies, who were dragged along with great brutality. There were virgins who had devoted their life to piety, and whose chastity was sacrificed to the incontinence of the invaders, while several women who were enceinte, were similarly
dragged along, without any means of covering their children from the weather.

The Huns passed the great walls and approached the forts, some of which had fallen into decay from neglect, and knocked down others with the same care that masons destroy old buildings. There were no guards, no war engines, not even, says Agathias, dogs to guard the flocks. The invaders encamped near the town of Melantiades, which was only 150 stadia distant from the capital. The citizens were panic-stricken with fright, and from the Emperor downwards people were seized with pusillanimous terror, which is described in graphic phrases by Agathias (id. ch. 6). Belisarius, the old hero, who had retired from active service, was recalled to lead the army—an army of undisciplined weaklings. He addressed it in language of confidence, and a report of what he is supposed to have said is duly given by Agathias (id. ch. 7); and he seems to have inspired his men with some of his own spirit. Having heard from his spies that the enemy had detached 2000 men from their main body to attack the Romans, he accordingly posted 200 of his men, armed with shields and javelins, in ambush in a forest on two sides of a path along which the Huns had to advance, and planting his main body in front, he bade the peasants, etc., from the surrounding country follow the enemy, and make as great a noise as they could. His plans were well carried out. The Huns were thrown into confusion and pressed so much on each other that they could neither throw their lances nor extend the wings of their cavalry, and the small number of their opponents was disguised by the dust. The Huns, seeing themselves foiled, withdrew at a gallop. Four hundred of them were left on the ground. No Roman was killed; some only were wounded. Zabergan himself only escaped by the speed of his horse, and by the fact that the Roman cavalry was not strong enough to pursue. The Huns reached their camp in confusion, and, according to their custom, gashed their cheeks to show their grief. They abandoned their attack on Melantiades and withdrew some distance off (id. ch. 8).
Belisarius, instead of pursuing, returned to Constantinople, apparently recalled by the jealousy of the Court. The Huns withdrew beyond the great walls, but finding they were not pursued, marched slowly. Meanwhile their other division attacked the Chersonese, and tried several times to storm the walls, but were vigorously met by the Romans, who were commanded by Germanus, the son of Dorothæus, who was young, vigorous, and a skilful soldier. The Huns, who had tried in vain to storm the defences of the Chersonese, now adopted other tactics. Agathias tells us how they collected large quantities of reeds with which they made hurdles, and from four of these they made boats to hold four men. The prows were pointed, so that they might be the more easily steered, and down each side were seats for the rowers. Of these they made 150, and launched them on the sea near the town of Enus. On these boats were altogether about 600 well-armed men. They stuffed straw into the holes when the reeds let water in, and began to row as well as they could in their fragile boats, and endeavoured to reach the turn of the wall, fancying their troubles would then be ended, since the rest of the Chersonese was only protected by the Hellespont. Germanus, when he heard of the very hazardous manœuvre of the enemy, was highly delighted. He mounted a number of well-armed soldiers and sailors on some twenty galleys, and told them to lie in wait behind a promontory, where they would not be observed. When the Huns had rowed past the wall, and began to draw near the other side, the Roman soldiers, in their boats, came out from their hiding-place and attacked them, upset some of their frail rafts of reeds, and cut the fastenings of others, and they were all either drowned or put to the sword (id. ch. 9). The Romans having landed again determined to press home their advantage at once, and proceeded to attack the enemy. In this struggle Germanus was wounded, and, the Romans being outnumbered, withdrew again, but the Huns had had enough. The loss of their improvised fleet, and perhaps the firm front shown by the Romans,
dispirited them, and they withdrew and went to rejoin Zabergan, who had also been defeated. The division which went towards Greece did nothing remarkable, and did not get beyond Thermopylae, which was protected by a Roman garrison, whence they also retired. Zabergan declared, however, that he would not withdraw from the country until he had received a large sum of money such as the Romans formerly paid the Utigurs, and he threatened to put all the prisoners to death unless it was paid. The Emperor thereupon sent a considerable sum with which to ransom the prisoners. The Huns sent them back again, among them was Sergius, son of Bacchus, who had been treated with great indignity. The Huns now withdrew homewards, plundering on the way. The blackmail they levied was naturally very distasteful to the Romans, who were angry that instead of being cut in pieces they should have secured so much plunder. Justinian, according to Agathias, had a deep plot however in all this, and what subsequently happened cleared him in his subjects' eyes from much blame in having thus bought off the invaders (id. ch. 10).

He wrote a letter to Sandelkh, Sandikh, or Sandel, the chief of the Utigurs, inciting them to attack the homes of the then absent rival tribe. Agathias gives us what he professes to be the letter which Justinian wrote to this chief on this occasion. In it he said that if he (Sandilkh) had heard of what the Kutrigurs had been doing, he could but express astonishment at his perfidy, and at the imprudence which had tied him to such an ally. The only way in which he could escape from his ambiguous position was to prove his former ignorance by now exacting vengeance. It was not purely to plunder that the Kutrigurs had invaded the Roman borders, but also to show the world how worthless were their allies, and to prove how superior their forces were to those of the Utigurs. This is why they had overrun all Thrace and carried off the money which was promised to and in-
tended for the Utigurs themselves, and the reason they had not been driven away and chastised was because the Romans wished to put their friendship to the test and also to test whether they were going to submit to being robbed of what was their own, namely, the presents they, the Romans, intended sending them. They had a special reason of their own, therefore, for vengeance, and ought to recover from the hands of the Kutrigurs the gift which was their due. If they were going to remain content with things as they were, they, the Romans, would in future pay the Kutrigurs what they had hitherto paid them, and abandon their alliance with the Utigurs, for their braver rivals. It would be more profitable and honourable to side with those who were victorious than with those who had been beaten. What followed is differently reported by the Byzantine writers.

Menander says Justinian sent Sandilkh several embassies, and tried by every means to induce him to fight Zabergan. He promised him, inter alia, that if he would attack the Kutrigurs, he would pay him the annual pension which Zabergan had hitherto received. Sandilkh replied that it would neither be right nor decent that he should exterminate his compatriots. For, he said, not only do they speak the same tongue and have the same customs as ourselves, but they are our relatives, although they obey other leaders. Nevertheless, as it is Justinian who orders this, we will carry off their horses, so that they shall no longer be able to ride, and no longer therefore able to do the Romans any harm. (Menander, ed. Bonn, 345). According to Procopius the Roman envoy pointed out that these Kutrigurs (of whom he, Sandilkh, was so careful), although they annually received large sums from Byzantium, did not desist from attacking the Roman frontiers. Nor did they let the Utigurs share in this bounty, nor did they share in the booty which they made when assailing the Roman borders. Sandilkh was at length moved by the Roman entreaties and presents, and agreed that he would attack the Kutrigurs. Agathias
says that the biting message of the Romans stirred Sandilkh's pride, and he at once proceeded to attack the enemy (uid. lib. v. ch. 6). Having been joined by 2000 Goths (i.e. Gothi Tetraxitae, who, we have seen, were their allies), they crossed the Don, and had a very serious struggle with the Kutrigurs (that is with those who had remained at home), and eventually defeated them, and caused a great massacre, and returned home with their wives and children as prisoners (Procopius, Bell. Goth. ch. xviii.). This internecine feud among the enemies of the Empire is made a subject of congratulation by Procopius, and he tells us that many Roman captives, whom the Kutrigurs had formerly made, who numbered many thousands, managed to escape and returned home again (id. xix.).

Meanwhile Zabergan, as we have seen, with a body of 12,000 Kutrigurs, had crossed the Danube and was ravaging the country to the south. Justinian now sent Aratius to acquaint them of what had taken place in their own country, and to tempt them by a liberal largess to withdraw. They accordingly retired without doing any more harm, and without carrying off any captives, treating the inhabitants in fact, as the no doubt astonished historian tells us, as if they had been their friends, and it was agreed that if on their return they found it possible to remain, they were to do so; but if they found it impossible to settle down in their own country they were to return to Thrace, where the Emperor promised to find them quarters, and where they should undertake to keep out other barbarians (id. xix. 1 and 2).

Agathias says the Kutrigurs were attacked by the Utigurs while returning from Thrace, and deprived of the plunder which they had made. Those who escaped went home to collect their forces, and thus the two tribes began a long struggle, during which the empire was more or less free from their attacks. The Kutrigurs, it would seem from his account, were seriously punished in the war, and those who remained lost their liberty and took the name of the conquerors. When the news reached Constantinople of these events,
the Emperor was highly praised for his prudent conduct (Agathias, lib. v. ch. 6).

Procopius says that 2000 of the Kutrigurs who had been defeated by the Utigurs fled with their wives and children to Roman territory. They had among them a valiant chief named Simeon who had formerly served under Belisarius against the Vandals. These fugitives offered to serve in the Roman armies, and Justinian sent them into Thrace. This caused Sandilkh, the ruler of the Utigurs, to get into a great rage. He deemed it indecent that having driven the Kutrigurs from their lands to please the Romans, the latter should have given the latter settlements, and he sent his complaints by his envoys, to whom, says Procopius, he entrusted no letters, for the Huns had not the art of writing, and neither taught their children to read or write. These envoys reported his message to Justinian, and according to Procopius, it was in these words: "I heard a parable, when a child, which I will report to you. The wolf can change its fur, but not its disposition. Nature will not let it do so. This is what I, Sandilkh, have learnt from old men who discriminate the ways of men by those of beasts. I also know the lessons which I have learnt from my country life. The shepherds take young dogs and bring them up carefully, and when grown up, the dogs are gentle to the shepherds who have cared for them. The intention of the shepherds is that these dogs shall guard their sheep and protect them from the wolves. This is a universal law, I take it, for nowhere do dogs eat sheep and wolves guard them. It is equally a law, I take it, in your kingdom where some things occur strange and contrary to the ways of other men. If I am mistaken in my remarks, point it out to my envoys, so that I may learn something in my old age. If my story is true, is it not shameful that you should give shelter to the Kutrigurs in your midst when you could not tolerate them quietly when living so far from their frontiers? They will soon prove if they have affection and zeal for your service. You will always have
enemies since you treat them so kindly after they have been beaten, and you will have no friends to defend your territories and to protect them from pillage since they may expect to be worse treated than your foes. While we have to live in a sterile desert, the Kutigurs enjoy superfluity. They have the luxury of baths, while their garments are embroidered with gold and silver. They have carried off to their country a vast quantity of Romans upon whom they practised all the cruelty which a barbarous and pitiless disposition could invent. While we have run dangers in order to rescue their victims from slavery, you have repaid us ill. We suffer all the inconveniences to which nature has condemned our land, while the Kutrigurs divide among them the lands of those whom we have delivered by our courage from the yoke they had imposed on them." Such was the message of the envoys whom Justinian endeavoured to appease with words and presents, and sent home again (id. xix.).

A little later, the Lombard Ilidgist, who had sought asylum at Constantinople, taking offence at not being treated with sufficient dignity, fled to Apros, in Thrace, where, being joined by some of his countrymen, he revolted. The Emperor ordered the different governors of Thrace and Illyria to oppose him. The first troops whom he encountered consisted of those Kutrigurs, to whom the Emperor had given a settlement in Thrace, but they were defeated and dispersed, and the rebels advanced upon Illyria (Procopius, De Bell Goth. xxvii. 2). In the fight between Narses and the Goth Totila, we are told that a contingent of Huns fought in the Roman ranks (id. xxxi.). These were probably Kutrigurs, and it is the last notice of them known to me. We now lose the guidance of Procopius, who died about this time.

In the year 557 a new horde of nomades, whose history I have elsewhere related, crossed the Volga, driven forward by the Turks, and we are told that on their approach the Sarselt, Onoguri (i.e. the Bulgarians), Sabiri, and other Hunnic tribes, were greatly disturbed, and gave them presents.
I take it that the larger part of these Hunnic tribes were incorporated in the Avar armies, and marched westwards with them. Not only so, but it would seem that, like the Onogurs or Bulgars, some of the other Huns became the dominant caste among certain Slavic peoples.

In common with other writers, I cannot avoid identifying the Sabiri with the race or caste which gave its name to the Serbians. I have elsewhere in a monograph on the Croats shown how probable it is that they also were led by a Hunnic caste, and it is an interesting fact that one of the early Croat chiefs was called Kotrag, which brings him into close relationship with the Kutriguri.

I hold the Sabiri, the Kutrigurs, and the Utigurs to have been very nearly related to one another, all of them having been Turks of the Uighur branch. Jornandes clearly treats the Sabiri and Kutrigurs as closely related. His words are: "Hinc jam Hunni . . . in bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Cutziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur," etc. One of the famous chiefs of the Kutrigurs who invaded the empire was named as we have seen Zabergan, which seems a corruption of Sabir Khan. In my view these tribes, before the Avar movement, occupied the old Khanate of Siberia, and the steppes East of the Volga, now the home of the small horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and this movement largely displaced and thrust them forward. When they crossed the Volga, they thrust a wedge in among the previous occupants of the Russian steppes, who consisted of the remains of the army of Attila. It is curious to note how potent a factor they became in the eyes of the Romans. As a proof of the considerable rôle played by the Huns at this time in Eastern eyes it may be mentioned that when the Byzantine faction of the Blues changed their dress, etc., they cut off all their hair in front, and allowed that behind to grow long, probably in tresses. "They call this," says Procopius, "the mode of the Huns." They began to wear much richer robes than their condition justified, the sleeves of
which were wide above and narrow below, so that when they raised their arms at the theatre the people might fancy their height corresponded to the bulk of their garments. Their jackets, their buskins, and their socks were also in the fashion of the Huns (Procopius, Secret History, vii. 1).

(Continued from page 499.)

BBF. 7.

The Bāb's Commentary on the Sūratul-'Aṣr, and the Tasbih-i-Fūţima.

Ff. 99 (ff. 1a–2a, f. 17b, ll. 7–12, f. 88a, ff. 98b–99b blank); 13.5 × 9 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a clear naskh hand. Obtained at the same time and under the same circumstances as the last MS.

The occasion of the Bāb's writing this Commentary is thus described in the Tārīkh-i-Jadīd (BBP. 5, f. 106a; Or. 2942, ff. 103a–103b):

و آحستخت در منزل امام جمعه نزول اجلال فرمودند. جناب امام جمعه هم ظاهرًا اظهارا خلاص مینمود و کمال احترام را بعمل می آورد و آحستخت چهل روز در منزل ایشان تشریف داشتند و اغلب ناس از خاص و عادم برای ایشان مشترک میشدند و سؤالات مشکله مینمودند و بطریق سهولت جوابهای شافی کافی میشودند تا آنکه جمع کشید ی مصدق امر ایشان شدند و جناب معتمد الدولة بدرین آحستخت شریایی حامل نمود و آحستخت نیز بپاز دید ایشان تشریف بردند. جناب امام جمعه از آحستخت سؤال کرد که آیت حقیقت شما چیست فرمودند آیات و دروطلی را که بخواهم بدون فکرو سکون قلم در سه ساعت هزار بیست مینویسم
"So His Holiness [the Báb] alighted at the house of the Imám-Jum'a [of Isfahán], and abode there forty days, during which time the Imám-Jum'a behaved towards him with every appearance of good-will and respect. Many persons, gentle and simple, enjoyed the honour of meeting him, and propounded to him hard questions, to which they received full and satisfactory answers easy to understand, so that many accepted his doctrine. His Excellency [Minúchíhr Khán] the Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla also came to see him, and His Holiness [the Báb] returned the visit. The Imám-Jum'a had demanded of him, 'By what sign do you establish the truth of your claim?' 'By verses,' answered he, 'for without pause of the pen I can, in the space of three hours, write a thousand sentences on any subject that I please.' 'But,' objected the Imám-Jum'a, 'you may have considered the matter previously.' 'I will write,' replied he, 'on any subject you please.' 'Then,' said the Imám-Jum'a, 'write for me a Commentary on the Súra beginning wa'l-ašr,¹ even as you wrote for 'Aká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb a Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar.² So His Holiness [the Báb] began to write, and in every three hours wrote a thousand sentences. Then the Imám-Jum'a was convinced that such power was from God, being beyond the capacity of man."

Allusion is made to this request of the Imám-Jum'a

¹ Kur'án, ciii.
² Kur'án, cviii.
in the following passage of this Commentary, which occurs on ff. 4²-5⁴ of the present MS.:

وَأَنَّ الْأَلْلَهُ لَمَّا نُزِلَ الْأَمَرُ مِنْ جَنَابٍ مُسْتَطَتَّابٍ ذِي الحَسْبِ

الشَّعَبَةِ الرَّفِيعٍ وَذِي الْعَرْقِ البِنْذَارِ المُنِيعٍ وَذِي النَّسْبِ العَالِيِ الرَّفِيعٍ

ذِي الْصَّنَافِي الْعَلِيّةِ وَالْغَلْقِ الرَّفِيعِيَّةِ الْغَسْنِيَّةِ سَلَطَانُ الْعَلِيمُ إِذامَ اللَّهَ

ظَلَّ عَطِفَتُهُ عَلَى مَنْ سَكَى فِي ظَلَالِ رَحْمَتِهِ بِأَفْتِشُ السُّورَةِ الْمُبَارِكَةِ

الَّتِي نُزِلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْقُرآنِ هَذِهِ وَالْعَصِرَةِ الْأَلْلَهِ لَنِى حِسَارَ الَّذِينَ

أَمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الْبَلَاغَةَ وَتَوَاصَوا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوا بِالْصَّرْحِ وَلَمْ كَانَ

أَمَرَةُ المَطَاعِمِ وَحَكِيمُهُ الَّذِي فَلَسَلُ في أَظِهَارِ ذَلِكَ الْبَيِّنَ الَّذِي قَدْ أُتْبِعَتْ عَنِ

الَّهِ وَأَتِبَعَتْ أَمَرَةُ بِأَظِهَارِ مَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ فِي الْكِيَانِ بِالْبَرَّوزِ لِلْعَيْنِ

لِيَتَمَيَّزَ بِشُرْحِ ذَلِكَ السُّورَةِ الْمُبَارِكَةِ مَا أَيُّهُ مِنْ فَلَلْلَّهِ فِي

ذَلِكَ الْمُقَمَّ عِنْ دُونِهِ وَلَبِّي ثُوَابِ مَا عَرِفَ شَيْئًا مِّنْهُ لِجَنَابٍ

حَمْرَتِهِ لِيْلَاءُ الْمَيْلِ (٥ : ٥) وَاسْتِلَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَلَلْلَّهِ بِيَقْفِطِ

عِينَ الْتَّأْثِرِينَ الْتَأْثِرَاتِ النَّازِلَةِ فِي ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابِ عَنِ الْعَتَّارِ

وَيَلِمُّهُ الْكَلِلِّ حُكْمُ الْقَلَافِ فِي مَقَامَاتِ دَلَّاتِ كَلِمَاتِ مَا نُزِلَ فِي

ذَلِكَ الْمُقَامَ لِأَمَرَةِ الْمُسْتَطَتَّابِ وَأَنَّ عَلَى الْلَّهِ اِلْهَكَلُ فِي أَظِهَارِ حَقِيقَةٍ

مَتَّ الْإِمَانُ بِمَا جَعلَ اللَّهُ فِي الْكِيَانِ بِالْبَرَّوزِ لِلْعَيْنِ وَلَا حَوْلٌ وَلَا

تُفَرِّقُ أَلَّا يَعْلَمَ الْعَلِيمُ الْعَلِيمُ وَأَتْنَى أَنَا ذَا قَبْلِ أَنْ أَذَكَرْحُنَا فِي مَقَامٍ

الْبَيِّنَةِ أَسْتَنَدُ مِنْ جَنَابِ الْمُسْتَطَتَّابِ إِذامَ اللَّهُ ظَلَّ عَطِفَتُهُ بِأَنْ يَعْفُونَ ضَمْنِهِ إِذَا أَطْلَعَ بِخَطِيطَةٍ مِّنْ قَلْمِهِ لَّا أَنْ شَأَنَّكُمُ الْعَبْدُ فِي

كُلِّ حَالِهِ حَيْنَ الْذَّنِيبُ وَأَرْجُو أَنَّ اللَّهَ يُذَكِّرَكُمْ بَذَكَرِهِ بِأَيْضَاً مِّنْهَا

لِمَنْ سَكَى فِي مَقَامَاتِ غَلَامِ الإِسْمَا، وَالْقَنَافِي مَا قَدَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُمُ فِي

حَكْمِ الْكِتَابِ وَأَنَّ مَنْ أَلْلَهُ يِرْجِعُ الْحُكْمَ وَالأَمَرِ فِي الْعَبْدِ (٥ : ٥)

وَالْمَيْلِ أَلْخَبِ.

١ The humble tone of this passage, as well as the absence of all claim to infallibility, is very noteworthy, and in itself stamps the work as one belonging to the earlier period.
Having quoted so much from the preface proper, I must confine myself to giving the first few lines of the doxology and the last few lines of the conclusion of the book.

Beginning on f. 2b:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي تجلى للممكنات بظهور أثار إبداعه في ملكوت
الأم و الخلق ليتلألئ جوهرات حقائق الموجودات بتألق آيات
اللهوت و يتبجلن كينونيتا مجردات آيات الجبروت بتبجل
ظهورات آيات الملكوت ليشهد الكل في كل متقامات المدرآيات
الخنمن بما شهد الله لنفسه في ازل الأزل بأنه لا الله إلا هو لم يزل كان
بلا وجود شبه معه ولا يزال أن له هو كائن بمثل ما كان آئه

Ending on ff. 87a-87b:

وفي الأكمال عن الصدق؟ ع قال العصر عصر خروج القائم عليه
السلام أن الإنسان لفى خسر يعني إعدادنا ألا الذين امتنى يعني
بایننا وعملنا الصالحة يعني بعواسة الأخوان وتواسوا بالحق يعني
الامام و توصوا بالتصبر يعني العترة و الفقى عنه ع قال استنفى أهله
صفاته من خلفه حيث قال أن الإنسان لفى خسر الله الذين امتنوا
بولاية أمير المؤمنين ود وتواسوا بالحق درياتهم و من خلفوا بالوليمة
تواسوا وصاروا عليها وفي الجمع عن الصادق ع و الفقى عند على
ع أنهما قرأوا العصر (87f) أن الإنسان لفى خسر إلى آخر الدهر و
في نواب الأعمال و الجمع عن الصادق ع من قرأ العصر في نوالله
بعثه الله يوم القيامة مشترقا وجهه فاحفا سته تزيرا لعنه حتى يدخل
الجمعة انتمى و انا ذا اختن ذلك الكتاب بقول الرحمن سبحانه
رتب رتب العرش عمدا يصفون و ساله على المرسلين و المحمد لله
رب العالمين *
F. 88* is left blank. On f. 88b begins another document written, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 93b, in answer to a letter of enquiry, and containing, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 94a, the Doxology of Fa'īma alluded to by my correspondent (See p. 494 supra). These two passages, together with the beginning of the doxology and the conclusion of the work, I subjoin:

Begins:

بسم الله العظيم

أُسْتَجِبَ سَبِيحَانُ الْذِّي لا يَعْلَمُ جَوَهْرُ وَرَوْجُدٍ كَيْفَ هوّ وَلَا مِجْرَدٍ مَوْجِعٌ

اِنَّهُ وَلَا كَافِرٌ تَلْحُورُ حِيْثَ هُوّ وَلَا سَائِقٌ تَلْحُورُ مَتْى هُوّ سَبِيحَانُهُ لَمْ يَنْزِلَ كَانَ قِبْوَاً فِي سَلَطَانِ سِبْحَانَيْهِ بَلَّ ذَكَرُ شَيْءٍ مَعَهُ رَتْبَةٌ الْأَزْرَىٰ وَلَا يَزَالَ

أَنَّهُ كَانَ فِي مَلْكُونِ جَبِيرُتُهُنَّ لَمْ يَكُ مِذْكُورًا عَنْدَهُ أَلِمَ

The preface proper begins on f. 93b, l. 2 as follows:

وَبَعْدَ قَدْ نُزِلَ كِتَابُ عَلَىٰ فِي هذِهِ الْأَلْلِيَةِ الْقُدرُ وَلَاحْظَهُ بَعْدِيٌّ

عَلَى ذِلَكَ الْجُبَلِ الْأَكْبَرِ وَشَهِدتْ بِمَا سَتَرَتْ فِيهِ بِبَيْكَ الْقُدرُ وَ

سَلَمَتْ إِلَّا بِيَتِينَكَ عَلَى الْأَضْرَاطِ بَعَضُ مُسْتَنَسِرٍ فَأَعْرَفْ أَنَّ كُلَّ

الْعُقَرُ هوْ مِذْكُورٌ فِي ذِكْرِهِ رَتْبَةٌ وَرَكْبٌ وَكُلُّ الشَّهْرٌ مُقْتَضَىٰ فِي

حَقَّ مِنْ أَعْرَضَ عِنْ ذِكْرِهِ رَتْبَةٌ وَرَكْبٌ فَلَا عَرَّ عَنْدَ الْلَّهِ الْإِطْعَامُ

فُكَمْ مِنْ عُبَادِهِ مُلْكُو شَرْقِ الْأَرْضِ وَغُرُبِهِ وَأَنَّ الْآنَ فِي نَارِ جَهَنُمَ

يُهْرُبُونَ وَلَا ذِلَّةٌ عَنْدَ الْلَّهِ الَّذِي بِعَصِيَتِهِ وَكُمْ مِنْ عُبَادِهِ لَمْ يَعْلَمُوا شَيْئًاٰ

فِي الْدُنْيَا عَلَى الْأَرْضِ فِي الْفَرَدُوسِ يُتَكَفُّونَ إِلَّا أَنَّ ذِكْرَهُ فَضِلَّ الْلَّهُ

1 ذَكْرُ رَبِّي وَرَبِّكَ

2 MS. السَّرَّ, an evident error.

The Bāb appears to denote himself. The term (in this sense) occurs commonly in his earlier writings. See supra, p. 303 n. 1.
Ends on ff. 97b-98a with a short explanation of the 
*Suratu’t-takáthur* (Kur’án, cii):

وَأَنَّ ما يَشِلُّ بِهِ الْأَنْسَرَ لَا يَنفِعُهُ إِلَىٰ حِيْبَةِ الْعَمَائِتِ وَالْإِشْرَةَ
قُولُ مَلِكِ الْمَسَاءِ وَالْصَّفَاتِ الْهُيْجَمُ التَّكَرِّرٌ حَتَّىٰ زُرُّتُ المَقَابِرَ إِلَىٰ ما
تَتَوَجَّهُونَ إِلَىٰ لَا أَلْلَهُ لَهُ وَاحِدٌ فَرَزُّ أَحَدٌ صَدَرَ وَأَنَّ الْكَتْرَةَ هِيَ مِن
أَمَلِتِ الْمَحَلِّيَةِ وَالْهَنَّادِسَةِ الْكَحْشَرَةَ وَهِيَ كَانَتْ مَعَكًّا إِلَىٰ إِنْ تَدْخَلُوا
المَقَابِرَ خَائِفِينَ (۹۸) كَلَّا سُوفُ تَعْلَمُونَ ثُمَّ كَلَّا سُوفُ تَعْلَمُونَ كَلَّا لَوْ
تَعْلَمُونَ عَلَمَ الْيَقِينَ لَتَرْحَبُ الْحَجِيمُ ثُمَّ لَتَرْجُتُوا عَيْنَ الْيَقِينَ ثُمَّ لَتَسْعُلُنَّ
يُؤُمْنُ عَلَىَّ التَّنَّعِيمَ وَأَنَّ الْيَوْمَ يُسْئِلُ الْكَلِّ عَنِ الْتَنَّعِيمِ لَاتَّهُ هُوَ ذِلْكَ
الْرَّكِّيَّ العَزِيمُ وَالنَّظِيمُ الْقَدِيمُ وَالنَّعْمَةُ الْعَلِيمُ فِعَلْيُكَ بِالْجَرَجُوعِ إِلَىٰ
أُولِ مَوْمِعٍ حَلَّيْمُ فَأَنَّ الدَّخُولَ عَلَىَّ الْبَيْتِ لَا يَنفِعُ إِلَّاٰ مَنْ شَرَط
الْبَابِ فَعَلِيْكَ بِجِبَآِبَ ذِلِكَ الْجَنَّابُ فَأَنَّهُ أَوَّلُ رَجُلٌ ۚ تَدْخَلُ إِلَىٰ مَثَلَاءِ
شَجَرَةِ الْخَلْدِ وَكِفَانَى وَكَلَّ مِنْ آرَادَنَى رَتْبَىٰ الْذِّي خَلَقَنَى ثُمَّ زَرَقَنَى
ثُمَّ يُمِينَنَى ثُمَّ يُحَيْيِنَى ثُمَّ إِلَيْهِ كَلَّ يُرْجَعُونَ وَسِبْعَانُ رَتْبَىٰ رَتْبَ الْعَرْشُ
عَمَّا يُصَفَّوْنَ وَسَلَامٌ عَلَى الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَالْعَمْدَ للهُ رَتْبَ الْعَالَمِينَ

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1 Allusion seems to be made to Mulla Huseyn of Bushrawayh, who is elsewhere called جَنَانِ بِابِ الْبَابِ وَحَرِّفُ أَوْلِ مِنْ آَسِ, etc.
2 Cf. a passage from the *Nisikhut-Tasvrikh* cited at p. 227 of T.N. ii.
BBF. 8.

تفسير سورة الكوثر

The Báb’s Commentary on the Súratu’l-Kauzhar.

This MS., brought from Persia to Cyprus, under the circumstances already detailed on pp. 493-5 supra, was forwarded to me by Subh-i-Ezel, together with the MS. to be next described (BBF. 9), and a letter dated Ramazán 5th, A.H. 1308 (April 14th, 1891), and reached me on May 7th, 1891. In the letter Subh-i-Ezel wrote:

فقد بلغت اليكم كتبين مما وصفتيم من قبل واحدا من تفسير
الاسماء و واحدا من شرح سورة الكوثر ليكون ذلك ذكر لم سمع
وبصر و راقب و انصرف فاجدوا أن تكتبوا الكلمات صحيحا

"I send unto you two books which I described on a previous occasion; one [a copy] of the Commentary on the Names, and the other [a copy] of the Commentary on the Súratu’l-Kauzhar, that this may be a reminder to him who heareth and seeth and watcheth and winneth: strive, then, to write the words correctly."

The Commentary on the Súratu’l-Kauzhar, as we learn from a passage in the Tārikh-i-Jadid cited at pp. 637-8 supra, as well as from the Traveller’s Narrative (vol. i, p. 10, vol. ii, p. 8), was written by the Báb for Aká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb at Shíráz. Further proof of this is afforded by the following words which occur on f. 9a, ll. 1-2 of this MS.:

يا يحيى فأت بآية مثل تلك الآيات بالفطرة أن كنت ذي
علم رشيد

"O Yahyá, produce spontaneously a verse like unto these verses, if thou art learned and sound."

1 Literally "by natural disposition," i.e. without laborious effort or study.
This MS. contains ff. 116 (ff. 1a—2a, and 116a—116b blank), 17·5 × 10·5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a neat and legible naskh. Headings of sections and sometimes initial words of sentences in red.

Begins:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل طراز اللوح كتاب الفلك في كل ما فتى و استفتق واستنطق طراز النزل الذي لاحث واتئثت بعد ما شئت وعندت ثم قدرت وقصت قبل ما آذنت واجتئت وحكمت ثم تلمحت واستلمحت بها إفقت سماة العالم في اجتئته اللاهوت لينشئ بها حقائق الميثاق في يوم الوثاق ثم تعالنت واستعانت بها إفاقت سماة البه. في اجتئته الجموري

Ends on ff. 115a—115b:

وأنا ذا اختتم الكتاب بذكر ذلك الحديث الشريف في حكم ذلك العصر اللطيف ليكون ختامه مسك وان فيه فليثنانف المنافسون وروى باساده الى أبي جعفر الطوسى عن جماعة عن التلكبي عن ابن همام عن جميل عن القسم بين اسمعيل عن أحمد بن زيد عن أبي النجف ابنا بن محمد المعروف بالسندى نقلناد من أبيه قال كان أبو عبد الله عين في المجمع في السنة التي قدم فيها أبو عبد الله محبة الميزاب وهو يدعو و عن يميزه عبد الله بن الحسن و عن يسارد حسن بن الحسن وعن خلفة جعفر بن
الحسن قال فجأئه عباف بن كثير البصري فقال له يا ابن عبد الله قال فسكت عنه حتى قالا نلتقا قال ثم قال له يا جعفر قال فقال له قالما تشأن (f. 115b) يا ابن كثير قالما أتى وجده في كتاب لي علم هذه البيتة رجل يوقسها حبرًا حبرًا قال فقال له كذب كتابك يا ابن كثير ولكن كان والله اصغر السبحان خمس السباقين فضخم الرأس على هذا الزكورة وإشارة بهدوه إلى الزكورة البصري يمنع الناس من التطاول حتى يتذوروا منه قال ثم يبعث الله له رجاءة وإشارة بهدوه إلى صدره فذهبه قتل عاد ونعمود وفرعون ذإ الوثاد قال فقال له عند ذلك عبد الله بن الحسن سدقة وأتى ابن عبد الله عم حتى صدقوه كلهم جميعًا وسحابة الله ركب العرش عملا يصفون وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله ركب العلامةين نعت التسمية الكونية من مبعد عثر الصمديرة في يوم الثلاثة رابع عشر من شهر نجمة الجرام من شهور 1291.

The date of transcription given in the colophon, Zi‘l-Hijjah 14th, A.H. 1296, corresponds with November 29th, A.D. 1879.

I conclude the description of this MS. by quoting from different parts of the Introduction a few passages, which appear of special interest, as affording further evidence of the authorship of the work, or as indicating the stage of development to which the Báb’s ideas had at this time attained.

فوريثب ركب السموات والأرض أن اليوم ليس الحق ليكون لأحد حقته النفسى وإن الله قد أظهار أمره بشأن لن يقدر أحد أن تأمل فيه أو يشكك لأن الله قد اختار لحفظ دين رسوله وإليه نهي عبد امن الاعظمين وأعظمًا ما لم يؤت أحد من العالميين أنصف بالله حبرينطلي بالشهادة أعظم أو أن ينتفع في جمعي بكلمات التي
ذُهلّت الكلّ فيها ولقد اعتط الله حجيّة لواجتمع من في السموات و الأرض على أن يأتوا بهملا لم يقدروا . . . . . . (f 49) فسِتكا الله من على هؤلاء الآجاهل كأنهم كل الناس ومن الموت حيث لا يعرفون صنع الرّب عن الخلق هل جَآ أخذ بعث تلك الآيات ويقول ذو روح إن هذا صنع الخلق انصف بالله هل سمعت من أحد دعاء أو صحيحة وهل جَآ بتك الحيّة دون آل الله فبالله إنّا ل أرنت من بعد كما بينت العزيزان في بين يدي الأشهاز لكتب في سنة ساعات ألف بيت مناجات فإن اليوم يقدر بذلك فاعون بالله من عمل الناس أن المجمل قد حقق في كتابه حقّ اليقين عن الصحف السباعية في النصاحة تعد صحف السماوية وهي زيار آل محمد وكتفى لذي المعجزة للذين يرون فكيف تثبت الولاية في الصحف ولا تثبت بسماء محدودة التي سمَّدت شرق الأرض وغربها فتحيّة أكبر من هذه النعمة وأت غلبة أعظم من هذه القدرة أن العلماء لم ينشكو ورقة ليتفكروا وبعد ذلك لما استذكك كلماتهم بعث يكال بلفارسية به يهمون بالحقيقة ليس النشر في ذكر الكلمات ولا بترتيب الآيات (f 50) بل أن الذي اصل الروح فيها هو السرّ الروائيّة وظهور الصدانتيّة التي هي اصل كل من فضل وعلى يحول كل عدل فن في صحييني بكل كتب القوم لم يعد حرفا منها كلّ من في السماوات والأرض لأنها حيوان من ظهور الوحدانية وسرّ الرحمانية وما دونها بعجل جسد له خواص . . . . . . (f 55) انظر إلى دنانية مقاتهم أن فرحن لما أراد أن يكفر بحجيّة ربي فاتي بشيء من السمرو أنهم تزعم لا يأتون بحريين ويفعلون ما لا يدركون فزور تيك أن اليوم نار جهنم لمجيشة بالكافرين واتّى انا اقتل كلمة فثبت بها قسطاس العدل في يدي.
BBF. 8. COMM. ON SURATUL-KAWTHAR.

1 Allusion may be here made to Kurratu'l-Ayn, who was originally of the Shewki sect (see T.N. vol. ii. p. 310, and p. 342, n. 1).
2 Ḥājī Seyyid Katib of Rešt and his predecessor Shewkh Ahmad of Ahsá are of course alluded to.
3 Ḥeṣe also Ḥāzir seems to mean the Báb himself. Cf. p. 303 supra.
BBF. 9.

The Báb’s Commentary on the Names (vol. ii).

This MS. came into my hands under the same circumstances and at the same time as the last. The passage in the accompanying letter wherein reference is made to it has been already quoted (p. 643 supra). The letter itself is pasted into this MS. after the last leaf (f. 264), forming ff. α–β additional.

The description of the MS. is as follows: Ff. 264 (ff. 1α–2α, 5b–6b, 192b, 219a, 225b–226b, 230α–232b, 240a–240b, 253b, 264a–264b, a1 and b2 blank), 20·75 × 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in a clear and compact naskh. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

1 This passage is especially noteworthy. Cf. Traveller’s Narrative, vol. i, pp. 3-4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4.
This, like all the Báb’s other later works, is divided into Váhíd containing nineteen chapters apiece. Each chapter is devoted to one of the “Names” of God, these names being permuted and varied in the usual way (cf. T.N. ii, pp. 317-319). Each name is further considered under four different aspects, so that in each chapter we find four subordinate sections, the third in the second, the first in the second, and the fourth in the fourth. Only the latter half of the work (from Váhíd viii, ch. 1 to Váhíd xix, ch. 18) is contained in this volume, and of this several complete Váhíd, including the twelfth, and many chapters are missing. This is so far to be regretted, in that it prevents me from definitely establishing the identity of this MS. with the MS. described by Dorn under the name of “Koran der Baby,” at pp. 247–8 and 284–292 of vol. viii of the Bulletin de l’Académie Impériale de Sciences de St. Pétersbourg (1865). For Dorn gives only the first chapter of the twelfth Váhíd, which, as I have already said, is not contained in this volume. I think, however, that anyone who will compare the specimen which he gives with the fragment I have given will agree that the two MSS. almost certainly represent the same work, especially as the “Name” مسکن or سکان is given in the index of the missing chapters as

1 Ch. 19 appears to be missing, though included in the table of contents at the end. It should deal with the name ﺔاَل.
the first chapter of the twelfth Vâhid. The matter can be easily settled in St. Petersburg by comparing my description of my defective MS. with the complete MS described by Dorn. This identification is really more important than at first sight appears, for the St. Petersburg MS. is of undoubted authenticity, having passed directly from the hands of the Báb’s amanuensis into European hands in Tabríz shortly before the Báb’s martyrdom. Now should this MS. of mine prove to be identical with Dorn’s, not only will the latter be supplied with its proper name, but valuable corroborative evidence will be afforded of the genuineness of all the MSS. which have come to me through Subh-i-Ezel’s hands.

The 18th chapter of the 19th Vâhid (on the Name) begins on f. 258a, and ends on f. 261b with the following words:

وَإِنْ تُذْهَبُ النُّورُ فِي ظُلَّ الْلَّهِ مِسْتَظِلُونَ بِهِمْ انتَمْ تُنصّرُونَ وَبِهِمْ انتَمْ تَحْفَظُونَ يَظِهْرُونَ النَّارَ وَهُمْ فِي النُّورِ بَاطِنُونَ وَيَظِهْرُونَ النَّورُ إِذَا أَظَهَّرُهُمْ اللَّهُ وَهُمْ غَيْرُ اللَّهِ فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ لَا يُقْسِدُونَ أَوْلَكَ هُمْ عِنْدَ الْلَّهِ فِي غُرَفِ الزَّغْفَانِ لِمُكْرِهِمْ

Immediately after this, in smaller characters, follows the Arabic colophon:

هَذَا اَخْرَجْتُهُ مِنْ آيَاتِ هَذِهِ الْكِتَابِ الْمُسْتَطَابِ وَأَتْنَقَّ

الفراغ من استكباها في يوم الکماک الذکای من شهر الكلمات و الول

من دورۃ المصطفیین من سنة السابع و الثلثین من دورۃ الپیانیة

و الكور السادس المطلیق لیوم الاَثئین السابع و العشر من شهر

"This is the last of what I have found of the chapters of this precious book, whereof the transcription was concluded on the day of Komáit [Monday], the second of the month of Kalimát [the 7th month], and the first of the cycle of Mustáfín (?) of the 37th year of the Beyání cycle and the sixth Kaur, corresponding to Monday the 17th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1302, by the hand of the feeblest of [God's] servants and the humblest of them, he who needeth the grace of his Bountiful Lord, 51092."¹

Immediately after this colophon follows another in Persian:

"Let it not be hidden that the copy from which this transcript was made was not free from errors, and that it was impossible to obtain a correct copy; wherefore no attempt was made at collation. If God please, the collation and emendation thereof will be feasible to [other] persons who are established [in a better position]. But let not these fall to [recklessly] emending the text, but let them well consider whatever may at the first glance appear to be

¹ Monday, Sha'bán 17th, A.H. 1302 = Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1885. The Bábí date given in this colophon offers several difficulties, and is evidently computed from a fixed point other than that used by the Bábáís (See T.N., vol. ii, p. 425). The cyphers at the end of the colophon appear to represent in some cabalistic fashion the scribe's name.
incorrect, perchance it may be correct. Peace be upon him who followeth the right guidance, and God’s mercy and blessings."

"The first volume has been collated with a trustworthy copy."

At the bottom of the page (f. 261b) is an index of the chapters contained in this volume, arranged according to the Vâhidâs to which they belong and their order in those Vâhidâs. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Vâhidâs are tolerably complete; the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 18th are unrepresented (one or more pages being left blank at the point where they should appear in the text); Vâhid 15 is represented by only two chapters (the 12th and 13th); Vâhid 16 by one (ch. 7); and Vâhid 19 by chapters 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18.

Although the scribe appears to have been unable to supply the missing chapters, he nevertheless knows the "Names" which form their titles and subjects, and accordingly, on f. 262a, he gives a complete table of contents of Vâhidâs xii-xix. This, together with the contents of Vâhidâs viii-xi, I subjoin, premising that different derivatives of the same root are accounted the same "Name" (e.g. بيار and مغيث), and that I place the missing chapters in parentheses and the missing Vâhidâs in brackets.

Vâhid viii. 1. نذير. 2. مسند. 3. مصعد. 4. مروض. 5. مصعد. 6. مروض. 7. مصعد. 8. مصعد. 9. مصعد. 10. مصعد. 11. مصعد. 12. مصعد. 13. مصعد. 14. مصعد. 15. مصعد. 16. مصعد. 17. مصعد. 18. مصعد.

The last half of f. 262\textsuperscript{a} is blank. Ff. 262\textsuperscript{b}–263\textsuperscript{b} are occupied by a sort of ejaculatory prayer, in which all these names and many more (presumably representing the first seven Váhid\textit{s} of the “Names,” absent in this volume) are strung together with the interjection \textit{yá} inserted before each. Each “Name” is put in the form \textit{منتغل}, and the names appear to be arranged in their proper order according to

\footnote{\textit{sic} in index and text, but written with final \textit{ظ} in the prayer at the end of the volume.}
Váhids and chapters. The total number of "Names" contained in the prayer is 361, corresponding to the Váhid of Váhids, the "Number of All Things" (عدد كل شيء), and the days in the Bábí year. I subjoin the beginning of the prayer down to the end of the first Váhid of "Names," and the end, including the 19th and last Váhid of "Names."

Begins:

بسم الله الأرفع الأرفع
الله يمنى استسلك باسمك يا مؤتمن يا متوحده يا مستحده يا متحم يا محتمم يا مستلم يا مستسلم يا مستمر يا منصوب يا متقل يما منتصب يا متقدم يا متقدم يا مستقر يا متقدم يا متحم يا محتم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم ...

Ends:

يا مستمر يا منصوب يا متقدم يا متقدم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستقر يا مستقر يا مستمر يا مستمر يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا مستسلم يا 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a good many cases a marginal note in red specifies either the
time when, or, in language generally ambiguous, the person
on whose account they were "revealed." Of these marginal
notes I subjoin a complete list.

Váhíd ix, ch. 8: في ليلة الجمعة ليلة الاستقلال
Váhíd ix, ch. 13: لزائر الحلق السياج
Váhíd ix, ch. 14: في اسم الجناب سيد يبرس واو باسطا أربعه
Váhíd ix, ch. 15: واحد في ارض الزاء و واحد هو الوحيد و واحد
هو العظيم و واحد هو الغاش و واحد هو المخلص في ارض الناث
Váhíd x, ch. 2: في ارض الخاء إلى اسم الله القيم
Váhíd xi, ch. 8: نزل ليلة الاستقلال للفتح على ارض الناث
Váhíd xi, ch. 10: بمولانا الكريم يحفظ الامل يرسل السواد لمعلم
الانتي و فيه اتمام للحجة
Váhíd xvi, ch. 7: السيد رحيم في التضاد
Váhíd xix, ch. 8: للطبيب الهمدانى
Váhíd xix, ch. 12: ما نزل في ارض الرا و الباء في ارض الناث
Váhíd xix, ch. 17: ما نزل لحرف الرا و الباء على ارض ع
Váhíd xix, ch. 18: ما نزل لاسم الله العلمل الملکان الذي هو اخ
الرا و الباء على ارض ع
BBF. 10.

من كتاب اسماء خلقت

Part of the Book of the Names of All Things (vol. i).

This MS., forwarded to me by Šubh-i-Ezel in July or August, 1891, appears to be the companion volume of the MS. last described, with which it corresponds in size, writing, and arrangement, though its name is given somewhat differently. It contains in an incomplete form Vāhidīs ii–vii inclusive, just as BBF. 9 contains Vāhidīs viii–xix. Vāhid i is missing, but a statement of its contents is prefixed to the index on f. 2a. The description of the MS. is as follows:

Ff. 338 (ff. 1a–1b, 81b, 88a–88b, 120a–120b, 336b–338b blank), 20·75 × 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in the same clear and compact naskh as the MS. last described. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

In the table of contents above alluded to the "Names" commented are written continuously, the number of the Vāhid to which they belong being indicated by a superscription in red over the first "Name" of each Vāhid. This table I subjoin, placing the numbers of the Vāhidīs in parentheses.
The notifications of the occasions on which, and the persons for whom, the different chapters were revealed are as follows:

Vâhid ii, ch. 11: میرزا احمد کاتب ملاعبد الكریم قزوینی (See T.N., vol. ii, Index, s.v. Ahmad-i-Kâtib.)

Vâhid ii, ch. 14: یا ارخم ءالل ارحمین بردارد رقع خون قرار دهد

Vâhid iii, ch. 11: بجهة جناب ملا حسن مراغه عليه بها ربه

Vâhid iii, ch. 11 (middle): بریبد و اصل بکاتب بریبد

Sâhâb (سیاه ؛ بنورین ؛ نورین ؛) نیبرین

برسنند

1 Names overlined and placed in parentheses are in the original written in red over the line.
2 One name appears to be missing from this Vâhid,
Váhid iii, ch. 12:  

بجناب ملا حسين مراغة عليه يبآ برسد وفصل  

بكاتب برسد  

Váhid iii, ch. 17:  

الکرم اللمعانی  

Váhid v, ch. 4:  

من جبل ماقو الى ارض القاف لمن يذكر بالعلی  

Váhid v, ch. 5:  

یوصل الى ملاءید الجليل القاضی ف ارض المقدسه  

Váhid v, ch. 8:  

این اسم بجناب سید ی۱۰ برست هرگاه معلمی  

هستند باقا عبد الله طبیب برساند والا حفظ فرمایند  

Váhid v, ch. 12 (towards the middle of the first quarter):  

جبهت حفظ ونصرت  

Váhid v, ch. 16:  

لجناب الهادئ في ارض القاف  

Váhid v, ch. 19:  

یوصل الى شجرة الطآل عليها بها راب العما و  

الاص لیحفظه الكاتب ع  

Váhid vi, ch. 2:  

بجناب میسزا احمد برست دوعدل ایس اسمرا  

بمذکورین من الیات برساند من النج و الین  

Váhid vii, ch. 12 (about the middle of the first quarter):  

للغله على الاعدآ  

The following colophon, written in red ink, concludes the text on f. 336*:  

وقت الفرغ من تسويدها في يوم الكمال السبیع من شهر المسائل  

والرابع والعشرم دورة المجید من سنة الناسم والثانيیم من دورة  

السیبییة وکور السبیع المطابق لیوم الاثنين الرابع من شهر الصفرم  

۳۳۰م من النجهرة النبویة  

Safar 4th, A.H. 1304=Nov. 2nd, A.D. 1886. This first volume of the "Names" was therefore written nearly a year and a half after the second described above. Cf. p. 651 supra.
BBF. 11.

مرات البیان

The Mirror of the Beyán, by Šubah-i-Ezel.

Ff. 678 (ff. 1a–2a and 675b–678b blank), 20.75 x 13.5 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Šubah-i-Ezel’s large clear naskh.

When I was in Cyprus in March–April 1890, Šubah-i-Ezel mentioned this book and another, the Diván-i Ezeli, as two of the more important of his productions, and promised to give me copies of them.

In a letter dated Muḥarram 12th, A.H. 1309 (=Aug. 18th, A.D. 1891), he wrote as follows:

"The book named Mir‘atu’l-Beyán which was promised to you in the days of meeting is ready. As its folios are numerous, please indicate in what way it shall be sent, whether by means of the Governor, or some other way, and whether all at once, or in two or three instalments."

In reply to this, I requested that the book might be sent through Captain Young, either all at once, or in successive instalments, as might appear convenient. The first instalment, consisting of 25 folios of 10 leaves (20 pages) each, reached me in November, 1891; the second instalment, consisting of 23 similar folios, in February, 1892; the third and last instalment, consisting of 20 folios, in June, 1892.

Taking the word Beyán in one of its senses, as denoting these "Books of Names" and "Commentaries on the Names" which have been already described, the title "Mirror of the Beyán" aptly defines the nature of the present work, which, except that the "Names" are in a different order, and are not grouped in Vāhids of 19, is
precisely similar in arrangement to BBF. 9 and BBF. 10 (see p. 649 supra). The number of names contained in the whole work is 137. They are as follows:

الله. الرحمن. الرحيم. الزب. المالك. المحيط. المحيط. العليم.
السماح. الحليم. النور. الباري. الولى. المحب. المبدي.
الصمد. العزيز. القديم. (٢٠) الواحد. الغفور. القريب. الحبيب.
النور. السريع. الروم. الحليم. البصير. الحميم. الهو. الجنى. القوم.
الأعلى. العليم. العليم. الغني. المحب. الشهيد. (٣٣) العلوي.
الرقيب. الحسن. المكين. العفو. المغت. الشكر. الفات. الشفيع.
المتقن. التالق. اللطيف. العفيف. المعز. الشهيد. المخرج.
القوى. المستعان. الغالب. (٥٥) القادر. المعطى. العفيف. الحك.
السلام. الكرم. الجامع. البديع. الفات. النور. الآيات. الرحي.
السلطان. الآلل. الآخر. الظاهر. الباطن. القدوس. (٧٧) المؤمن.
المهيب. الجبار. المتكب. المصور. الدارث. الود. الوحيد. الصمد.
الكائن. الديموم. المنعم. البديع. الرائي. السيد. الحميم. القاض.
الباست. النايف. (١١) الإبل. الأزل. الذكر. الغياث. العادل. الظاهر.
المعبّر. العين. النبوي. الواز. الشاف. الكاف. الكاف. الكبیر.
المبين. المنان. الوكيل. الوارت. الباعث. (١٥) الجليل. اليواد.
الدين. الجميل. الخيب. المشعر. المخزن. الموه. المحم.
المكون. العكر. القياض. الموضع. المنعم. الفضل. الموم. المقسم.
الموتق. الواقع. الستار. (١٣٣) التماس. الهجر. المتج. الفعال.

No further description of this MS. seems necessary, except to give a transcript of the first few lines at the beginning and end.

Begins:—

لا الله
مرأة البيان

باب
في معرفة اسم الله الألوهية وله أربع نقاط الأولى في الأول بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بالله اللهم أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وليشهد أن محمدًا رسول الله.

وأيده واجدته واطع وصياه (ت. 675هـ)  

أرحب اليه واسمع قوله واتبع سبيله واطع وصياه (ت. 675هـ)  

والله لعنة صدقي لله وصدقي رسله وصفيته واتن آياته وايقى بكميته

وأرض راحل من آياته وقردمناحكمه وأشكره في كل شأني  

وصدق نفسه واتبع ما ألفه وأصبح عما لبييوي ولينني به  

وجدبه عما انتكا بخطبه بใกลته في ملكوت السماوات والأرض  

ويدور في جهود الفرو التظلم ويلقيك قول الحق إن تكون  

بلايت الله من المهتددين وبلائحة من التائزين والليه من السامي  

وليله من الراجعين ذلك الفصل من عنده والجوء من لنده والعزم  

من لديه بيعده الملك في السماوات والأرض وما بيعهما وله الأمر

في كل شأن وله المثل في ملكوت البد للتابع وأنه لا الله إلا هو  

بيده كل شئ وأنه لقوي حفظًا ارجع إليه في كل شأني وأرحب  

لديه في دون شأن واسمع ما يعظك ويلقنك وفعل له خالصًا  

مخلصًا وإعلم بأنه لا الله إلا هو الملك الفعال المقتدر القدير الممتنع

الله تعالى المرحوم ومحمد لله رضي الله عنهم
CLASS III. MSS. OBTAINED AT OR FROM ACRE.

BBA. 1.

A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb.

Ff. 108 (ff. 1ª, 107ª-108ᵇ blank), 18·0 x 10·5 centimetres, 12 lines to the page. Written in a good naskh. Title (as above), written in red, occupies l. 1 on f. 1ᵇ. An irregular system of punctuation with red dots prevails throughout the MS. In all other respects the facsimile forming vol. i. of my Traveller's Narrative, published by the Cambridge University Press in February of this year, accurately represents the original.

To what I have said concerning this work, its peculiarities, value, and importance, in the Introduction to vol. ii of my edition (which contains, besides the aforesaid Introduction, the translation and notes) I have to make one or two important additions. From the perusal of certain letters written by Behá'u'lláh's son 'Abbás Efendí, I was led to surmise that he might perhaps be the author of this history, the peculiar style of which appeared very similar to his. This conjecture, however, till recently lacked positive confirmatory evidence. But some few weeks ago I received a letter from a Persian Bábí of Jewish extraction—a descendent of those Jews of Mash-had who, about half a century ago, were forcibly converted to Islám—accompanied by a parcel containing (besides a small controversial treatise in manuscript, composed by Mírzá Abú'l-Fażl of Gulpáyagán, of which I shall have to speak presently) a lithographed text of this same Traveller's Narrative, published, as it would appear, in Bombay (for no printer's or publisher's name appears either on the
title-page or at the end of the volume), on Rabî‘-uth-thânî 26th, a.H. 1308 (Dec. 9th, a.D. 1890), that is to say more than a year previously to my edition. My correspondent, who at that time knew no more of my edition of the work than I knew of the Bombay edition, wrote concerning it as follows:—

"After giving thanks to the One Pure God, who, from a handful of dust, caused the human essence to appear, and made it the source of knowledge and reason, representation is made as follows: I have forwarded as a consignment to your address, by registered post, by way of Bushire and Bombay, two volumes, wrapped in a covering of white cloth, and sealed with wax, which, please God, will arrive safely. Of these two volumes, one is a history containing the observations of His Holiness the Mystery of God [Hazrat-i-Sirru’l-lâh]¹ (may my personality be his sacrifice!) which he sets forth as made by 'a traveller.'"
This book was printed in Bombay; it has been collated with a manuscript copy of the same, written in the handwriting of His Excellency Zeynu'l-Mukarrabin, which is in my possession. The other is an evidential treatise [Istidlāliyye] written by Mírzá Abú'l-Fażl Ḡulpáyagán (one of the most illustrious of 'the Friends,' who was formerly secretary to Mánakjí Šáhib in Teherán) in proof of the Divine Manifestation and Heavenly Theophany in the Holy Lands of Carmel and Jerusalem.

It may therefore, I think, be safely assumed that the anonymous author of the Traveller's Narrative, concerning whom I was previously unable to give any information, is none other than Bahá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendí, called by the Bábis 'Aḵá-yi-[or Ḥazrat-i-] Sirru'lláh.

As regards the Bombay edition, it is clearly lithographed in a ta'lik hand on grey paper, contains 240 pp. of 9 lines each, measuring 21.0 × 13.5 centimetres, and, beyond the actual text, contains only the following brief colophon:—

بتاريخ جمعة 21 شهر ربيع الثاني 1300

That the "narrative" is not strictly impartial I have shown at pp. xlv-xlvi of vol. ii, and that, in one particular at least, there is good ground for suspecting a deliberate mis-statement of facts and dates, I have pointed out at pp. 304-6 of the April number of this Journal.

BBA. 2.

إيقتان

Ff. 129 (ff. 1a–2a, 128a–129b blank), 20.5 × 12.25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a fine naskh hand by Zeynu'l-Mukarrabin, "the Letter Zá," concerning whom see vol. ii of my Traveller's

2 See pp. 442-3 supra.
3 i.e. the Bábis, who commonly call themselves by this name.
4 See pp. 318 and 442-3 supra.
Narrative, pp. 412 et seq. The colophon of this MS. (which is written in the form of a diamond superimposed on a triangle) occupies the lower part of f. 127b. It is quoted and translated at pp. 417-418 of T.N. ii, and need not therefore be repeated here. This MS. is the 67th copy made by Zeynu'ül-Mukarrabin, was completed on Jemádi-ul-awwal 11th, A.H. 1306 (=Jan. 13th, A.D. 1889), and is an extremely accurate and trustworthy transcript. It was given to me by Behá'u'lláh's sons on April 20th, 1890, as I was leaving Acre.

For further particulars of the book see pp. 435-438 supra.

BBA. 3.

صفائف مباركة پارسیه. کلمات فردوسی. طرازات. جلیات.

لوح اقدس.

Ff. 96 (ff. 1a, 2a, 95a-96b blank), 15.75 x 8.5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a fine clear naskh. Received from Acre on October 26th, 1890. In the accompanying letter, dated Şafar 18th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 3rd, A.D. 1890), Behá'u'lláh's son Mirzá Badi'u'lláh wrote as follows:

کلمات مکتوب الى حین نرسی که ارسلان نشان ایشان الله از بعد ارسلان میشود و حال بعضی صفات مبارکه که دارای بیانات پارسیه بود ارسلان شد

"The Hidden Words¹ cannot yet be sent, as they have not yet arrived. Please God they will be sent hereafter. For the present sundry holy Epistles containing explanations [of the doctrine] in Persian are sent."

¹ See the description of the MS. next following. A MS. of the Hidden Words had been promised to me, but, as it was not ready when this letter was written, the present MS. was sent instead.
On f. 1b is inscribed the following note:

"A certain one of the doctors having asked a question of the Supreme Purity, a holy Epistle was revealed in reply, wherein were revealed illuminations in the Persian language. In accordance with orders this is sent for your Excellency, and likewise Words of Paradise and Ornaments revealed from the Heaven of the [Divine] will. The afore-mentioned effulgences, being revealed in the Persian language, are sent, agreeably to command, that perchance men may drink of the oceans of Grace latent in the words of the Revealer of Verses, and may find the road to the Supreme Horizon."

Notwithstanding the statement contained in the above note, more than half of the Sahifa-i-mubarak (ff. 2b-27b) is in Arabic. The Arabic portion begins as follows:

هذه صبحفة الله المهيمين الفظيم هو الله تعالى شأنه الحكمة والبيان * الحمد لله الذي تنكر بالعظمامة والقدرة والجمال * وتطوى بالعمر والفترة والجليل * وتقصَّس عن أن يدرك الحكيم * أو يذكر له نظير ومثال * قد اфтتح صرائه المستقيم بفتح بيان ومثال أنَّه هو الغني المتعال * فلمَّا أراد الخلق البديع فضل النقطة الظاهرة المشتركة من افتِق الأرادة واتها دار في كل بيت على كل هيئة بلغت منتهى العظمة الآهَن

1 i.e. Behá'u'lláh.
The Persian portion begins on f. 27b, l. 3, as follows:

The Persian portion begins on f. 27b, l. 3, as follows:

Words of Paradise”). The first words of this and the title (written obliquely in the margin) are in red ink. Begins:

1 By lughat-i-fug-hi ("the most eloquent language") Arabic is meant, and by lughat-i-nafti ("the most luminous language") Persian, as was explained in a letter addressed to me by one of Beha’s sons, of which a portion is translated in the latter part of note 1 on p. 123 of the second volume of my Traveller’s Narrative.
خشيص الله بوده* آنست سبب اكبر* از برای حفظ بشر* و گلمت کبری از برای صیانت وری* بلی در وجود آنی ای موجود و آن انسان را از آنچه شایسته لايق نیست منبع مینماید و حرمت مینماید و نام آن را حیا گذارده اند و لکن این فقره* شخصی است  بمعدودی کل دارای اینمقام نبوده و نیستند* 

This is the first "leaf" (варاک), and it is followed by nine others, the tenth being considerably longer than the rest.

On f. 64* begin the ْتیرازات as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

حمد و ثنا مالک اسمها و فاطر سممارا لیاقت و سوادی که اصول

بهرام‌وزیر امام وجود عالم ظاهر و هیویدا افتات امرش حجاب

قبول ن فرصت و بكلمة نباتش محو و نفات منبع ججابه و ظلم

فراعت اورا از اراده باز نداشت جلسلطنه و عظم اقتصار آلگ

Of these ْتیرازات there are six, of which the first (on f. 66*) begins as follows:

طراز اول و انجملی اول که از افق سما آم الكتاب اشراق نفوذ حاکمیت انسانست بنفس خود و با تچه سیب علوف و دنو و ذلت

و عتی و فرآست و فرارست بعد از هققیت وجود و بلعه فروت لزم و

اين فروت اکر از صنعت و افتار حامل شد نزد اهل خرد

مهدوع و مجبولست مثل شخصی عبادی به ترپیت عالم و تذیب

نقوس امام قیام نموده اند ایشانند ساقیان کثر دانش و هادیان

سپه حقیقی آلگ

On f. 77* begin the ْتاجالیات as follows:

صحیفه الله المهمین القيم

هو السامع من افقه الاعلي
Of the Tajaddiyut contained in this piece there are four, the first of which (f. 80b) begins as follows:

"..."
The last sentence but one of this extract confirms the information given by me to Baron Rosen at a date anterior to that whereon I received this MS. (see Coll. Sc. vi, p. 243, n. 1), viz. that this Lauch-i-Afädas was addressed to a Christian.

Ends, without colophon, on f. 94b, as follows:

طلیعی لمس انقطع عن سوآلی‌ و طارق هوا حبیب و دخل
ملکوتی‌ و شاهد ممالک عزی‌ و شرب کوثر فضلی‌ و سلسلبل
عنایتی‌ و اطلع علی امری‌ و وما سترته فی خزران كلماتی‌ و
طلع مس افق المعانی بذکری و تنایی‌ و آن مثبت‌ علیه رحمتی و
عنایتی‌ و مکرومتی و پیاتی‌

BBA. 4.

كلمات مکسونه‌ فاطمه. سه لوح كه مخصوص اتحاد زرتشت
نازل شد.

Hidden Words. Three Epistles to Zoroastrians.

In the Epistle to the King of Persia (Coll. Sc. vi; pp. 204-5) certain quotations are made from the Hidden Book of Fatima. When I was engaged on the translation of the Traveller's Narrative, in which the greater part of this Epistle is cited, I was forced to consider what the work thus referred to might be. Not being able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, I wrote to Acre asking for information on this and several other subjects. In reply I received on Sept. 1st, 1890, a letter, dated August 20th, 1890, from Beha's son Mirza Badi'u'llah, containing answers to my question. What refers to the Hidden Book of Fatima I translated in vol. ii of the Traveller's Narrative, p. 123, n. 1. I shall not repeat the translation here, but will give the original text of this portion of the letter.
A passage in a subsequent letter (received on Oct. 26th, 1890) wherein apology is made for delay in sending the promised Book of Fatima has been already quoted at p. 666 supra. The book finally arrived on December 14th, 1890, together with a letter from Mirzá Badi‘u’lláh, dated Rabi‘ul-awwal 15th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 29th, A.D. 1890), wherein he wrote concerning the accompanying MS. as follows:

\[\text{3 i.e. Behá‘u’lláh.}\]
"This time the Hidden Words, together with certain Epistles revealed for the Zoroastrian church, have been sent."

The description of the MS. is as follows. Ff. 44 (ff. 1a, 31b–32a, 42b–44b blank), 15.75 × 8.5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a bold clear naskh hand. Titles and initial words in red. Of the four passages cited from this work in the Epistle to the King of Persia the first (beginning ای بیوفایان) commences on f. 8a, l. 9; the second (beginning ای بیوفایان) on f. 8b, l. 5; the third (beginning ای پسر دینا) on f. 9b, l. 3; and the fourth (beginning here ای بندده دنیا) instead of ای ملکتی دوستتی مس but otherwise identical with the citation in the Epistle to the King) on f. 10b.

Begins on f. 1b, at the top of which is written in Mirzâ Bâdî’-î’s ta‘lik:

هذا ما نزل من لسان الرسول انبه لله لسم في السموات والرضوان

The rest of the page is occupied by the opening clause of the Hidden Words, which I give in full:

بنام گوئیده توانا

ای صاحبان هوش وگوش اولسر دوم دوست اینست ای بلبل
معنی جزر کلمب معانی جای مگنزی وای هدهد سلیمان عشق
جزر سبای جانان وطن مگژر وای عنقای بقا جزر دیوان ونا مسجد
میتیر اینست مکان تو اگر بیا ند بر پی و آهنتگ مقام خون
راپگان نمالی
The Persian portion of the *Hidden Words*, which extends to f. 31⁴, contains over 80 similar short clauses, beginning in each case with an invocation similar to that written above. Of these invocations, all of which are written in red, I give those which stand at the heads of the nine clauses which immediately follow the first:

أَيْ ِپَرْسِخاَکْ َأَيْ ِپَسْرَان َارْضَ َأَيْ ِپَسْرِ حَبَّ َأَيْ ِپَسْرِ عَزَّ َأَيْ ِسَاْيَةَ َنَابْوَد َأَيْ ِپَسْرِىْوَىَ َأَيْ ِصَاحَبِ ِذِوَ ِجَشَمَ َأَيْ ِپَسْرَان َمَنَ َأَيْ ِدوْسَتَانَ َ

The last clause, occupying f. 31⁴, is as follows:

أَيْ ِعَبَادَ

جَوَاهَر مَعَانِیَ بِذِیِعَهَ کَه وَرَأَی بَرْدَهَاي بِیَان مَسْتَوِر وَبیِتَان بَوْد بِعَنایت الْیَبِی وَالْیَطَافِ رَبُّانِی جَوَن شَعَاع مَنْیِر جَمَال دوْسَت ظَاهَر وَهُوْیَاكَا شَهَادَت مِیِهِمْ أَی دوْسَتَانَ کَه نَعْمَتَ تَعَمَّ وَحَبْت کَامِل وَبَرْهَان ظَاهَر وَدْلِیل ثَابِت أَمِدِّیکَا تُفْتَحُت شَمَا اْزَمْراَب اْنْقْطَاع جَهْ ظَاهَر نَمَائِد کَذَکَا تُقْتَبْ النَّعْمَه عَلیِیمْ وَعَلِی مِنْ فَیْ السَّمْوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَالْعَمَّد لِلْه رَبِّ الْعَالَمِینَ

* Four blank pages (ff. 31⁴–33⁴) separate the Persian from the Arabic portion of the *Hidden Words*. The latter begins on f. 33⁴, l. 6, as follows:

يا ابن الروح

فَأَوْلَ الْتَّلَوْلَ امْلَک فَلِیَا ْجَیِّدَا حَسَنًا مِنْیِرًا لَتَمْلِک مَلَکًا دُانِیاً بَاقِیاً اْلَّا قَدِیمًا

يا ابن الروح

أَحْبَبْ الْاسْمَآیَ عَنْدَی الْأَنْثَاف لَتَرْغِیب عَنَّهَا اْنْ تَکُنْ الْیَ رَافِیَا وَلا تَغْفِلْ مِنْهَا لَتَكُونْ لِی اْمْیِینَا وَأَنْتَ تَتْوِیق بَذَلِکَا اْنْ تَشَاهِد
This part of the *Hidden Words* contains only 18 short clauses similar to the above, and ends at the bottom of f. 36b as follows:

\[
\text{يا ابن الإنسان}
\]

لا تحرم وجه عبدي اذا سلمك في شيء من وجه يجه نافذنجل

*ومنى*

The Epistles to the Zoroastrians begin at the top of f. 37a. This page, which includes the whole of the first Epistle, I here transcribe in full:

\[
\text{اين سه لوح مبارك از الواحي است كه خصوص استها زرتشت}
\]

\[
\text{نال شدة}
\]

هو المقصد

بهذو مشغول نباشيد در فكر اصلاح عالم و تزبيد امم باشيد اصلاح عالم و تزبيد امم از اعمال طيبه طاهره واختلق راضيه و مريسيه بوده ناصرار اعمالست و معينش اختلق يا اهل توحيد بنتوى أنله تمكشي نمايد به ما حكم بيه المظلوم واختاره

*المختار*

The second Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 37b–39b) begins as follows:

بنام یکتا خداوند بیهفتا

سنایش یاک یزدان یا سزاست که بخودی خود زنده و باینده

بوده هر نابودی از بود او پیدا ارشده و هر نیستی از هستی او نمودار
The third Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 39b-41b), which concludes the MS., begins as follows:

The third Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 39b-41b), which concludes the MS., begins as follows:

BBA. 5.

Selected Precepts of Behá'u'lláh.

Ff. 6 (f. 1a bears a short inscription, ff. 6a-6b blank), 20.0 x 12.5 centimetres, 13 lines to the page. Written in a bold graceful naskh.

This little MS., containing fifteen clauses called بشارت, or "Good Tidings" (each of which indicates some reform or law conducive to the general well-being of mankind embodied by Behá'u'lláh in one or other of his "revelations"), was received by me from Acre on February 7th, 1891, together with a letter from Mírzá Bádí'u'lláh dated Jemádí-uth-tháni 11th, A.H. 1308 (Jan. 22nd, 1891). This selection of precepts, or compendium of reforms aimed at by the new religion, was, as the letter seems to imply, compiled for my benefit by order of Behá'u'lláh. As indicating the ideals held up by Behá for the guidance of his followers it is interesting and important, and I hope at some future date to publish it in its entirety. For the present I must content myself with giving the inscription on f. 1a, the first and last clauses, and an abstract of contents in English.
The inscription at the top of f. 1 is as follows:

"These Divine ordinances and commands, formerly revealed in sundry epistles, in the Kitâb-i-Akdas, in the 'Illuminations,' 'Effulgences,' 'Ornaments,' etc., have, agreeably to the Supreme and Most Holy Command, been collected, that all may become cognizant of the grace, mercy, and favour of God (great is His Glory!) in this Most Mighty Manifestation and this Great Announcement, and may engage in praise and thanksgiving to the Desired Object of all the inhabitants of the world. Verily He helpeth His servants unto that which He willeth, for He is the Wise Ordainer."

The text begins on f. 1 as follows:

* The text is incomplete and contains a typo, possibly indicating a printing error. The full text is not provided in the image.
The concluding clause (on f. 5\textsuperscript{b} is as follows:

 بشارة بانتزههم

 آگرچه جمهوریت نفعش بعوم اهل عالم راجع و لكن شوکت

 سلطنت آئیتی است از آیات الیه دوست نداریم مکاکی عالم از آن

 حرم مانند اگر مدبیرین این دورا جمع نمایند اجرشان عند الله

 عظیم است

 In substance the reforms enacted in the fifteen clauses contained in this tract are as follows:

(1) Abolition of religious warfare (jihād).
(2) Permission to all sects and peoples to unite in friendly intercourse.
(3) Permission to study foreign languages (a thing discouraged by the Báb), coupled with a recommendation that one language and writing (either of those already existing, or specially devised for the purpose) should be selected by general consent as a medium of international communication. (Cf. B. ii, p. 981; Coll. Sc. vi, p. 245, l. 4 from the bottom.)
(4) All Behá’s followers are bound loyally to serve and support any King who extends his protection to their faith.
(5) The followers of Behá, in whatever land they dwell, must cheerfully and ungrudgingly submit to the laws and conform to the customs of that country.
(6) Promise of the “Most great Peace” (Cf. Traveller’s Narrative, vol. ii, p. xl.).
(7) All are permitted, subject to the dictates of decency and good taste, to follow their own inclinations as to dress and the wearing of the hair.
(8) The good works and devotions of Christian priests are recognised and will be accepted, but they must henceforth abandon their seclusion and “engage in that which shall advantage them and whereby mankind shall be benefited.” They are also permitted to marry.
(9) Confession of sins to one's fellow-men and seeking absolution from them is not permitted. To God only should confession be made, and from him only should pardon be sought. A form of prayer suitable for such confession is given. (Cf. B. ii, p. 975, first paragraph.)

(10) The Báb's command to destroy certain classes of books (e.g. books of logic, philosophy, and other sciences conducing, in his opinion, only to self-conceit and disputatiousness) and to "renew" all books after a certain period, is abrogated. (Cf. B. ii, p. 979, l. 21; p. 928, l. 10 et seq.)

(11) The study of sciences and arts is commended and encouraged, but they should be such as conduce to the welfare of mankind.

(12) All men must learn and practise some craft, trade, or profession. The diligent and conscientious practice of such craft, trade, or profession is in itself an act of worship. Mendicity and idleness are hateful to God. (Cf. B. ii, p. 975, first paragraph.)

(13) The settlement of differences, the apportionment of alms, and the ordering of the affairs of the commonwealth generally, are entrusted to the "House of Justice." (Cf. B. ii, p. 974.)

(14) Visitations of the tombs of martyrs and pilgrimages to the shrines of saints are no longer to be regarded as obligatory. Nevertheless it is a pious work for rich men to leave money to the "House of Justice" to enable their poorer brethren to perform these pilgrimages.

(15) Though a republic conduces most to the general welfare, it is not desired that Kings, who are the "signs of God's Power," should cease to exist. "If statesmen can combine these two things in this cycle, their reward with God shall be great."
CLASS IV. MSS. OBTAINED FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

Before proceeding to describe these MSS. I must explain in what manner I became acquainted with Sheykh A——, the learned Ezeli from whom I received them. On October 13th, 1890, I received from Constantinople a long letter in Persian, occupying two sheets of writing-paper, and dated Safar 22nd, a.h. 1308 (Oct. 7th, 1890), which letter proved to be from the aforesaid Sheykh A——, with whom I had had no previous communication, and of whose very existence I had till that day been unaware. After apologizing for writing to me without previous introduction or acquaintance, the writer explained how he had heard of me from Persia and Cyprus, and how he had learned that I had interested myself especially in the Bábí religion. In consequence of this, he said, he had written to me to warn me against certain pretenders to spiritual truth (by whom he meant the Behá’ís) who had brought discord and dissensions into the bosom of the new faith. After discoursing in this strain at great length, in fine but rather ambiguous language, he continued as follows:

وَأَمَّا بِجَهَةِ فِي مِديَنٍ شَما آيَاتٌ وَكُلُمَاتٌ أَيْنَ ظَهَرَ أَعْمَ أُزْكَمَاتٍ نَقْطَةٌ حَقِيقَتُ يَا كُلُمَاتٍ شَخْصٌ حَيْيْ كَتَابَيْنِ دَرْنَزَ حَقِيرٌ مَوْجُودٌ أَسْتَ بُزيْانٍ عَذَبَ الْبَيَانَ قَارِئيًّا دَرْكَمْ سُهُولَتُ تَقْرِيبًا بِيَسَتَ جُزُوْ كَ عَبَارَةٌ أَزْكَسَدَ وَشَصَتُ وَقَ بَاشِدٌ مِيْشَوَدُ إِسْرَارٍ إِيْنَ شَرْيَعَتُ وَأَحْكَامُ أَنَّ وَتَفْسِيرِ اسْطْلَاحَاتٍ وَمَقَادِسٍ إِيْنَ حَضْرَاتٍ رَا بُزيْانٍ كَخَيْلٍ آَيَانٍ بِيَانٍ مِيْكَنَدُ بَلْوَرُكِيْهُ شَمَارَا كَلِيدٍ وَمُفْتَحَيِيْنَ اِزْبَرَى أَيْنَ كَأَجْيِدَ أَعْلَمُ الْإِسْمَاءَ يَدُصَتُ مِيْدَهَدُ

"Now to enable you to understand, not only the words of the Point of Truth (i.e. the Báb), or the words of Him called 'The Living' (i.e. Šubh-i-Ezél), but the
signs and words of this dispensation in general, there is in my possession a book in the sweet Persian tongue, in very simple style, consisting of about twenty folios or 160 leaves (pp. 320), which sets forth in very easy language the mysteries of this law and its ordinances, and explains the terminology and ideas of these people, in such wise that it will place in your hand a key wherewith to open this treasure-house of the Knowledge of the Names." The writer then goes on to say that as there is only one copy of this book, and as it has to be jealously kept from the eyes of all save a few, he cannot give me the MS., but that if I should like to have it he will either lend it to me for two or three months, that I may make a copy for myself, or will get it copied for me at five francs the folio.

I immediately answered this letter, saying that I should prefer to have a copy made for me in Constantinople, and asking for the name of the book and further particulars about it. In answer to this letter I received on November 10th, 1890, a second communication from Sheykh A——, in which he wrote:

دریاب کتاب حکمت نامش (هشت بهشت) است وباطلاح
ژبان ناریس منتداول نوشته شده که همه کسرا استفاده از ممکن
باشد و تا این کتاب را کسی نخواند نمیداند حضرات حکمها جه
میخواهد بگویند و از اول لا اول له مقصود آذین همه کتب آسمانی
جه بوده و چیست و لسان سماوی را ازینهمه ما جرا غور و منتظر
جه میباشد

"As to the book of philosophy, its name is Hasht Bihisht, and it is written according to the current Persian idiom, so that it may be possible for all to profit by it. Until one has read this book he knows not what the philosophers wished to say, what was and is the object of all these sacred books [which have been revealed] since the beginning which hath no beginning, or what was the design and
purpose of the Celestial Tongue in all its past utterances.” The writer added that there was only one other copy of the book besides his own, and that it was in Persia, and was accessible to no one but the owner; that he would put the work in hand immediately; that I was, at my convenience, to remit him £4, wherewith to pay the scribe; and that the MS. would be finished in two months and a half.

On Feb. 2nd, 1891, I received fifteen folios of the promised MS., together with a letter, explaining that the rest of the transcript had fallen into the hands of enemies from whom it had not been possible to recover it. The missing portion, Sheykh A—— added, would be sent as soon as another copy could be made.

In a fourth letter, received on Feb. 27th, 1891, Sheykh A——, after giving further particulars of the loss of the twelve confiscated folios, wrote concerning the Hasht Bihisht in somewhat greater detail as follows:

"Moreover this book (the Hasht Bihisht) is really two books. In the first volume [the author] has treated of the theoretical aspects of the philosophy of the Béyán, its scientific proofs and rationale; while in the second [he discusses] the ordinances of the Law of the Béyán, the circumstances of the Resurrection and the promised corporeal Paradise, and, in a summary manner, the events of the Day of Resurrection.1 Now the book copied for you is the second volume.” If I like, continues Sheykh A——, he will

1 i.e. the circumstances of the Báb’s ‘manifestation’ and the internecine strife which subsequently arose within the sect.
have a copy of the first volume also made for me, which, though it deals less directly and ostensibly with the Báb's doctrine, and, indeed, would not be recognized by the uninitiated reader as inspired thereby, will nevertheless help to render clear the true character of the new religion.

Not to pursue further a long correspondence, I may state briefly that I subsequently received the whole of vol. i of the *Hasht Bihisht* (فلسفة نظریہ بیان) and the greater portion of vol. ii. The latter, however, is defective in the middle, and consists of portions of two different copies, the first twenty-two folios (consisting of four sheets, or sixteen pages, each) being written on yellow paper, and the last eight on white paper. How great may be the central hiatus I have no means of judging, but I hope soon to receive the missing portion.

Concerning the real authorship of the work I addressed a direct enquiry to Sheykh A——, to which he replies as follows:

امام اسم مصطفى ایس کتاب را خواسته بود اگرچه در بیان جریانات و شخصیات موجود ان یہ ام لمینا میں موجود آنتم و آبانکم اما کبین کے خواستے ایس عرض مینمایم تمام ایس مطالب کہ درس دو کتاب مسٹر انس مقالات و کلمات حضرت سید بزرگوار حاجی سید جواد کرمیانی است که از حروف حفی اول و اصحاب ساپریئین و حروف بسم اللہ الاست و آن بزرگوار از زمان مرحوم شیخ احمد احسائي تا هفتم سال پیش از این دریان مراتب سالک حقیقت بود و آن کسی است که حضرت نظمه بیان در دلال سبیل قول اورا دلیل میا ورد و در لوح اول خطاب باو نوشته بودند السلام علیكم یا اهل بیت الیوت و لیا جوین در اوای خبر آل بزرگوار تلوی نعیف و رعیه در دست پیدا شده بود خوب مقترح بر نوشته نبودند این مقالات را خود امام فرمودہ یکی از تألیمده آل جناب نوشته بود
"You wished to know the name of the author of this book. Although particulars and personalities are abolished in the Beyán (—'They are naught but names which ye and your fathers have named'1)—, still, since you have asked, I will tell you. The ideas contained in these two books [i.e. the two volumes of the Hasht Bihisht] represent the teachings and sayings of the illustrious Háji Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who was of the 'First Letters of the Living,' the earliest believers, and the 'Letters of the Bismi'lláh.' That illustrious personage, now departed, was a pilgrim after truth in these degrees from the time of the late Sheykh Aḥmad of Aḥsá until seven years ago. And he is one whose words are adduced as proof in the Dalá'il-i-Sab'a by His Holiness the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Báb],2 who, in the first Epistle which he addressed to him, wrote, "Peace be upon you, O scion of the prophetic household!" But, inasmuch as during his latter days the strength of that illustrious personage was much impaired and his hands trembled, he was unable to write, wherefore he dictated these words, and one of his disciples wrote them down, but in an illegible hand and on scattered leaves. In these days, having some leisure time in Constantinople, I and this person exerted ourselves to set in order these disordered leaves. In short the original spirit of the contents is his [i.e. Seyyid Jawád's], though perhaps the form of words may be ours. Should you desire to mention the name of the author of these two books it is Háji Seyyid Jawád."

1 Kur'ān vii, 69; xii, 40; liii, 23.
2 See p. 447 supra.
It is unnecessary to point out the importance of such a work from such a source. As, however, one of the volumes is defective; as I have not yet been able to study either volume as it deserves; and as I do not wish to prolong this article unnecessarily, I must perforce confine myself for the present to giving a very brief description, deferring a more adequate account of the contents and scope of the work to some future occasion.

BBC. 1.

Hasht Bihisht. Vol. i. Theoretical Philosophy of the Beyán.

Ff. 246 (ff. 1a, 246a–246b blank), 25 x 14.5 centimetres, 24 lines to the page. Written in a small, neat, and legible ta'liq. Headings of chapters and sections, technical terms defined, etc., written in red. Initial words of sentences overlined with red.

Begins:

فلسفته بيان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حكمة إيماننا هم بخوان

تعريف علم فلسفة وفائدة آن

علم فلسفة كه آنرا علم الاتل وعلم كلي مي ناسند خروج از

탱ئة مدارك جزئي حيوانى است بسوى فضى واسع مشاعر

إنسانى وازالة هرج ومرج ظلمات جهل وعشي است بانوار نظام

عقله ودانست حقائق اشياست برترتيب أصلا ونظام طبيعي

وبالجملة أيين علم شريف احسننين سبيى است از براى حركات

فكريتى وبرزگرتنى موجهى است از براى انشاء معرف وعلوم و

اكتساب صواب وحرف وعَلَمت اولى انقلال تقابل وامام اسم از
Ends with an explanation of sundry technical terms appertaining to the Bábí religion. The last of the terms so explained is "He whom God shall manifest," and the author seizes the opportunity to express in the clearest manner his disapproval of Behá’u’lláh.

This concluding passage I subjoin in full:

1 See B. i, p. 516, and p. 299 supra.
آن‌هارا نموند واین سخنی است که از گناهه سخانکت برای زن‌نگا خندن‌د انجامی باشند
واین جند نفره که در گویند بیان بر خاسته ادعاه مقام
مومودرا نموند اگره گنجینه قادرحس اولیات و بدهیان‌راه میداشتند
از خجالت بزومین فرومیشتند که هیچ این سخن معقول و ممکن
التصویر نیست و انتگه‌باید اصباح آن ظهور اشرف و اللف و اعلی باشن‌داد
از ظهور بیان و حال این‌که در همه اصباح این ظهور جدید از خود
من یظهره الله گزنته تا همه اصباح و انصار و بگذریکنفاز اصباح
ظره بیان شعور و ادراک ندارند و این جیزی نیست که برای کس
مینه‌باید
بلکه هنوز‌این ظهور اعظم و اصباح این ظهور نتوانسته خودرایاز
ظر بیان خارج نمایند و هنوز مردم اسم باین بیان آنها اطلق می
کندن جه طور ظهور اعظمی است م

Here follows (on f. 243b) a short appendix giving a sort of epitome of the Bābī doctrine, “which section,” says the writer, “whosoever fails to understand has in no wise understood, nor will ever understand, the meaning of the remaining sections of this book.”

Begins:

هر کس معنی این فصل را نفهمد معنی باقی فصول این کتاب را
همان نفهمیده و هرگز خواهد نفهمید
یکی از جمله کلمات مکونده و اسرار مودوخت بیان این است که
صاحب این شریعت کلیه و کلمه جامعه مسوده مکونده در

1 The original has نماید.
The Appendix ends (on ff. 245a-245b) as follows:

Apart from the Appendix, the book consists of an Introduction, five chapters (Bâb), and a conclusion (Khâtima).

1 MS., by an obvious slip, كتب.
The *Introduction* (ff. 1⁠b–11⁠b) contains the following sections:

(f. 3⁠b) تقسيم فلسفة از تديم و جديد

(f. 3⁠b) پيدايش اشراقیين

(f. 4⁠b) فرق ميان فلاسفة و انبیاء و سلاطین

(f. 5⁠b) پيدايش صوفیان و متدالیون

(f. 5⁠b) ظهور فلسفة قرآنی و حکمت اهل بیت

(f. 6⁠b) تلویع افتتاح حتى از افق مغرب

(f. 7⁠b) ظهور فلسفة بیان که مقام جمع الففع است

(f. 8⁠b) خصائص فلسفة بیان

(f. 8⁠b) تعريف فلسفة بیان

(f. 9⁠b) در بيان موضوع و مزايا فلسفة بیان

The contents of the five chapters and conclusion are stated in an index which occupies the last nine lines of f. 11⁠b. This index is as follows:

**فهرست ابواب كتاب**

- مطالب این علم اعلی در ضمن پونه باب گفتگه می شود و هی هدیه
  - باب اوّل در بيان امور عامة و مفاهیم كلیه كه معقولات اولیند
  - باب دویم در بيان جواهر و اعراض كه فن قاطعوریاس است
  - و موضوعات علوم در بيان اثبات میشود و تشريح و تکونن میبین
  - می گردد
  - باب سیم در بيان اثبات توحد و صفات و اسماع و انفعال حتى

---

¹ Nineteen special features (خصائص) are enumerated.
² Evidently an erroneous transcription of *Pythagoras*, which name is commonly written in Arabic *پیتاگورس*. The transcriber of this MS., probably unfamiliar with the name, read the initial letter as ٖ instead of ١. This mistake is repeated elsewhere.
Each chapter is further divided into a number of sections, the enumeration of which I am forced to omit in this place. The explanation of the Beyánic terminology (ff. 237b-243a) is one of the most valuable portions of the book, for the meanings of many obscure expressions which occur constantly in the Bábí writings are here clearly and concisely defined. This portion, at least, of the work I hope to publish at no distant date. For the present I confine myself to giving, as specimens, a few of the more important explanations.

1 Seyyid Kázím of Reáht is evidently meant.
اسم الله الآخر عبارت است از جناب حاجی میرزا حسین محمد
علی بارفوشی که سیس آخر بسم الله بود و هم‌ه حروف بسم الله
باش و حرف راجع شد
اسم الله اللیکی کبایت از جناب اخوند ملک حسین داماد مرحم
 حاجی سید جواد کرلائی است\(^1\)
اسم الله الازه عبارت از آقا سید رحیم اصفهانی است که در شیان
ظهور مسلمک ابو موسی اشعری و ابو هریبردا اخوان نمود لا یلی
هؤلاء والا لی هؤلاء ب tuyển خود خودها حکم قرار داده میگیوید فتنه
این دو برادر افتتان موسی و هرود است ب ظهورات عکا و قبریس
هرود مصدق و مؤمن و نظر ب نظره ندارم و هنوز در اصفهان حیات
دارد\(^2\)
ارذش شمس و ارغز تا عبارت از تبریزیست زیرا که عدد تا و
شمس ۴۰۰ است
ارذش بیا و ارغز طهران است زیرا بهدای و ظیف است
ارذش علم عبارت از طرفی است چه علم با چم عدد د مساویست
ارذش الف ولام عبارت از اسلامیم است
ارذش سر عبارت از ادرن است زیرا که عددی سر و ادرنی مساویند
و دریچا میان اصحاب نار و نور تفوقی افتاده ... .
اسم عظیم اسم جناب شیخ عظیم خراسانی است و اسم ایشان
و بعد از فتنه تیرانداختی بشاه آجگنابرا در طهران شهید
کرند\(^3\)

\(^1\) Since the alleged author of this book, Ağa Seyyid Jawād of Kerbelā, is here spoken of as "departed," it is evident that this portion, at least, of the work was not composed by him.

\(^2\) One sees from this that the office of one who seeks to reconcile the conflicting claims of the two rival factions is a thankless one!

\(^3\) The scribe has omitted to insert the name Mullā Sheykh ‘Ali.
The above definitions and explanations are but a selection from the letter alif, which is followed by the other letters in their alphabetical order. I will only give one more, which confirms the opinion expressed by Baron Rosen (Coll. Sc. 1, MSS. Arabes, p. 187, n. 1), that the term Kurratu'l-'Ayn does not in the Báb's Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yusuf denote the celebrated Bábí heroine who afterwards bore this title.

"Kurratu'l-Ayn was a name of His Holiness the Point [i.e. the Báb] at the beginning of the 'Manifestation,' but subsequently Her Holiness the Pure [Jenāb-i-Ťāhira] of Kazvīn became the manifestation of this name."

It is impossible here to do more than indicate, as I have striven to do, the extreme value and importance of this work.

B.B.C. 2.

Hasht Bihisht. Vol. ii. Practical Philosophy of the Beyān, etc.

This MS. is, as I have already stated, imperfect, consisting of twenty-two folios (of ff. 8 each), written on yellow paper, separated by a hiatus of unknown extent from the concluding eight folios, which are written on white paper. It is therefore impossible for me to describe it fully, partly because the proper numeration of the leaves following the hiatus cannot be determined; partly because, when the supplementary folios of either the white or the yellow part are sent, I am to return or otherwise surrender up the other part, which, therefore, I cannot disfigure with numbers or other marks. The portion now in my possession consists of ff. 240 (thirty folios of ff. 8 each), ff. 16-2a being blank. Uniform in size with the preceding, viz. 25×14.5 centimetres.
Begins (on f. 28):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مَنْ تَابَ فَأَمَّنَ آتَأَ مَيْ مَيْ مَيْ مَيْ

تَعْبَرُ فَشَرِيَعَتُ بِبَٰنُ ما نَسَٰمَ مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ نَطْبُهَا نَأْتِ بِخُبْيَّةٍ مَّثْلاً

Ends with the narrative of "one of the people of the Beyán" (i.e. an Ezelí Bábí)¹ of a visit which he paid to Acre from Cyprus, and of what he saw and heard there. This narrative, written partly in Persian and partly in Arabic, occupies five pages and one third, and contains the most violent and bitter denunciations of Behá and his followers. "Praise be to God," he begins, "who hath caused me to travel in all lands, and hath shewn me the firmly-buttressed palaces, and Iran of the columns, and the couches of Pharoah and Shaddád, and the tombs of Thamúd and 'Ad, who rebelled in the land, and oppressed [God's] servants, and whose home shall be hell—an ill resting-place!—And blessing and peace be upon Muḥammad and his glorious household. But after this. I was for a while in the regions of Syria, and in the city of Damascus

¹ Probably Sheyk A—himself, who in one of his letters mentioned incidentally that he had visited Acre—a rare thing for an Ezelí to do.
'the spacious' [al-Feyhá], and Aleppo 'the grey' [ash-Shahbá], and the parts round about Mount Lebanon, and Tyre, and Sidon. And the misleadings of the Black Darkness brought me into the City of Blood, the town of Acre, which they call 'the City of Vision' [Madinatu'sh-shuhúd]; and, by my life! it is, indeed, the City of Vision, and a minaret for the consuming fire, and on it are poured forth darknesses, and lightnings, and thunders. There I plainly saw the manifestation of plurality, to wit, the combination of thunder, lightning, darkness, and the thunder-bolt; and I called to mind the Chapter of the Unbelievers of the Eternal Word.¹ For these are they who have hidden the light of their original potentiality with the darkness of the attributes of wicked souls and the effects of a corrupt nature, and have been veiled from the Truth by Untruth." The first of these "unbelieving souls and manifestations of infidelity," whom he met on the sea-shore, was none other than Behá's eldest son 'Abbás Efendi, whom he calls "al-Waswás," which is an attribute of the devil meaning "the whisperer" or "suggerer" [of wicked thoughts],² and is numerically equivalent to the name 'Abbás.³ "After that," he continues, "I saw the rest of the Wicked One's followers, and heard the words of each. Their sayings and arguments consist of a farrago of names, baseless stories, calumnies, falsehoods, and lies, and not one of them has any knowledge of even the first principles of the religion of the Beyán or of any other religion. They are all devoid of knowledge, ignorant, short-sighted, of common capacity, hoodwinked, people of darkness, spurned of nature, hypocrites, corrupters of texts, blind imitators; God hath taken away from them his light and hath left them in the darkness of the Wicked One, and hath destroyed them in the abysses of vain imaginings, and hath put chains around their necks..." After one or two pages of denunciation

¹ Kur'án, cix.
² Kur'án, cxiv, 4.
³ Both words = 133.
filled with quotations from the Kur'án, which are interpreted in a sense far from flattering to Behá and his followers, the narrator describes how, after some days spent in the society of “souls suggesting thoughts of evil,” he was admitted to Behá’s audience-chamber. “When I was come there,” he continues, “and looked upon that Arch-idol, that Greatest Talisman, that personified Revolt [Tághút-i-mumathíthal], that rebellious Lucifer ['Azázil-i-máríd], that envious Iblís, I saw a form on a throne, and heard the ‘lowing of the calf.’¹ Then did I see how the light of the Most Great Name had shone on Ahriman the accursed, and how the finger of the demon wore the ring.² For they had written the Name Behá’u’l-Abhá in divers writings, and called it ‘the Most Great Name.’³ Thereat there came to my mind this verse of [Háfíz] the Tongue of the Unseen—

"Efficient is the Name Divine; be of good cheer, O heart! The div becomes not Solomon by guile and cunning’s art."⁴

The narrator then describes his heartfelt joy on finding himself once more outside Acre, concluding in the following words, with which also the MS. ends:

¹ The Exezelis compare Behá to the Golden Calf, to the worship of which Samiri seduced the Children of Israel. See Kur'án vii, 146; xx, 90; and Traveller’s Narrative, vol. ii, p. 355 and n. 2.

² Allusion is made to the well-known story of the theft of Solomon’s magic ring by one of the demons, who, by its aid, exercised for some time the supreme power.

³ This is regarded throughout the Bâyán and by all the Bábís as the “Most Great Name” of God, but according to the Exezelis it belongs properly to Shúb-i-Exzel. Cf. Traveller’s Narrative, vol. ii, p. 363, l. 11.

⁴ The translation of this verse I have taken from Herman Bicknell’s beautiful and noble rendering of Háfíz (London, Trübner and Co., 1876), p. 131.
I must now state the contents of this volume as briefly as possible, leaving a fuller account of its most interesting and valuable contents for some future occasion. Not being able to number the pages in the customary fashion, I avail myself of the scribe’s Arabic numeration, according to which the first page of writing (f. 2⁴) is numbered p. 1, after which the pages (not the leaves) are numbered regularly (the even numbers only being written in) as far as p. 126 (and p. 127, not numbered). At this point the numeration changes from the pages to the leaves (as though f. 2 had been numbered 1, f. 3⁴ 2, etc.), and what, according to the system hitherto followed, should be (p.) 128 is actually marked (f.) ‘64. The numeration by leaves then proceeds regularly up to (f.) 175, where the portion of the MS. written on yellow paper (22 folios of 8 leaves each) ends. Then, separated by the hiatus already mentioned, come the 8 folios written on white paper. Here the numeration is again by pages, not leaves, the first page of the white being numbered 330. It proceeds regularly up to p. 438 (and p. 439, not numbered) except that pp. 416 and 417 are both numbered 416, thus making all the subsequent numbers up to 438 wrong by two. In the last folio the numeration again changes in the most erratic manner, the leaves of this folio being numbered from 201 to 208.

The *Introduction* extends from p. 1 to 37, and, after some preliminary remarks, enumerates and discusses fifteen "virtues" (خصائص) which the religion of the Beyán has over all other religions, and seven "claims" (دعاوى) which its adherents make for it.

The body of the work consists of eight chapters (for which reason, probably, the book is entitled Hasht Bihisht or "the Eight Paradises") and a conclusion. The index of these occupies the last thirteen lines of p. 37 and the first two lines of p. 38. This index I here transcribe.
فهرست ابواب کتاب
باب اول در حقوق الهیه و آن عبادات و نظافت و ادعیه و زیارت است
باب دوم در تهذیب اخلاق و آن حقوق خود شخص است از
که انقباض و انبساط قوای طبیعی خود
باب سوم در تدبیر منزل و آن حقوق خود شخص است نسبت
بامور منزلی خود از مطیع و مشرب و ملیس و مسکن و منظر
و سفید و چمزر و مسموع و مشمع و حقوق عشا و اقوام و عائله
و مشترکن منزل است
باب چهارم در حقوق مالیه و امور سیاسی و ملکیه نسبت بافراد
ملت و اهلی مملکت و نسبت بتکلیف شخصی سلطنت
باب پنجم در حقوق و نوامسی عامة مانند امر تزویچ و تطلاع
و ارث و تجبیه اموات و معاملات و معاناته و دیدات
و کفارات
باب ششم در حقوق ملکوتیه و آن علوم و صناعات و فنون است
باب هفتم در احوال و اشارات قیامت و دلائل ظهور واحد آل محمد
باب هشتم در تاریخ بیان و مکملی از واقعیت يوم القيامة
خاتمه در بیان فنون دهمه صیلم و خروج دجال و سامری
و اهریسم و صنف انظیر و ظانوین آکبر و عجل جمل و جهش نفل
و امثال آنها

As a systematized treatise on the philosophy, theology, ethics, morality, and, in lesser degree, the history of the religion of the Beyán, this volume and that previously described occupy a unique place in Bábí literature. In such an article as the present it is impossible to do more than indicate their extreme interest and value,
Babī MSS. BBC 3. Persian Beyān.

BBC 3.

بيان فارسي

Ff. 296 (ff. 1⁰–4⁰, 295⁰–296⁰ blank), 14·5 x 9·0 centimetres, 16 lines to the page. Written in small and legible but not very elegant naskh. Headings of Vahids and chapters, etc., in red. Ff. 4⁰–6⁰ are occupied by an index of contents. The MS. is carefully and accurately written, and has evidently been collated throughout, as there are corrections and insertions here and there in the margin. Received by me in August, 1891, from Sheykh A——, who bought the MS. for sixty-three francs from a Bābī who was returning to Persia. In the accompanying letter Sheykh A—— wrote as follows:

 بيان فارسي هم خيال کردم اگر براي شما بنويسانم خرجيان زياي ميشود یک جلد بيان خط ايران بخط نسخ صحیح و خوب بهمان قيمت كه شخصی در استان مينويسد تقريبًا از يكي از احباب كه خيال رفيق بايان داشت خريد هرگز سرکار انفاد داشتم قيمت آن هم سي جوزيست جوزي دو فرانک كه دو قران در ايران باشد نوشته شده بغيراز صحیح و جلد و آنهم تقريبًا دو فرانک یا سه فرانک ميشود روی هم شست و سه فرانک با پول پُست

"As for the Persian Beyān, I thought that, if I should have a copy made for you, your expense would be [needlessly] increased. I therefore send for you a copy of the Beyān in one volume, written in Persia, in good and correct naskh, at the price for which a certain person in Isfahan transcribes it, which I bought from one of the Friends who was intending to return to Persia. As to its price: it contains thirty folios, and was transcribed at two francs
(which, in Persia, is two krâns) a folio, besides the cost of the binding and cover, which comes to about two or three francs. Altogether, with postage, its price is sixty-three francs."

Concerning the work itself, see pp. 450–1 supra.

BBC. 4.

Commentary on the Sûra-i-Ýusuf.

Ff. 202 (ff. 1\(^a\), 201\(^b\)–202\(^b\) blank), 21.75 \(\times\) 13.75 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Written in a small, clear \(\text{ta'\'lík}\). Headings and titles in red. Copied for me at Constantinople under the supervision of Sheykh A——, the Ezêlî, in the autumn of 1891.

The general characteristics of this book, and the special peculiarities of this particular MS. I have already discussed in a previous article (\textit{J.R.A.S.} for April, 1892, pp. 261–8). To what I there said concerning the nomenclature of the chapters or súras which compose the \textit{Commentary on the Sûra-i-Ýusuf}, I have now to add some further particulars with which Baron Rosen has most obligingly supplied me as to their nomenclature in a MS. of the same work in his own collection. (See \textit{Coll. Sc. iii, Manuscrits Persans}, p. 50.) The nomenclature adopted in Baron Rosen's MS., in so far as it differs from that previously given by me at p. 263 supra, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter xiv.</th>
<th>Chapter xxxiii.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>سورة التقدس</td>
<td>سورة النصر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv.</td>
<td>xxxix.</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>xv.</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>xlii.</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>xliii.</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>xxxv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii.</td>
<td>xxvii.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As will be observed, one chapter (the last) is missing from the above list. Baron Rosen writes: "Je ne sais pas comment il se trouve que le nombre des sourates est
de 110 seulement au lieu de 111. Je n’ai pas sous la main dans ce moment l’exemplaire de l’Institut.” Apart from this and chapter xciv, the above list, in conjunction with that given at p. 263 supra, supplies names for all the chapters.

Since this article went to press, I have received, under circumstances briefly detailed at p. 663 supra, another Bābī MS. (the Istidlalīyye, or “Evidences” of Mírzá Abú’l-Fāẕl of Gulpāyagān), for which, as it cannot be placed in any one of the four classes into which the other MSS. are divided, I am obliged to create a fifth “supplementary” class (bbs).

BBS. 1.

استدلاليتہ


Ff. 22 (f. 1a and 22b blank), 21·25 x 13·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a good clear Persian ta‘līk. The manner in which this MS. came into my possession is explained at p. 663 supra.

This work, intended to prove by quotations and arguments drawn from the Old Testament that Behá’u’lláh is the promised Messiah and deliverer of Israel, is addressed chiefly to the Jews. It appears to have been written in the year A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887-8), for on f. 19b we find the following passage:

و این فقره نژد علماء موسوی روشن و مسلم است که از خرابی اورشلیم بدست بخشت التصرت تا ایس زمان سنه هزار و سیصد و یک هزار و هزار و سیصد و هشتاد و سیصد و هشتاد و شش و چهل و سه دهند. از زمان دانیال تا تولد حضرت مسیح تقی را یک هزار و هشتاد و هشت و سال است و این جمله دو هزار و سیصد و [و] هشت هسیس سال میشد.
The work consists of a preface and three sections. The preface extends from f. 1\(^{b}\) to f. 3\(^{a}\). As it is rather interesting, I give the text in full. It is so easy that I do not think it necessary to add a translation.
وارشليم باييمز تباين خوارذإ غشت تا آنكة بوزري از جانب خداوند بروبويت كبري معوبت برود و بني اسرائيل را از ذلت وغرفنتارى تجابات يخطش و براماتب عزرت و بوزري نايل فرومايد وجميع طاويت عالم را بريك دين و مذهب متفقي فردان و بني اسرائيل رابعية ورامت ارض وهدايات عباد عنایت فرومايد و بالجملة جيون در مراتب (٣٩) مذكور و تواف حاسيل شد معروض ميدام كه در اين قرن شريف و يوم عنزي أهل بها مدنى برآنند كه ميمان ظهور اي و عده ميار بالرا رسيداست و وجود مباركي كه حجابات كل اهل عالم موضوع بظهر او بود از مشترى عالم طالع شده وسطوت و اقتراف اوب اب و وجود معاندت كل مال در تمام بلد ظاهر غشت ويئي تيز وجود مسعود بهاء الله در سن النـيزار و دويس و هستن و بنى هجري (١) ارادي مقصدته و بربت الشام در شهرها كه ده حلول كوه كرومل است خداوند با عظم اسماء و روبويت كبري ظاهر فرومود وكامل ابي و وحى اسمانى را برنجي كه ده توره و عده داده شده برلسان مباركي نازل نود و شريعت مقصدته كه هديات يبخش عالم ومخل الانتفاض امم تواند بود و مشتغل است بر صلوه ومع و تعالى آداب علية اساسنيه ومعالي صفات و كماليات روحانيه و وديثست (sic) و نمثمنه كل امم و مواقف و عهادات و با تعلم اهل عالم ده كتاب مستطلب اقداس (٨) مؤسس داشت وكلمة تاندفلاش ده اين مدادت قليله كه قرب بيست و بنتجال

١ This passage, which gives the date of Beha’s “Manifestation” as a.h. 1285 (A.D. 1868), is very important, as affording approximate confirmation of Nabil’s chronology (B. i. p. 826; B. ii. 984, 988, stanza 10), and further evidence against the improbably early date (a.h. 1269) given by the Traveller’s Narrative. See pp. 304-6 supra. It is curious that in two works composed by the Beha’s within so short a time of one another, and both intended for more or less general circulation, so glaring a discrepancy should have been allowed to appear, more especially as both dates are used evidentially.

٢ This passage is also important, as affording further evidence that Kitab-i-Aftras, not Lawh-i-Aftras, is the correct title of the work alluded to.
لاست بدون وسائط ملكية ازعرت وثروت وسيف وامتثالها در أكثر بلاد غالب كشته وبا دشمنى ومعاناته أكبر ملك وملت از سلطانين ومملوك وعلماء وأمراء حتى عاتمة رعيا امر مبارك در أكثر مملكت نافذ شده وحبته وبرهان ظهورش نزد ارباب قلوب صافيه وجبى هر مدهب وملت مقبول وروش غشت بنابر آنچه عرض شد مارا درسه مقام تأمل بايد وشايد خواست خداوند ملته عزيزه اسرائيل بسبيل نجات راه جويند واز ظلم قبائل وگرختارى بدست امم رستگارى يابيند و اين به مقام كه در آن تكلم ميشود مبارست از بيان ودليل وجرديد شريعت وشورى صريحة كتب مقدسه برایين ظهور عظيم و الله يهدى من يشان الى سبيله الوضاع المستقيم

The headings of the three sections (mašām) into which the book is divided, with the pages on which they begin, are as follows:

مقام أول (f. 3°) در بيان اين مطلب است كه هرگاه بيغمبري ظاهر شرد حبشت جه بايد باشد وچيچه دليل صدق قول ورسالت أو بر طالب مستعد وانجام و معلوم كردي

مقام دوم (f. 6°) در اينست كه آيا شريعت تورة ظهور بيغمبري از جانب خداوند جانیزست تغيير يابد وشريعت مقدسه ظهور جديد لباس جديد پوشد يا نه

مقام سوم (f. 11°) بشارت هایست كه در كتب مقدسه برایين ظهور ور ورده وآن بردوگونه است قسم أول بشارته ائست كه بدون وقت (f. 12°) و تعیيس زمان شده جهت ظهور ور واین قسم از حدگان تاجب صليهنغه بریونست وما براي اتلام مرلم بهچند آيه در اين مقام اكتما خواهيم
The whole book, in short, is an attempt to interpret the prophesies of the Old Testament, more especially of the book of Daniel, in favour of Behá'u'lláh.

Ends:

I have now described, as fully as the space at my disposal would admit, all the Bábí MSS. in my possession, with the exception of a number of letters of greater or less importance, and certain scattered leaves containing transcripts, made by myself or others, of sundry poems, short epistles, etc., of which I have already published some, and hope, in due course, to publish such others as appear of sufficient interest. Of some of the MSS. described above (such as the various “Books of the Names,” and many of the Prayers, Exhortations, Visitations, and Rhapsodies) it is most improbable that complete editions could ever be required or contemplated; a few judiciously selected extracts would answer every practical purpose. Of others, such as the Táríkh-i-Jadíl, and both volumes of the Hasht
Death of Behá'u'lláh.

Within the last few weeks news of the death of Behá'u'lláh has reached me. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his decease, but of the fact itself there is no doubt, for it is confirmed by a letter written from Acre by his son, Mírzá Bádi'u'lláh, and dated Zi'l-Ka'яд 29th, A.H. 1309 (June 25th, A.D. 1892). A portion of the letter I will here cite, with translation.

"يا حبيب قلبي ومسرّة نؤاد آمنم، امتنع بلا ازسياص،
سماء قننا بشان نازل وصواص هوموم وفعوم بنحو مستواي، كله
لساننا يارا تقريرو قلمرا تلاقت تحرير نه زيرا أف أف امكان ازتجبات.
آقتات حکمت، و بیان محروم و وسیر عالم از برتو نیک اعظم معنوی
آذان دوستان از استعماص صبر قلبم اعلی در ظاهراً به هماده و عیون
مشتاقان از مشاهده آفق آبی مسجد گشته سبکان آلله جه
پیامی در عالم بریا و حجه اضطرابی در وجود همیا شمس حقیقتی
ترب عالم رباری فرمود و در عوالم عظیم و جلال باشرای بی زوال
جبالی نمود اگرچه این متصسبت عظیم فوق حکل است و آن
رزیده کبیر محروم بنیان صبر و حکم و لکن نظر حکم محروم و اسم
مسیر که در کتاب اندس از ملکوت مقدّس نازل باید این عباد
و آنجانا جمعاً بطری صبر و تسیلم مزین شوی و بحکم محروم
و تمکین متشیت و با قلب گویه و نفس مطلعه بر آنتیک علت
تذکری عباد و آسانیش و عمار بلاد و تهذیب الاحاط و ظهور الفست
و وفاقت قائم و بتعام و جوید بنصالح مالک خیب و شهود متشک
تا عالم امکان بعنايت حضرت مثال روشک زمان مشاهده
گرد و ما ذلک علی اللهو عزیز آیه مبارکه که در کتاب اندس نازل
در اینماظم مرقوم میشورد پیشه جلّ جلاله و عمّ نواله یاد انتز
اذا غیرت شمس جمالی و سترت سماه هیکلی لا تصوراً قوموا على
نصرة امری و ارتفاع کلتمی بیش العالمین آنا معتمه در کل الحوال
ونصرک بالفقه آنا کلاً قادرین من عرفانیم یقوم على خدمتمی بقیام
لا تقاعد جنود السموات و الأرضین و در مقام دیگر میفراءید قل یا
قوم لا یتخذمک الاضطراب اذا غالب ملکوت ظهوری و سکنت امواج
بحیرانی آن فی ظهوری لحکمة و فی خیبی حکمة اخرى ما اطلاع
به این اللهو الفرد الجمیر و نزکم من افتقی الابی و نصرمن کمیم
نّصرة امری بجیون من العلّم العلی و قبیل من العلّمی الدینی انتهی

1 unnamed ref. 3 and unnamed ref. 3 to read.
Translation.

"O friend of my heart, and delight of my soul! In these days the showers of affliction do so descend from the clouds of the firmament of fate, and the thunderbolts of griefs and sorrows do so succeed one another, that neither hath the tongue strength to describe, nor the pen power to utter them. For the horizon of the Phenomenal World is bereft of the effulgences of the Sun of Wisdom and Revelation, and the throne of the Universe is deprived of the radiance of the Most Mighty Luminary. The ears of the friends are, to outward appearance, debared from hearkening to the cry of the Supreme Pen, and the eyes of the longing are veiled from the contemplation of the Most Glorious Horizon. Great God! how dire a catastrophe is this which has arisen in the World, and how grievous a calamity is this which hath appeared in the Universe! The Sun of Truth hath bidden farewell to this earthly sphere, and now shines with a brightness which waneth not in the regions of Might and Glory. Albeit this supreme affliction transcends endurance, and this most dire disaster lays in ruins the edifice of resignation and patience, yet, having regard to the authoritative command and binding behest revealed from the Holy Angel-World in the Kitáb-i Añdas,¹ we and you alike must adorn ourselves with the ornament of patience and resignation, lay hold of the firm rope of submission and acquiescence, apply ourselves with strong hearts and tranquil souls to what will conduce to the progress of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the world, the amelioration of characters, and the appearance of charity and concord, and attach ourselves with our whole being to the counsels of the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, so that the Phenomenal World may, by the Grace of that Beneficent Being, be beheld an envy to the Garden of Paradise. Nor is this thing difficult with God. The blessed text revealed in the Kitáb-i Añdas shall here be cited. He says (great is His Glory and universal His Bounty!):

¹ Cf. n. 2 at the foot of p. 703 supra.
‘O people of the earth! When the Sun of my Beauty sets, and the firmament of my Form is hidden, be not troubled; arise for the helping of my work and the advancement of my Word throughout the worlds. Verily We are with you under all conditions, and will help you with the Truth; verily We can do this. Whosoever knoweth Me will rise up to serve me with such uprising that the hosts of heaven and earth shall not put him down.’ And in another place he says: ‘Say, “O people, let not trouble take possession of you when the Kingdom of my Epiphany becomes concealed, and the Waves of the Ocean of my Utterance are hushed. Verily there is in my Epiphany a reason, and in my Occultation another reason, which none knoweth save God, the Incomparable, the All-Knowing. And We shall see you from the Most Glorious Horizon, and will help whomsoever riseth up for the helping of our Work with hosts from the Supreme Concourse, and a cohort of the Cherubim.”’

The same news reached me on the same day from my Ezelī correspondent in Constantinople, but in how different a form of words was his laconic announcement of Behā’s death couched! He added (I know not on what authority) that disputes had already arisen between two of Behā’u’lláh’s sons, ‘Abbás Efendí and Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí, as to the succession; and that Aḵá Mírzá Aḵá Ján called Khádímu’lláh, Behā’s amanuensis and special attendant, had given his support to the latter, because he hoped to find him more pliable and more amenable to his own views and wishes. This statement I only give for what it is worth.

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1. A translation of part of this passage will be found quoted at p. 975 of B. ii. It occurs on f. 7b of n. 3, and f. 31b of n. 4.
2. This passage occurs on f. 10b of n. 3, and ff. 38a–38b of n. 4.
3. The latter I did not see at Acre, neither did I know where he was, though I heard mention of him. He it was, I believe, who invented the different forms of the Kháft-i-Bádi’, or ‘New Writing.’ (See B. i, p. 498.) Of this writing I was unable to obtain a specimen, but I learn from Baron Rosen that M. Tumansky was more fortunate, and that amongst the treasures which he brought back from ‘Istikábád were the words علی حمید written in new character.
What effect Behá’s death may have on the further development of Bábísm it is impossible to conjecture. Will the movement of which he has for so long a time been the guiding spirit, languish or lose ground? Will dissensions arise amidst his followers to produce further disruptions and schisms in the Bábí church? Will the Ezélís (who, as it appears, keep themselves well informed of all that takes place at Acre) seize the opportunity to set on foot propaganda in favour of Šubh-i-Ezel? Or will the fabric, reared with such infinite pains by the departed Seer, prove able to withstand the disintegrating forces which, no longer kept in check by his master-hand, must almost inevitably come into play? Time alone will show.¹

¹ I learn from Baron Rosen that a short paragraph announcing the death of Behá’u’lláh appeared in the Russian newspaper called Le Caucase, published at Tiflis; and that the news was also conveyed to him by Lieutenant Toumański in a private letter, in which were enclosed copies of Behá’u’lláh’s testamentary dispositions (كتاب عهد) and an elegy on his death by the Bábí poet ‘Andalíb (Mírzá ‘Ali Ashraf of Láhiján). Baron Rosen adds that Behá died on May 16th of this year (1892), but that the news of his decease did not reach ‘Ishkábád till July 5th. The interesting documents forwarded by Lieutenant Toumański are to appear in the Zopisaki.
Art. XIV.—Dusratta’s Hittite Letter. By Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.

The subject of the present paper is the translation of one of the most interesting and important tablets that have been discovered within the last twenty years—interesting not only from a linguistic point of view, but also as casting new light on the history of Western Asia, about 1500 years before our era, and as showing the manners of the age and the political relations of Egypt with Asiatic countries. It also informs us of the language spoken in Armenia and in Syria, and of the extent of the Hittite dominions before the fall of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

The tablet in question is the longest, and perhaps the most important, of all in the great collection of cuneiform letters to the kings of Egypt, which was discovered by the peasantry at Tell Amarna in Middle Egypt (between Minieh and Assiut on the east bank of the Nile) in 1887. These number some 300 in all, and those as yet translated are in an Aramean language resembling Assyrian. But there are two letters in the collection in another language, clearly not Semitic; and Dr. Hugo Winckler, who has published a transcription of these, with others, now in the Royal Museum at Berlin, came to the conclusion in 1888 that they were in the Hittite language, the main reason for such belief being, that the shorter of the two is written by a certain prince of Reseph (not far from Palmyra), who was named Tarkondara, and who calls himself in his letter the “Prince of the Hittites.” His epistle to Amenophis III. consists of thirty lines of ideographic writing, not easily interpreted; but it seems clear, from the pronouns and from other words, that the language is the same as that of the longer letter now under
consideration, which, as we shall see, is also written by a personage who calls himself the Hittite Suzerain. For these reasons it appears reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with the native language of the Hittite tribes, though the script is not that peculiar to their monuments, but that known as Cuneiform, and used by the Akkadians, their neighbours.

The introduction to the letter, as Dr. Winckler points out, consists of eight lines of Assyrian or Aramean. The bulk of the letter consists of 512 lines of native language. The writer is Dusratta, a well-known chief of Mitani or Southern Armenia, a region which was the later Melitene. He addresses Amenophis III. of Egypt, and speaks of his father Suttarna, and of his daughter Tadukhepa. There are in the same collection other letters, in Aramean, from the same Dusratta, which have been translated, and which refer to the same personages—Gilias, the Armenian, and Menes, the Egyptian envoy—who are so often mentioned in the letter now to be considered. From these letters we know that Dusratta was one of the most important political personages of his time. His sister Thi was married to Amenophis III.; and Amenophis IV. married his cousin—Dusratta's daughter. The Tell Amarna collection includes a letter from a Suttarna, and many others from kings of Babylon and Assyria, and from princes of Elishah and Syria, to the two Egyptian kings mentioned; but Dusratta speaks as a personal friend and relative, and his letters are of higher interest than those of other correspondents, while his character comes out, in some of his utterances, in a manner which shows that he must have been personally a very remarkable man.

To understand aright the relations of the Asiatics with the Egyptians in this age it is only necessary to turn to Dr. Brugsch's History of Egypt. It is well known that, in the Hyksos period, various Asiatic tribes invaded and ruled over the Delta; that their expulsion was first attempted by Ahmes I. of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty about 1700 B.C.; that Thothmes III. conquered all Syria
and part of the regions beyond the Euphrates; and that a century after his conquest, about 1500 B.C., Amenophis III. was still master of the conquered regions, and in communication with the princes of neighbouring states, in Assyria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor. But these conquests were lost by his indolent son Amenophis IV., who lived at Tell Amarna, where his desecrated sarcophagus has just been found. The later letters speak of the revolt of Hittites and Hebrews; and it is certain that the marriage of Tadukhepa did not fulfil her father's hopes, and that a revolution in Egypt put an end to her husband's life and dynasty. It was then—according to the ordinary chronology—that the Hebrews invaded Palestine, while the Hittites became independent in the north, and so remained till re-conquered by Rameses I. and Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty. But, at the time when our letter was written, Egyptian power was paramount to the Euphrates, and Amenophis III. had gone beyond the river on a hunting excursion, to kill lions, during which time he perhaps first made Dusratta's acquaintance. About 1450 B.C. the old Armenian monarch—writing to his son-in-law—speaks with affection of the great Amenophis, and relates his sorrow when he heard of his death. He recalls the fact that Amenophis III. sent a "message asking for his daughter"; and he adds, "may I die but may he who loved me live with God." Our present letter appears to be the answer sent to this original message.

As far as I am aware no attempt has yet been made to determine the character of the language, or to translate the contents of Dusratta's Hittite letter. Dr. Sayce kindly sent me a short printed paper, which contains his preliminary remarks on the text, which are very valuable; and in this paper (where published is not stated) he has pointed out the words which are clearly indicated by determinatives, such as the names of countries, cities, personages, and deities; and in addition has proposed ten words as having certain meanings, including father, tablet, scribe, God, friend, wife, envoy, brother, interpreter, and
image; and in each case he seems to be right, though in two other cases I think an emendation possible. Dr. Sayce, however, does not indicate whether he regards the language as Aryan or Mongolic: from certain remarks on syntax I conclude that he favours the former view; but it should be noted that there are 400 different words in the inscription, many of the commonest of which are so often repeated (owing to the great length of the text) that it becomes easy to determine approximately what they mean. Dr. Sayce renders Amatippi "grandfather": it certainly applies to a personage, but occurs with the personal name Artatan; whereas from a letter published last year we know that the name of Dusratta's grandfather was Sitatama. I think the word more probably means "friend." The second word which I at first regarded as fixed by Dr. Sayce is gipanu "a papyrus," but on further study it appears more probably to mean "a decree"; and the word for papyrus which occurs in the text is a allali pa or "leaf of the water reed."

After reading Dr. Sayce's paper I was struck by the resemblance of some of the words which he determined to words of the Turkic languages of Central Asia—especially atta "father," talami "interpreter," and eena "gods." On careful examination of the text, as given in the original characters by Dr. Winckler in his great publication of 1891, I also observed that the cases of the noun, in words which could clearly be shown to be nouns, were the same as those of the Turkic dialects. Subsequently I found that the verb substantive was also Turkic, and that all Dr. Sayce's words could be so compared. A great many words were also very clearly the same as in Akkadian—the old language of Chaldea which scholars now regarded as closely related to Turkic speech—and as in the cognate dialect, called Medic or the "third language" of the Behistun texts, which Dr. Oppert also regards as closely connected with Turkic speech.

It also became clear that the language was agglutinative, and presented the grammar, not of Aryan but of Mongolic
speech, and these indications therefore all pointed clearly in one direction, independently of the vocabulary of some 400 different words.

In speaking of Akkadian I am aware that some scholars deny the existence of any such language; but on the other hand it has been upheld by equally distinguished writers; and I think that the former school can hardly have studied the grammar of the Akkadian, and the bilinguals in Akkadian and Assyrian, since it is quite impossible to reconcile Akkadian with any Semitic syntax, whereas the Mongolic languages present exactly the required structure, to say nothing of the comparison of some 400 known Akkadian words with those of living Mongolic languages. It has also quite recently become known that, as early as 2500 B.C. or earlier, the Akkadian King Gudea ruled from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and had conquered part of Syria. It is therefore not unnatural to find that the Akkadian language closely resembled that of tribes of Hittites, in Syria and in Southern Armenia. As regards the Medie language, spoken about 500 B.C. in the countries ruled by the Persians, near the Tigris, the Mongolic character of that language is generally admitted. It appears to me to bear to that of Dursatta's letter exactly the relation we should expect, considering the lapse of a thousand years; that is to say that the Medie words are decayed representatives of those used by Dursatta, just as a modern English word compares with the Anglo-Saxon; but the Mongolic languages change so slowly that in the speech of the Yakuts, or Turko-Mongols of Siberia, in our own times, many Akkadian and Medie words still remain unchanged, although, in structure and vocabulary, the language as a whole has undergone considerable modifications.

These comparisons will be found worked out in detail in the grammatical treatise and index attached to the present paper. I do not claim for these attempts more than a provisional character. It is evident that in dealing
with what is called an "unknown" language I must have made many mistakes, which will be pointed out, especially as to words occurring only once or twice; but in such study the difficulty diminishes as the inscription becomes longer, since all common words of the language will then be found often recurring. It is sufficient for the moment to note that these common words are all of Mongol character; and that the pronouns, the cases, the forms of the verb, and the syntax, all agree in rendering the comparison with Akkadian, Mede, and Turkeic speech, very complete and evident. While emendations are to be expected, and indeed have occurred to me in several passages, since I first sent a paper on the subject to the Times last December, there can still, I think, be no doubt as to the general gist of the inscription, or as to the character of the language.

Dusratta speaks of his Kingdom as that of the Mini, who are presumably the Minyans, well known in later times to the Assyrians as living west of Lake Van, and mentioned in the Bible (Jer. li, 27) in the same region. They are probably the same people called Men in Egyptian inscriptions (Brugsch Egypt, vol. i, p. 234), who in the Hyksos period were ruling in Zoan, and whose portraits are regarded as showing a Mongol type. They had been expelled for more than a century when Dusratta wrote, but were still powerful in the north. The tablet of Edsou speaks of them as inhabitants of Assyria, and from the decree of Canopus it appears that they dwelt east of Syria. In later times an Aryan race invaded the country round Lake Van, where they left inscriptions (about 800 B.C.) in a language which, as I pointed out to the Royal Asiatic Society last year, is clearly comparable with Persian and Sanskrit. But in Dusratta's time—some 700 years earlier—these invaders had as yet not come down from the Caucasus; and his subjects were of the same sturdy Mongol race to which the Hittites and the Akkadians also belonged.

The letter generally refers to a message received by
Dusratta from Menes, the envoy of Amenophis III.: to the marriage of his daughter Tadukhepa; and to the affairs of his kingdom, his boundaries, his gifts of money, and of a throne sent to Egypt; and, if I understand aright, to the fact that the message was only verbal, and not well understood or regarded as well authorized, so that he is anxious to receive a confirmation of the good news, in a decree written on papyrus, which he has been told is about to follow. Tadukhepa is then to be sent to Zoan, and to Egypt, to marry the heir of the reigning Pharaoh, which was eventually accomplished. There are references to the translation of his letter into Egyptian, and he sends Gilias, who was a relation of his, in order to receive a full report from his own people.

Taking the paragraphs in order, it is to be observed that difficulties arise, since the tablet is broken in two, and much damaged, and because the words are not always clearly divided by spaces; but as a whole it is very clearly expressed and business-like, forming a political document which was of high importance, of which remained undisturbed in the palace of the Egyptian king for nearly 2400 years, till the peasantry dug it up with the rest of this curious library in 1887.

The first paragraph is in Assyrian, as Dr. Winckler points out. It is much injured, but the names of Dusratta and Amenophis are distinguishable, and the words "I am at peace... to thy ladies, to thy princes, to thy horses... to thy land, and to all that is thine (may there be) exceeding peace." The first paragraph in native language is also much injured, but appears to refer to the offer detailed later, that Dusratta's conquests in Phoenicia should be recognized by Egypt as part of the marriage compact, and included within the borders of the Minyan kingdom. In the next paragraph there is a reference to former relations with Suttarna, the father of the writer who was favoured by Egypt, and to the message received from Menes; to the honour thereby conveyed; and to gold, which was to be sent, with the message conveyed by a
Minyan embassy. In the third section the writing is uninjured as a rule, and here we obtain the following:

"May the god Tessub (a name of Rimmon), the god Sausbe, with thy god Amanu¹ and the god Simigiz, and the god Ea the lord of all, cause this to be fulfilled, the gods speeding the (business) speedily. So may they will to give thee thy desire, for if they are benignant it will be despatched very speedily; may they grant me that it be done. Messages also shall make clear speedily (as I desire) that a great honour has been done."

"Gilias the envoy, taking the message, is ordered to speak, his duty being to go forth, because Amenophis, the Egyptian friend, rules in a far off land, and I rule in the city of Ikhibin (perhaps Kaban Maden in the country west of Lake Van), which is the city of the god Simigiz, who is adored as the paternal deity. Having received the reply to be spoken—for words of reply are very speedily to be despatched—him I instructed in the presence of the Minyans. He is doing this important duty, whom I ordered because I see that he is speedy in what is to be done, and because Gilias knows how to speak, in completion of what is not written fully. Thus the god Simigiz is besought, to speed my man quickly; so he shall show, by word of mouth, what is sent back—my brother—bearing the desire of the Minyan land. May it avail that he should journey so to do. Why this is done brother, let messages fully explain, and what I desire. The servant of the god Simigiz, of Amanu, and of the holy Ea—the Minyan, brother—receiving, this must be done: he by your favour receiving a favourable reply to show. Because of my brother having so done let messages explain, being made to be accomplished by the paternal god Simigiz: the god Simigiz adored brother by me. Let me be gladdened hearing thy messages, and favoured by thee, receiving intelligible messages after this has been received."

¹ From another letter of Dusratta's, written in Assyrian, it is clear that the god Amanu was the Egyptian god Amen.
From this and other passages that follow we gather that Ea, the Akkadian god, was adored by Dusratta; and his name indeed appears to be the same with the word Ee, used in this letter as meaning "god," which is the Turkic eye for a "deity" or "spirit." The old explanation "house of water," is not only unlikely, but is contrary to the rules of Mongol grammar. The rest of the tablet is here injured.

The second columns of the front of the tablet now follow with the passage:

"As besides, information is to be sent . . . brother, as to what my brother desires to make me possess. Gilias and Menes being empowered by me to go together, and being decided that they shall go to the far off land, being desirous to write I do so quickly: brother, thy province being ruled by me jointly—the whole race of which as you know you named me Suzerain." After an obscure sentence it continues:

"An embassy to show that I am placed in possession; a record to be kept by me; my brother himself at the same time ordering a decree, to make me take possession. Menes (having asked), my Minyan is made ready, to assist him in speaking. With all judgment may he serve, explaining the letter. Menes having been sent, travelling to thee, and being received, let a decree be ordered to be despatched; the things in this tablet being first received: brother, let a decree be ordered to be borne, rolled up (or sealed up): it being ordered that the letter to be delivered be received sealed." The tablet is much injured after this passage and twenty-seven lines have been lost. The next passage in the lower part refers to the gift or tribute sent by Dusratta.

"My gift was to be delivered very quickly . . . brother I am sending it in fulfilment . . . the gods earnestly beseeching to hear what I say, that like as I have received I have given. The gold brother I myself decreed that the whole land should again give, and I send it to be delivered very speedily. The people having understood
that the King (demands) a double tribute, it goes, I despatching it."

"To proceed: as Menes my brother’s envoy says, it is understood that my brother is extremely desirous that it should be completed, it being decreed how all the region alike anew is made to give, let gold be taken from all the region: an additional tax being proclaimed... it was (therefore) proclaimed, and written, and explained, to give thee double very quickly. My brother having decreed after this wise, to be made ready. I am desirous to give it quickly."

Dusratta then assures the King of his willingness to fulfil these obligations, and proceeds in an injured passage to refer to the affairs of Northern Syria—a subject which recurs in a better preserved part of the letter later on.

"As Menes says that my brother much desires that an explanatory letter be written, his embassy being gladly received in the Minyan Kingdom—being at once and gladly received in the Minyan Kingdom—this letter of mine was written. A papyrus having been sent me I shall be informed, if I have not rightly understood what has been said by Menes. But if it be so I shall gladly be commanded: this brother confirm thou thus, the proclamation being received by me, clear and intelligible altogether."

"As Menes says that an embassy will come quickly, therefore his news will be favourably received in the Minyan Kingdom." The passage which follows is somewhat broken, but repeats the desire for a confirmation of the verbal message, or *pour parler* which preceded the final treaty; but which the diplomatic Dusratta is cautious not to accept too readily: a very important passage is here probably lost referring to the relations to be established.

Turning to the back of the tablet we find the question of translation to be next treated very fully.

"My brother (beholds) the continuation of the message. Brother, I not knowing whether the servant rendered well or badly the message in thy language, the interpreter having heard what was said, the servant explained with explanation
the message sent in thy language. Brother, my speechmaker being bound to make clear, by spoken word bound to make clear, and also by speaking together, my brother shall be informed of everything by the message. What my brother does not understand, when interpreted, this, being further spoken, shall be said at length. I also preferring to cause this to be written carefully . . . . . making every effort, and also speaking at length, to explain what is clearly written. Brother, thy language is not used here, is it? I am telling them to take care as regards the explanation of what is put before you: by the mouth of the subject taking the message it shall be made clear brother, by his word, what the Minyan Kingdom has said, which, being interpreted, understand thou perfectly. I, not being sure as to all that was said, my brother's servant having spoken in thy language the message which he gave. The servant being a foreigner, the Minyan told me what the word was in thy speech. Brother, I am glad, preparing to speak, that Menes is about to come again with Gilias as a comrade. Menes and Gilias knowing all. The Minyan telling me what is done, making to agree as to what remains in dispute, my brother having received all that they are made to say —my speech being foreign—this done, brother, the speech being made for me by the Minyan, received as a comrade. Gilias having come again with Menes. Gilias and Menes having come, brother, for me the speech being made in Minyan, a mutual agreement will be made, as to what remains in dispute."

This passage I have carefully revised, and the rendering seems to give a probable sense, though the language of the original is very cramped.

"To proceed: they having travelled and messages being received, let my brother order, and let me hear, that it is to be done: word thereof is besought—information that you favour the arrangement. Your settlement thereof is earnestly urged. What my brother desires of me thereunto an order receiving, if thou art favourable. In addition
also to Menes, my brother's envoy: in addition to Gilias and Ar tessupas, Asalis is an envoy—the interpreter of Gilias. Asalis my scribe, him also, as understanding how to make clear quickly in thy language this my writing, him, my chieftain, brother, I am glad to have sent."

"Brother, very gladly I send by the envoy a gold throne, in exchange for the brilliant gift with the envoy, my brother's gift of a crown; I send back this throne to thy abode, to please a concubine of thine when seeing it. Let it be given, being speedily despatched, my brother giving sanction by his order."

"Brother, pardon my having done so, the envoy having thought the gift (acceptable); and being hindered in saying what I much wished to have written, as to having sent my gift to be borne to my brother, my brother will understand what I wish to write. It is enough briefly to tell my brother that it was given."

"Brother, I gladly give power to the envoy to lead in return, this woman whom Menes says my brother gave power to bring, when he was ordered as an envoy: my brother, as Menes says, having preferred the bringing by an envoy, and my brother having ordered her bringing by Menes—he shall bring her. What I say being understood to be considered timely, my brother having ordered Menes, as he says, to bring her."

"Understanding that my brother desires now to take her home—is it not—brother understanding this decision to be preferred, is it not obligatory? As twenty-three months have gone by, is not her being taken home to be hastened: my court also having decided to accept, and resolved to sanction the (agreement?) and being satisfied together with my wife, and the girl being pleased to the depth of her heart when told—how happy words cannot tell—with the gods is the decision, with the strong gods, brother, is the decision for me, the girl being ... . Whether also I do not desire that she should be so brilliantly exalted, the girl being ... . advantageously, surely you know it is so ... . surely you know that I shall be happy."
The broken part that follows is in the same strain, after which six lines are lost; and below these a broken fragment contains Tadukhepa's name, and speaks of her being highly favoured, and going a long journey from the Minyan Kingdom to the land of Zoan, and afterwards dwelling in Egypt, with another invocation of Rimmon and Amanu, to cause the fulfilment of the agreement, and with a further reference to his expected recognition as the ruler of the Phoenicians. In this passage Dusratta introduces his own name, to make the expected concession more binding and clearer.

The right hand columns are well preserved and continue this important subject.

"Brother, thy border in the land over against Egypt is . . . and to proceed, I being ordered to extend myself thereto, command thou the people to take me as master and King, their duty . . . being made known, interpreted by interpreter, is not the possession thus to be made clear? Proclaim thou for me that, whatever of the peoples of the land of Chalcis, the Phoenicians west of the Minyan Kingdom, of the people of the land of Chalcis, I have conquered, is made subject. Brother thy word is enough, no one henceforth disputing my right, as master of the peoples. Is not this clearly thus? As to the expedition (or Lordship) is it not that it will be thus?"

"To proceed. Let my brother send his order giving possession to me alone, of that which I am desirous to have extended. The order received, I go forth. Brother, to me as an order—if my brother so favours me, having ordered all to be clearly written, thereby this region being ruled jointly by me. I being Suzerain of the power of the Hittite land; taking to me, brother, all the people conquered. Let it extend to the city of Harran, the region which no king enjoys being taxed. Brother, I go forth, my brother confirming it fully by this proclamation."

"To proceed, enough not being said as to my desire of being put in possession of these possessions by my brother. I and my Court being told that it is as was sent, my Court
will go forth, my brother having made them Minyan by Royal command. Your aid the Minyan land joyfully will accept, messages of authorization being received, by a tablet with my brother's Royal command in writing. Brother, I tell them that no grant has been received from you, as to giving possession; brother having told them that no grant is given, they have stopped fighting at the word spoken. Brother, authorization being received, received by Embassies, being gladly received when they come back to the Minyan Kingdom, let me hear what is (wished?). Brother, order thou to be written thy full grant of these things."

The next passage depends mainly on the meaning of the word *Ammatippit*, and I think that my original understanding of it must be abandoned, in favour of one which appears to fit in better with the general subject.

"To proceed. The sanction will favour me (is it not so?) as being the father. The tablet will be engraved with writing (is it not so?) the tablet giving sanction for me the father, as a favoured friend. This former tablet being engraved with writing (is it not so?) all this tablet having been ordered to be written, let my brother order a tablet to be written anew, when what is written in the words of this same tablet is understood, having ordered it to be written, answer it when you speak my brother; the things written answer thou; the things to be written answer thou"

"If so be that sanction is granted to me by return, it shall be so written: thus must letter for letter be made, brother: it being given a clear signature; being thus made recognizable by signature; and my brother having made the letter binding, again we shall be bound by word of sworn friendship."

"Brother, the completion of the letter being hastened, my brother will understand when it is said that the answer must be hastened. It is to be considered, that my child having resolved, it must be considered as to the road to be followed, my child being hastened on her journey. My
friend Artatan having been sent to the father, let messages explain as to her being ordered to go: the agreement for the maiden being sanctioned; the messenger speaking as to my child’s appearing; let messages explain that the agreement is sanctioned: the father doing what is due. Order thou the envoy to speak as to my child’s appearing; my friend the father saying—is it not so—what is due to the father. Let him bear a letter of decree, this giving confidence to my people, when safely received, if also it is said ‘what he is doing ought not to be done.’ Moreover, let the decree say that my brother is pleased. Brother, as my authority, brother, a decree being to me as authority, first having been caused to come, being an authority as to what my brother decides, this assurance being first given.”

“This, then, is my brother’s answer. I also am not urging her to be married: if the decree orders me your friend to keep the paternal gold: the decree returning to me the father to keep what belongs to me, I am not urging that father’s child to be sent from home. The decree thus ordering me, which my brother sends, I shall be glad, taking kindly the return to me of the enjoying of friendship. She the Minyan will go to be married, setting forth to be given. My brother’s decree will be understood as a message settling what my brother authorizes. As the king desires . . . I the father as my brother desiring.”

After a broken passage the same subject continues: “My brother being seen to be in earnest, my daughter will be ready, to be married for me by my brother in presence of the deity, my brother having this business done very quickly in the strange land. So charging my brother with the business, that she be wedded by thy son, having been taken away from the Minyan land. Having sent again . . . and perceiving the king in earnest, this region which I rule hearing the announcement, my brother at once (sending) an order to this region which I rule” (the sense is then obscured by breaks in the text), but the next words are clear:
"in the presence of the Royal city of Thebes, before the
god Sausbe whom I adore, my son-in-law being married"; and, again, "The marriage of Tadukhepa, is it not thus
that Dusratta, the favoured friend from the land of Mitani,
consenting to the wish of Amenophis the Egyptian friend,
that the son of Amenophis be so married to her in the
presence of the image of the deity, Dusratta who dwells
afar off arranges."

"All that prince and people are able to do, assuring to
be done very quickly, it is hoped that the Minyan will be
commanded to the utmost. Brother, my subject acting for
me, as thought best, having written fully, the subject having
received what is graciously to be conveyed to me in the
Minyan land: the princes ruling the whole race of the
Minyans having agreed: this people which my brother
made subject to me seeing what I do to be beneficial to their
land, ready to trust as subjects what I do: a decree being
made; my brother of Egypt and the ruling Minyan princes
having agreed, and the people made submissive; all being
written which I had to speak about . . . . increasing
renewal of friendship (is produced). The Minyan land being
increased; I also if the subject race are not obedient levying
war if obliged . . . . therefore also make thou the people
to be (ruled) by a Prince."

In conclusion of this account of Dusratta’s letter, it is
to be acknowledged that the translation is no doubt rough,
and may be improved. The language has two great defects:
the first being that there is no distinction of gender; and
the second that (as in Akkadian and Medic) there is only
a very imperfect distinction of tense. Thus while the
language at first appears simple, practically it proves to
be much more obscure than any inflected speech. Turkish
is the admiration of grammarians for its regularity, but
agglutinative languages do not possess the power of Aryan
speech. There can however, I think, be little doubt as to the general meaning; and we have thus suddenly become possessed of some 400 Hittite words, which will be of the greatest value in the future, in finally settling the translation of Hittite texts. The Hittites who dwelt in Northern Syria were of the same stock with Akkadians, and early inhabitants of Armenia and Asia Minor, and Dusratta ruled them as Suzerain from the Upper Euphrates. In Syria they were mingled with Semitic Phoenicians, but even as late as 720 B.C. they were still the dominant race. As an inscription of seventy lines has now been brought home by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, which is in the Hittite character, I have some hope that I may in the future be able to place before the Royal Asiatic Society a translation worthy of criticism, of a text in their own characters; since the language is shown to be clearly of the Turkic class, by the evidence of the present text in a known character. It can I think in future hardly be denied that the Hittites—whose features on the Karnak monuments and on their own (to say nothing of their pigtailed) are so decidedly Mongolian—belonged, not to the later Aryan race which settled near Lake Van, but to the older Mongol stock, of which the Akkadians also were a very important branch.

Sketch of the Grammar.

The inscription is written in syllables, in the character used in Cuneiform texts about 1500 B.C., and with comparatively few determinatives or ideograms, but probably a good many phonetic complements. The characters given in the index are those corresponding in later Assyrian—used for facility in printing.

The syntax is similar to that of the Akkadian and Medie rather than of the modern Mongolic languages. The object
is followed by the subject, and the verb stands always at the end of the clause, as in all Turanian speech, in which it never precedes, as is commonly the case in Aryan languages. The adjective (of which there are few) follows its substantive. The defining word (or genitive) may precede the defined (or nominative) without any mark of case, as in Aryan and Mongol speech—an arrangement which shows that the language cannot be Semitic: since in Semitic languages the case is reversed. The genitive may also follow the nominative with a case suffix—as in Akkadian and Medic.

Other marks of the Mongolic character of the language are found in the absence of gender to the nouns, and of prepositions, which are replaced by postpositions; also by the non-existence of the relative pronoun, and the construction which is used to express it indirectly. The regularity of the cases; and the formation of forms of the verb by auxiliaries prefixed (as in Akkadian): the postponed position of the possessive pronoun, and the preposing of the personal pronoun, also show the grammatical connection with Medic and Akkadian. The adjective and adverb are indistinguishable, as in modern Turkish. The great length of the words (as in Mongolic languages generally) is due to the incorporation of various particles. The vowel harmony, according to which the particle agrees with the vowel of the root, is also a peculiarity of Mongolic speech, which is traceable also in Medic and Akkadian.

**The Noun.**

The ordinary cases of the noun, formed by suffixes which are the same for all words (without distinction of gender), are the same as in Turkic languages, and for the most part as in Akkadian. The nominative ends in -s for the indefinite and in -pi for the definite case (Medic pi), and the plural is *na*, as in Mongolian (Akkadian -ene), which
is prefixed to the case suffix, as in all Mongolic speech. The other cases commonly found are:

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<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>-kku</td>
<td>-ichun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-allan</td>
<td>-ailan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these usual cases there are other suffixes found occasionally, which are the same as in Akkadian, e.g. -si “in presence of” -ra “towards” or “going to” -ku “in” -sa “inside” -ta “from.”

The noun is formed from the root in many cases by adding -ma -da -k or -t, and the adjective by -ra, as in other Mongol languages. The object often ends in -an; and the adverbs have in most instances the same termination. These endings are also found in Turkic speech, with -i which is the nomen actionis. The case -pi or -ippi is that which is called the definite nominative in some Mongolic languages; and this suffix takes the place of the definite article. Collective nouns appear to be indicated by the prefix man, and the prefix nam (or anam) “in the condition of” occurs, as in Akkadian.

The Verb.

The terminations of the verb seem to resemble those of the Medic language. The time is not very well distinguished, but it would seem that -sa is the 3rd person singular for present and future, and -ta for the perfect. The precative is formed by -sena, which is the Medic -sne, and the 2nd person singular imperative ends in -s, as in Medic. As a rule the participial forms are much used, the
active would appear to be -*lan* and -*an*, and the passive -*ku*
or -*khu*, -*kha* or -*ka*. The infinitive active is formed by pre-fixing -*ni*- or -*an*-, as in Medic and Akkadian. The passive is formed by adding -*il* or -*al* to the root, before the mood or tense ending, and this answers exactly to the Turkish passive -*il*-. The particles -*na* and -*ma*, meaning "to go" and "to make," are inserted in the same way, to form the causative (as -*na* is also used in Medic), and the same is expressed in other ways, by reduplication of the root, and by prefixed auxiliaries. The termination -*man* or -*van* also occurs for the participle as in Medic, and -*manlu* ("jointly") may be recognized, which Dr. Oppert calls the reciprocal in Medic.

The verb substantive -*ai*, like the Turkish -*ai* or -*a*, also follows the verb, and is found in the past tense (-*ai*lan*), as well as the present (-*aiu*), and participle (-*ai*lan*): it also seems, in one or two cases, that the verb of "to become" is represented by -*ulli*. The prefixed auxiliaries are the same as in Akkadian, which in modern languages are usually suffixed. They include -*be* "to make," -*ip* "to create," -*ma* "to make," -*eti* "to do" or "make," and -*khil* "to make" or "do." -*Dan* "must" is also prefixed as in Akkadian, and in one case we have -*gan* "let," forming the subjunctive, a prefix as in Akkadian. This simple structure appears to apply to all the verbs.

**Pronouns.**

The personal pronouns are -*ú* "I," with its cases -*ue* "me," -*úa* "to me," -*úna* "of me," for the first: -*Ti* "thou" "thee," -*ta* "to thee," for the second; and as usual there is strictly speaking no 3rd person, though -*sa* and -*na* are so used. -*ú* -*ú* appears to mean "I myself," and the pronoun -*nippi* "self" may be added to either of the preceding. As in other Mongolic languages the possessive pronoun is formed usually by placing the personal one after the noun, and the case ending follows; but, as in Medic, an emphatic possessive is formed by prefixing the personal pronoun, in the nomi-
native case, to the noun—as "u ukki" "my own people." In this instance the case suffix is attached directly to the noun. There appears to be great care taken in the writing to distinguish the pronoun cases. Ir "him," as an incorporated pronoun, is used as in Medie. The great fault of the language is that the gender is in no way indicated as a rule; and this renders it difficult, in many cases, to explain the numerous incorporations with certainty. The common demonstratives are a "this," atinin "that" (in accusative), aù, bu, and suspi, "this same" "the same," Imma "this same," Api "what," Khu Kha Khai "that" "which," bi "they" "them," na, ni "he" "she" "it," na "they," enin "them," Pi "the" "which," ubbi and abbe "who" "whom," sa "this man," as "whatever."

Numerals.

One only occurs, viz. xxiii, expressed in numeral form (viii. 60); it precedes the noun ise "month" (Akkadian ai, Turkic ai or ie "month"); but bizuzus may mean "double" and id "single." Maanna appears to mean "first of all" or "previously." The sounds of the numerals are, however, not to be discovered in other cases. Ari seems to mean "first," "at once."

Conjunctions.

The common conjunction is pada "also" or "again," but u "and" seems to be recognizable, as in Turkic speech. As a rule conjunctions are avoided, and seem to be omitted, which is also the case in other Mongolic languages.

Adverbs and Particles.

A good many of these appear to be fairly certain, and are very similar to those commonly used in Turkic speech, as well as in Akkadian and Medie. Among these may be noted Aini "well," ala- "back," Beeni "fully," Dukhu "completely," en "as," enna "thus" ("as this"), guru

Negatives.

Nu "not" occurs as in Akkadian (Turkic ne "nor"), and anni "not" is also found, with Ma "it is not," used in its proper place after the noun as in Turkic speech: annae may perhaps mean "none."

Phonetics.

As regards the sounds of the language it is to be noted that the distinction of long and short vowels, which forms so important a feature of inflected languages (Aryan or Semitic), has less importance in agglutinative languages, like that under consideration. It is clear that several words are spelt in more than one way, so that one would seem to suggest a short vowel, and the other spelling a long one: e.g. Pal-da and Pa-aída, or Khal-lan and Kha-allan, but as a rule the same word is always spelt the same way, and distinguished thereby from a different word of similar sound. Great care seems to have been taken, in the whole of this text, to ensure distinctness of meaning.

The vowels are a e i u, and perhaps au as a diphthong. The gutturals are k g and kh, with ū, which may have been pronounced hu. There is nothing to show if the eu sound of the Turkic languages was in use (closely resembling the French u) ; the words beginning with ya or ye, such as yal and yem, are peculiarly Turkic. The palatals l and r very rarely begin any words. In Turkic speech they hardly ever do, and in this respect the language is nearer
to Mongolian and Akkadian than to Turkish. The dentals are little distinguished: $d$ and $t$ are often denoted by the same sign, and the sibilants are $s$ and $z$, without any of the distinctions of sound found in Aryan and Semitic speech. The labials are $m$, $b$, and $p$. There is nothing to show if the nasal $nj$ of the Turkic languages was in use, as the characters were not capable of expressing the sound, except perhaps in such words as $danga$. As a rule $m$ stands when this nasal might be expected. The whole character of the phonology of the language appears to be Mongolic, and especially as regards the vowels and the vowel harmony.

The grammar of the language thus becomes an even stronger argument than the vocabulary in favour of the Mongolic theory of explanation. But how easily the vocabulary of some 400 words is explained by aid of Turkic speech will be seen from the index.

C. R. Conder.

Authorities.


O. Böhtlingk. Die Sprache der Yakuten. St. Petersburg, 1851.


The Akkadian words are for the most part well known, and given in the recent works of Hommel and Haupt, as well as by Lenormant and Delitzsch; but I have taken
them from a manuscript collection of my own, made with the aid of the late Mr. C. Bertin, M.R.A.S., and kindly criticised by Mr. T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S., of the British Museum. The disputes which have arisen as to Akkadian render the Medic and the archaic dialects of Central Asia and Mongolia more valuable for comparison, but the investigation of some 400 Akkadian words has led me to the belief that Dr. Hommel is right in regarding Turkic speech as the nearest living representative, although in Finnic, Hungarian, and Ugric dialects Akkadian words survive unchanged to the present day. The Medic, according to Dr. Oppert, is also nearest to the Turkic, though presenting some resemblance in vocabulary to the Finnic-Ugric dialects.

INDEX OF WORDS.


\[ A \] “it” “he,” as in Akkadian (see ii. 80), aa dative vii. 8 (iii. 123 “hand”?).

\[ \text{Ab} \] “this here,” Turkic au.

\[ \text{Ab} \] “house” (iii. 93, vii. 42), Akkadian ab, Turkic oba “house” “home.”

\[ \text{Ab} \] “whom” (accusat.), Medic appo “who.”

\[ \text{Ab} \] “deep” “abyss,” as in Akkadian.

\[ \text{Aallali paa} \] “papyrus leaf,” as in Akkadian (vi. 100).

\[ \text{Aini} \] “well” (viii. 2), Turkic ai “good.”

\[ \text{Aidan} \] “was” (v. 59, vi. 100), Turkic aidi “he was.”

\[ \text{ailan} \] “being” (v. 68, 85; vi. 20, 26), Turkic ai or ã “to be.”

\[ \text{aiin} \] “it is” (v. 63, vii. 67, xi. 44), as above.

\[ \text{aiie} \] (viii. 50, x. 28, 29) “telling,” Turkic ayi “to say.”

\[ \text{aïta} \] (vii. 8, vii. 15) “said” “told,” as above.
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Aimaniin (vii. 9; viii. 54, 59; xii. 111) "made good" "thought well" or "preferred," Turkic ai "good."

Addu "to name" (vii. 12, vii. 8), Adduga "you named" (iv. 11); Turkic at "name" "word" and du "to fix," as in Akkadian.

Aggus (iii. 89, v. 71, ix. 123) "power" or "honor," Akkadian akku "high," Agga "strong"; Turkic ak "high" "mighty."

Aggudan "by word of mouth" (vi. 71), Turkic and Akkadian ag "open" "mouth," gu "word," dan "by."

Akkilan "thought" (viii. 70), passive part, Turkic and Akkadian ak "intelligence." See Nakki.

Akuusa (iii. 95) "is adored" or "exalted," Akkadian Aka "exalt."

Alateas "restore thou" (x. 42, 43) or "answer thou," Akkadian al "back" and te "to deliver."

Allan (iii. 117, x. 17), Turkic al "take" "hold," participle.

Allaman "taken" or "made take," frequently found.

Allai "holding" (ii. 70).

Allaiillan "being held" or "received" (vii. 26). The passive form il here occurs as in Turkic speech.

Amkha "besought" (vii. 32), Turkic am em "to hope" "wish," etc.

Ammatippi. Probably "the friend" (ii. 56; x. 37; xi. 52, 58, 67), from the same root as the preceding, meaning "to trust," whence many words for friendship. (See Vambery, Wörterbuch, p. 30.)
Ammumansa "he is besought" (iii. 103). See preceding.

Ammaman "ready "prepared," Turkic am "now" "soon," the word occurs frequently.

ANMES. Determinative prefix for " gods" (Ena). The gods named are Simigiz, Ea, Amanü, Tessub (Rimmon), and Sausbe. Anbelan "to fulfil" or "be fulfilled" (iii. 114, vii. 31). See Belan.

Andu "to give" (v. 64, 73; vii. 9; x. 9), Medic du "to give."

Ankuu . . . (v. 71) "to establish," Akkadian ku "to record." See Kuu.

Anti "to take" occurs frequently, Akkadian ti "take" "raise," etc.

Anzususas (v. 70) "addition," Akkadian su "to increase"; Anzanuukhu (i. 18; ix. 129; xi. 50, 51; xii. 87) "to be considered." See Zun.

Annan (iv. 30) probably "ready," Turkic an "ready."

Annama(an ?) (iv. 17) "prepared." See the preceding.

Annae (vii. 12) probably "none." See the next.

Anni "not." See Ma anni, Medic anni "not," Anni perhaps "time" (viii. 58, 59), Turkic an "time."

Annutan or D.P. Nutan "by prince" (xii. 108, 124). See Nu.

Anuda or Anuhua (iii. 118) perhaps "at once." See Annan.

Anom. Prefix frequently occurring, "in the state of" or "for the purpose of," Akkadian Nam. See Anam-Islan (v. 66, ix. 126), Anamkhillusis (vii. 13), Anamtanu (viii. 10), Anammi-iddaman (xi. 62, 64), Anammi-belan (iii. 84, v. 77, ix. 122).
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

All "what", "whom," All "to which" (iv. 11, vi. 192, vii. 24, x. 17), it is compounded of a "this" and pi "which," as in Medici.

Further will be spoken" from Turkish arkh "after."

Ari "first" or "at once" (ii. 59), Turkic arai "first" ara "at once."

Ariien "at once" (xii. 85, 96, 97). See the preceding.

Arieta "adorable" (iii. 114), Akkadian Eri "to worship."

Arki "attempt" (vii. 11), Turkic erik "will" "effort."

Artatan, proper name (xi. 52).

Artessupan, proper name (vii. 36) "man of God Rimmon," Artippi "return" (xi. 72). See Attartippi.

Artilan (x. 32) "returning," Turkic art "back."

Arnusa (vii. 34; viii. 48; x. 11, 41; xii. 105) "thereunto." In Turkic speech ara means "distance."

As "whatsoever" (x. 7), as in Medici.

Aas "happy" (viii. 64), Akkadian as "happy" "obedient," Mongol ase "joy."

As "a record" (v. 86), Asaa (ix. 116) may be connected.

Asi "desire" occurs frequently (e.g. iii. 86) with the forms Astien, Asti inna, Astiie, Astiuen, Astiipi; Akkadian Astin "want."

Asien (vii. 17), perhaps the Mongol as "to give."

Asalinan, proper name (vii. 36, 37).

Attan "going" or "coming" (ii. 64, iv. 8, xi. 63), Turkic at "to walk."
DUJRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

Attaman "made go" "sent" (iv. 5, 27, 28; v. 61; vi. 100; xi. 63).

Attaartippi (iii. 96, v. 88, xi. 50, xii. 87), a noun; occurs in plural (i. 8) "reply" from atta "words," ar "back," tip "send," pi "which."

Attaiippi "the father" (ii. 55; ix. 118; x. 35, 37; xi. 50, 55, 58, 71; xii. 68). See also Attaip (xi. 69), Attaipi (iii. 114), Attaipius (xi. 67) and Attaiisi (iii. 95), Attaippa (x. 52); Akkadian adda, Turkic atta "father" in the definite form.

Atinin "this" or "that," Turkic atin "that."

Azalta perhaps "rejoiced" (viii. 67). See as, or "advantaged," Turkic as "to be useful."

Azarraman "despatched" (iii. 97), Turkic asur "to pass."

Azzakka "distant" (iv. 8), Medic accikka "distant," Turkic as "to go."

BAR Du ú "my daughter" (xii. 89), Akkadian Bar "lady" and duu or dum, duv. "child" with ú "my" affixed.

Be "race" "offspring" (iv. 11, xi. 69, xii. 121) as in Akkadian.

Be "to make" occurs often as an auxiliary prefix, Medic Pe, Akkadian Ba "to make" or "create."

Belaan "fulfilled" or "finished," Akkadian be "complete," Bela "end"; Mongol belen "ready."

See also Belaman (iii. 108) "made complete;" Belie (v. 60, vi. 112).

Beendu "making give" (vi. 97). See Andu (cf. iii. 111).
Beeni "fully" (iii. 101), Akkadian be "full" "complete."

Beeru "making give" (v. 69, xii. 97). From Be "to cause" and ru "to present."

Bi "they" "them" (iii. 87, x. 4, xii. 110), Medic pi "they."

Billas "knowledge" or "token" (vi. 101), Turkic bél "to recognize."

Biin "seeing" (xii. 115, 116); Turkic bin "to see" "perceive."

Bizus "twofold" (vi. 65, 72) from bi "two" and Zus "increase," Turkic iz "fold" suffixed to numbers.

Bu "this" occurs several times, Turkic bu "this."

Buddu "confidence" (xi. 60), Turkic büt "to trust."

Buklus "aid" (iv. 17, x. 25), Turkic bogla "to aid" "strengthen."

Da or Ta (vii. 2, 5, 38) Datisi Daallaan and (vii. 10) dadaan daaman (vii. 17), from da "to speak," as in Akkadian; Turkic di "to speak."

Dan "mighty" (iv. 11, x. 16) as in Akkadian, Mongol den "high," Turkic tan "great." Dan "must" (viii. 64) or "can," Danni (viii. 65) "strong."

Danga "power" or "province" (x. 16).

Du (benaaman) (iv. 28) perhaps du "to command," as in Akkadian.

Dubiippi "obedient" (xii. 118), Akkadian dub "to serve."

Dumip (iv. 62) "being," Medic du "to be."

Duman "making go" "proceeding," Akkadian du "to go."

Duka "gone," "come" (i. 9, see ix. 113). See preceding.
DUB "tablet" "document," as in Akkadian, Dubbu (x. 26, xi. 48) "this tablet," Dubbuu (vi. 97) accusat. ? Dubbeas, Dubbias (x. 39, xi. 45) "a tablet," Dubbe (iv. 18) accusat. ? (cf. vi. 99, viii. 69), Dubbu liepi (xii. 100) "by this tablet," Dubbu ukku "for this tablet" xi. 45), Dubmus "of tablet" (x. 36, 38, 39, 40) or "tablet it," Dubbimam (x. 36, 38) "stamped," Dubmaman (xii. 111) "made stamped" or "written," Dubsarippi "scribe" (vii. 87), as in Akkadian.

Dudubni (i. 53, v. 69) "made written."

Dukarrippi "the confirmation" or "execution" from du "to make" or "give" and Kar "strong" or "execute," as in Akkadian (v. 86, 95; vi. 103; ix. 96; xii. 109).

Dukhu perhaps "fully" (vii. 15), Turkic Tokh, Akkadian dikh "full" "complete."

Duppassena "let serve" (iv. 18, ix. 125), Akkadian dup "serve." Perhaps duppa (vii. 14) means "servant."

Duraan "remain" "keep" (ii. 73; vi. 68, 69), Akkadian and Turkic dur "to stay."

Durube "subject" (i. 15, xii. 110), Akkadian dur "to serve." See Durubiipi "subject" adject. (xii. 114), Durube-ippi (xii. 122).

Durupatii "forced to be subject" (xii. 121). See Pat.

Dusratta, proper name (i. 3; ix. 127; xii. 103, 107).

E "speech" occurs frequently with this apparent meaning, Turkic ayi "to speak," Akkadian e "to speak." See ee MES "words" (iii. 88). E "house" perhaps to be so rendered (xi. 69), Edan "from house," Akkadian e, Turkic ev "house."
Es probably "master" (x. 9), Turkic ey "possessor" "master."

Een "of word" or "saying" (vi. 103, xi. 50).
See E. Compare Eidda "spoken" (x. 21, 22)
and eenan MES "words" (vii. 96).

Een with ANMES prefixed "gods." See Es
and the Turkic eye "god."

El "sanctioning" (x. 37). See Elippi "the
sanction" (x. 35). Compare el "holy" in Akkadian.

El "holy" (vii. 109). See Ellienin (iv. 28)
"sanctioned," Ellii (vii. 44) "sanction speaking,"
Ellaman (vii. 62; xi. 54, 56) "made sanctioned."
Perhaps means "binding," Turkic il.

Ema or Eema (vii. 64; vi. 111; xi. 54, 57).
Perhaps "news," Akkadian me "to speak."

Enippi (v. 86, vii. 64, xii. 98) and
Eni (vii. 95, 113) "The God." See Eena.

En "as" occurs frequently.

Enna "thus" (see xi. 71), and Ennaan "thus it"
(vii. 45), Akkadian Enna "thus," Ennakken (vii. 42)
"in exchange making," Akkadian Enna "for."

Enna "make say," probably (v. 84, vii. 45). See E.

Enn "those things" (vii. 16; viii. 49;
x. 42, 43), Akkadian Ene "they."

Errassen "may they will" (vii. 87),
Turkic Er "will."

Eru "will" (vii. 108). See preceding.

Esialan perhaps "pardonning"
(vii. 45), Turkic as "to pass over," Akkadian esu "pardon."

Ess "due" (v. 68), see (x. 68) and Esi (x. 55,
58), Turkic es "belonging."
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

Egypt "ordering" (vi. 102). Compare Eesippias below.

Eeseni perhaps "multitudes" (ix. 125), Akkadian es "many."

Eesippias-dan "great chief," i.e. Suzerain (iv. 11, x. 16), Akkadian esseb or issip "prince," Turkic içi "Lord." The word occurs in Hittite personal names (see dan).

Etaman "made"? (xii. 117). See the next.

Etii "making" or "doing." A common verb. Turkic et or it (in various dialects), etii tanna man (xi. 46), apparently "made must be."

Gamma "conquering" (x. 7), as in Akkadian.

Gan preceptive prefix (vii. 44), as in Akkadian. Gidda perhaps "far," but the text is broken (ix. 100).

Gilias, proper name of the Minyan Ambassador.

Giel "thy concubine" (vii. 43), Akkadian giel "a female slave."

Gilusus perhaps "in reply" (iii. 97). From gi "back" and lu a "letter." See Lus.

Gienusa preceded by maan (xii. 107), Akkadian gi "to be far" and nū "to rest" or nu "prince." Probably "who dwells afar" or "rules afar."

Gipaani (iv. 16, 20; xi. 61, 68, 69, 74). Compare gipaanie (v. 73), gipaanieta (v. 64), gipani etaman (xii. 117) "decrees" from gi "to make" and paan "law" in Akkadian.

Gip "like" (v. 63), Akkadian gib, Turkic kep "like."

Giz, probably pronounced iz, as it occurs in the name of Egypt. See under iz.
guli apparently "come" "go," Turkic guel "to come" (vi. 116; vii. 21, 27; viii. 60).
gulu "speech" (iii. 91, vii. 5), Turkic Kul "sound," Akkadian gu "to speak."
guru apparently "all" "full," Turkic Kur "full," but perhaps the Akkadian gur "to become." In vii. 46 gurūnu₇ is apparently "back send," Akkadian gur "to return," and ût or hut as in Medic hutto "to send."
guoe or guhue (ix. 123) "greatly"; see the next. See guua (iii. 89).
gukara (v. 68) "greatly." See the next.
gukara (v. 96) "muchly," Akkadian Kuga "high," Turkic Kuk Kuch "much" "strong" etc., with the adject. termination in ra as in Medic, etc., Medic gik.
I "clear" commonly occurs, as in Akkadian.
Iaalaan "lying" (v. 83), Turkic yal "to lie" "extend."
Iaala an (vi. 102) "only if"—conjectural.
Ialla a verb occurs several times, Turkic yal "to shine" "be visible."
Ialli a verb occurs several times, Turkic yal or yel "to hasten," yol "to go."
Iame "strange" (xii. 91). See Tiamma (vii. 18, 24) "foreign," Turkic yam "hostile" "foreign" (Vambery, Wörterbuch, p. 108).
Iatilaan "extending" (v. 84), Turkic yat "extend."
Ib or Ip a frequent auxiliary prefix (compare Be), Akkadian ib "to create."
Idda "giving power" (iv. 7; viii. 52, 53; x. 2), Akkadian id "power."
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

Ili "send" (x. 23, 53), Turkic It "to send forth."

Iddu "making power" (x. 11). See Iddukaara (i. 21, xii. 110) "an ordering" from Kar Medic; gar Akkadian "to cause."

Idduni perhaps "completing" (iii. 101).

Id (x. 12) apparently "sole," as in Akkadian.

Iemeni (v. 72), perhaps Turkic yañ "sort" "manner."

Itena (vii. 21) apparently "freshly," Turkic yena. Compare Inna (xii. 72) "again" "freshly" and Iin (xi. 48) "again" (cf. iii. 82, 83).

Iis "how" (vii. 16), Mongol yazi "how." Compare Iisi (v. 69) "how," Isi (ix. 93) "how."

Iiummi (vi. 109) "wholly," Turkic yum "gathered together," yũmi "all."

Ikhibin, proper name of a city (iii. 94). Perhaps the present Kaban Maden in Dusratta's country.

Illa (vii. 23, 29) "agree," Turkic Il "understanding" (see ix. 116).

Im "region" (v. 69, x. 16, xii. 95).

Imma "this same" occurs frequently, Akkadian ma "this," Mongol ime "such an one."

Inna occurs frequently as a verb, Akkadian in "mastery," Turkic yeng "conquest."

Innaammaman "it is hoped" (xii. 110), Turkic Inam "trust" "hope."

Iwu "master" (x. 3). See Inna. Akkadian Enu "Lord." See vi. 133, 135 and probably i. 13.

Ipri (iii. 93; ix. 115; xi. 48, 72; xii. 104, 105, 120) apparently "friend."

Ir "him" "it," incorporated particle, as in Akkadian and Medic, frequently found.
Isni (x. 14) apparently "if."

Issi (xi. 61) perhaps "here," Mongol Isi "here."

Istanippi occurs often. Perhaps Isa "therefor" and innippi "to be able," as in Medioc.

Istaniasa (ix. 129, xii. 110) "as far as going" or "to the utmost."

Is (vi. 103, x. 7) probably means "proclamation."

Iskiin "briefly" (viii. 49), Mongol eske "to cut" or perhaps gizkiin, Turkic Kis "to be small," Akkadian Kis "short."

Ka "all" as in Akkadian, occurs several times; Ka "voice" "speech" as in Akkadian, occurs several times.

Kateiddau "my son-in-law" (xii. 99) or perhaps "brother-in-law," Turkic Kutuo "brother-in-law," Mongol Kadem "father-in-law."

Kutiin (xii. 101) "wife," Turkic kat.

Ki maan "home" (viii. 58, 60), Akkadian Ki "place" and ma "country," Turkic man locative case.

Kii (vi. 124) "together with" as in Akkadian (see Ki, vii. 63), Kii "as" (vii. 38); Akkadian and Turkic ki "as."

Kim (vi. 97) "explain," Akkadian Kimmu "explanation."

Kinna (iii. 111) "message." See Kinni (ix. 116). Kin in Akkadian.

Kiienna (iii. 105) "bearing," Akkadian gi "to carry."

Kuu (iv. 14) apparently "record" as in Akkadian, perhaps duru.

Kusa (vii. 40) apparently "throne," Akkadian guza.

Kuzusi (viii. 46) perhaps "delayed," Mongol Khozem "late."
KUGI "gold" (v. 63, vii. 50, xi. 67), Tartar kin "gold."

*KUR* "country." D. Prefix. The countries mentioned are Khar or Phoenicia (i. 11, 19); Mini the Minyan land (frequently); Mizri or Masria or Musri Egypt, and Saami (ix. 95) Zaan.

Kha "this" (vii. 43), as in Akkadian. See Khai "which" (x. 30), Turkic Khaya "who" (interrog).

Khakhani MES (xii. 113, 118) "Princes." The Turkic Khakhan a "King of Kings," Akkadian Kha "Prince."

Khaallan (vii. 29) "remaining," Turkic Khalan "the rest."

Khallan (vii. 23) "remaining." See preceding.

Khalli (iv. 12; xi. 49, 51) "haste," Akkadian Khal.

Khalki (v. 83, 84; x. 5, 6) followed by ma "land." Apparently Chalcis, near Aleppo, which was conquered by Thothmes III. (Karnak List, No. 140).

Khanni (x. 24, 27) apparently "Royal." See Khakhani.

Khara "writing" (xii. 119), Turkic Khar "to cut," ser "to write" Akkadian; Sar and Khir "to write," "engrave," occurs often in infin. act.; Nikhari "to write"; Kharri (iii. 101) "of writing" or "written"; Kharri (x. 15).

Kharattaman "decided" (iv. 8), Medic Kharta "to decide."

Kharru. The Phoenicians (i. 14, x. 6) also Khar (i. 11, 19; v. 92; ix. 127), followed by u "race," or preceded by KUR "land."
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(Kharanū (x. 18) "a city," probably Harran.

Khasa "how much" (ix. 110), Turkic Khas "how much." See Khasra (ii. 69), apparently "to how much."

Khasaasi "together" (vii. 23, 29). See Khasaasipī (vii. 20, 26) "comrade," Turkic Khos "pair" "company."

Khaisen "when" (iii. 121, iv. 13, xi. 49), Khasi (x. 40), Turkic Khasan "when."

Khasusa "together" (iv. 7). See Khasasi.

Khattan "speeding" (iii. 103), Turkic Khat "quick."

Khaati Hittite (x. 16) followed by ma "land."

Khe frequently occurs, apparently means "whole." See Khe (ix. 121), Kheman (xii. 113), Khena (v. 69), Khenieppi (i. 11, 14), Kheepi (vii. 16). Perhaps to be read gan, Akkadian gan "all," Khe "abundance."

Kheennisin perhaps "all said" (vii. 11) or "produced," Akkadian Khe "to produce."

Khiarukkhā "married" (xi. 73, 77; xii. 90, 93, 99, 106). See Khiarukkhā (xi. 66), Turkic Khūr "coire."

Khilli "making" or "made" (iii. 92, 101). See next.

Khillu (vii. 11, 24, 45) "doing," Turkic Khīl "to do" or "make."

Khillussi occurs frequently "making see" or "explaining."

Khiisi (see vi. 125; xii. 85, 89, 95) "appearing" "perceiving." In Akkadian Khiis appears to mean "see."
Khizû or Khis may mean "earnest," "warm," "zealous," etc. Khizaen might also mean "showing my zeal," but this is difficult in the sentences in question.

Khu "this" (iii. 110), as in Akkadian.

Khubbu (iv. 22). See Khablu (iv. 23), perhaps "rolled up," Turkic Khub "to close up," "bind," "cover" (Vambery, p. 16).

Khulu "hearing" "heard" (iii. 108, xii. 96), Turkic Khul "hearing."

Khusi (v. 62; vii. 33; xi. 67, 70) "urging," Turkic Khoe Khus "to drive," "hunt."

La "give," "present" (v. 59, vi. 114, viii. 45), Laaku (v. 70), Lap (v. 88), Laman (xi. 65), Akkadian la "gift."

Latahkkha "conquering" or "conquered" (x. 17), Akkadian lat "conquer."

Lik "as to" (vi. 113, 116; vii. 23, 29; xi. 64), Akkadian liku "as regards."

Lus "letter" (iv. 23, xi. 59), Akkadian lu "letter" (-s nominat.).

Ma "Land" (iv. 8; v. 79; x. 5, 6, 16), as in Akkadian. See Maka (v. 64, 80) "all the land," Maaniin "to this country" (xii. 115), Maana (ii. 77, 81) "from here," or "of land," Turkic man, locative appears to occur as Ma-an.

Ma "is it not" (xi. 58), Maa anni (vii. 13, viii. 60), Turkic ma interrogative negative. See anni.

Ma "to make" (x. 5). See Maa (iii. 101) and Maan "making" frequently. As a prefix it is a collective, as a suffix the causative. See Manti "make give" (iii. 85).
Maanna "first" "previous" (iii. 117; v. 91, 95; xi. 63, 65), Turkic mañ "first" "foremost" "preceding."

Man "King," e.g. KUR MAN Mini "Land Royal" (i.e. Kingdom) Minyan. See Maninni "ruling" (v. 82), Manliman "commanded" (viii. 53, 55), Mansa "is ordered" (iii. 82). But Manulla (vi. 97, 99, 102), Manullan (x. 25, 32), Manullasa (xi. 73) seem to come from maan "make." See Medic can participial termination.

Maradu (x. 10) "expedition," Akkadian mar "path," du "go."

Mariana (x. 32) "marching." See preceding.

Masseni (x. 8) "hereafter," Medic mas "after," masne "then."

Mazria (i. 8; v. 78, 81; ix. 97, 128; xii. 117), Mizri (iii. 93, xii. 105), Musri (x. 1) Egypt, Medic Musri "Egypt."

Me "when" (ii. 60), Akkadian me "when."

Mi "west" (x. 6), Akkadian mi "sunset."

Miini "Minyan Land." The country west of Lake Van. The Men in Egyptian texts of this age dwelt East of North Syria.

Mitani (xii. 104). Part of the same region—the later Melitene.

Mu "as to" (iii. 100; viii. 47; xi. 54, 57); Akkadian mu "as regards," MU (x. 42) perhaps the proper reading, Akkadian "throne."

NA (x. 40) much defaced, but meaning "throne," according to Dr. Sayce.

na plural. See iii. 107, Akkadian ene, Mongol na plural.
na “it” “he” “she” (iii. 102, vii. 64, viii. 32, xii. 101). See Napi (vii. 7, 15; x. 8) “what,” naan “the it” (vii. 61), Na “to say” (iii. 92, iv. 13, vii. 20, x. 23, xi. 60), Medic Na “to speak.”

Naa “to go forth” (x. 10, 13), Akkadian na “go forward.”

Nakkase (xii. 103) “made” from ak “to do,” Nakkassa (xii. 106).

Na akki (v. 2) “they knowing.” See ak.

Nam “state of” (see Anam). See Namman (viii. 70) “concerning,” Namriam (ix. 104).

Ni “it,” niepi “that which,” niin “it,” nie “it” occurs often. It is also prefixed to form the infinitive active of verbs.

Nii (xii. 98) “great” or “royal” or “holy,” Akkadian ni.

Niespies (ii. 72).


Nierippi (viii. 62). Some female relative “wife”? Mongol (ike) ner “wife” compounded with ike “mother.”

Nuri (vi. 105, x. 43) “to come,” Mongol ire “to come.”

Nuru (ii. 63, 66, 78; vii. 5, 6, 38, 66) “to explain,” from i “clear” and ru “to make.”

Nimnirias (iii. 92, ix. 121, xii. 104), Immnirias (xii. 106), Amenophis III.

Niriaria (iv. 14) “to show,” causative of ri “shine.”

Nu “not” frequently found.

Nuütte MES “ruling” (xii. 113, 118). Compare Akkadian Nu “prince.”
EN Nuukkkha (iv. 10, 11) "ruling" or "ruled place."

Padaan (ii. 60) perhaps "openly," Akkadian bad "open."

Pakhe (vii. 13) perhaps "care," Turkm Bakh "to observe" "obey."

Pakhi (ii. 68, 69) "bound" "obliged," Turkm Bag "to bind."

Pelda (vii. 23), spelt Pa al da (vii. 29), "severance," Turkm balat.

Paldu (x. 48) "become sworn," followed by Paau "we bind," Turkm paau "bind," Akkadian pal "oath," du "make."

Pala "work" (xii. 91, 93), Akkadian ba "make," Medic balu "work."

Palla (viii. 56, 59, 65), Pal "time" or "judge," as in Akkadian.

Paan "highly" (ii. 59, ix. 93), Akkadian Pa "high."

Pa nu "sure not" (vii. 16), Turkm ba "bound" "firm."

Panamimaan "certified" (vi. 108, 111) from Pa "sure," nami "condition of," maan "made."

Passarippi "conductor" (viii. 54), Turkm basar "to lead."

Passi "to lead," "conduct," Turkm bas, occurs frequently.

Passidkhippi "envoy" (Dr. Sayce's rendering) connected with the preceding, occurs often.

Passu (ii. 73; vi. 118, 119; vii. 39) apparently "chief," Turkm Pasa.

Palia (xi. 46, 47) "sign" "signature," Turkm balia "mark."
Pasutumu (ix. 97, 99) perhaps "expedition;" Turkic basut.

Paataa "binding" "obliging" (vii. 5, 6; xi. 48), Patii (xii. 121); Turkic bat "to drive" "press" or Akkadian bat "finish" "settle." See Pati.

Patarra "follow" (v. 61), Turkic bat "follows," batar "make follow."

Pati (viii. 67, 68) "surely" (see Pa-nu), Patitipi (vii. 33) perhaps "settlement"; Akkadian pat.

Pa tise (xi. 51) "following," Turkic batis "follow."

Paza "also" "again" frequently found, Turkic paza "anew."

Pazani and Pazana often found "again," Turkic posne "also."

Pi "which" "the" as in Medic, frequently found.

Pi id ra "which hand to" (v. 27) appears to mean "either" as in Turkic, bätära "this side."

Pikhri (vi. 12) "showing," Turkic Pikh "see."

Pikhru (ii. 68, iii. 89) "making see" or "making strong." See the preceding and Turkic pek "strong."

Piira "all" (iv. 18, 31). See Pirippi "wholly" (vi. 104), Medic Pirru "all," Akkadian bar, Turkic bari "all" (also berai). See Piru (vi. 108).

Pirate (x. 26, 31) perhaps "command," Turkic berat.

Pirieda allan perhaps "being taxed" (x. 18), Akkadian Biru "tribute."

Piriana (xi. 73) "will go" or "be sent," Turkic pir "to go."
Pirieta also Piriita “sent,” Turkic pirat “let go.”

Pirikku “disputing” (x. 9), Medic Pirra “quarrel.”

Piruma perhaps “tribute” (ii. 80), Akkadian Biru.

Ra “to” “towards” occurs often.

Raratti “made write” (vi. 99), Akkadian raa “to impress on clay” “write.”

Ratta “written” (vi. 100). See preceding.

Ras (x. 51) “road,” apparently an Akkadian word.

Ria a anni (x. 7). Perhaps from ri “servant.”

Ru “to give” “to make” or “do,” occurs often as in Akkadian; and Ru “to go,” Turkic ru, Akkadian ru “go” (i. 9).

Sa “he” “man,” occurs often as in Akkadian, also Saa “heart,” Saa “gracious,” Saa “say,” not easily distinguished as only one S sound is used.

Saa ú apparently “my child” (iii. 123; xi. 50, 51). Compare SAL saa (xii. 90) from sa, se “seed.”

SAL “woman,” D. Prefix (viii. 52, 62, 65; ix. 89; xi. 54; xii. 90, 103) with i prefixed it seems to mean “pure woman” “maiden.”

Sallukkha (ix. 121) “handmaiden,” from lu “to bind,” lukh “to serve” in Akkadian.

Saala “favoured” (x. 35, 37; xii. 104; cf. ii. 55, 59; ix. 93).

Saalippi (xi. 76), perhaps “the generator,” like Akkadian Saalal. See Saa “child.”

Salana “sending” (ii. 64), Turkic Sal “to send.”
Saanni "Land of Zoan" (ix. 95), now Sân.

Sopi "haste" (iii. 87), Turkic ĕap "haste."

Sarri "king" (iii. 15, 109; x. 3), Akkadian Sar "King."

Saarusa (x. 1, xii. 91) "region in," Akkadian Sar "to extend." See Saarillie (ix. 124) "increased."

Sata (viii. 62) "resolved," Turkic Sata "to mean." Compare Saata (xi. 51).

Satti "all that which" (v. 84), Saat (xii. 108), Akkadian Sati "all which" (cf. ii. 72).

Se "to give" and "gracious" occurs frequently.

See "obeying" (iii. 92, 97, 99; vii. 12; x. 3) "receiving," Akkadian Sea "obeying."

Senippi frequently found applies to the King of Egypt; -ippi is a case ending. The word Sen may be the Turkic ini "younger brother." In Egyptian Sen means "brother" and "ally." It may be an Egyptian word.

Seikhra (xi. 59) and Seikhras (ix. 119) "safe." It appears to be an adjective. See Akkadian Sakh "prosperous."

Seirriepi "gold" (ii. 70, xi. 67) with KUGI following, Mongol Sara "yellow."

Siia (iii. 100) "seeing," Medie Siya, Akkadian Si "to see," Sii (ii. 62), Siili "seen" (vii. 43).

Siiddaan (vii. 9) "by give seeing?" "carefully."

Silakhu "brilliant" (vii. 41, 61), Akkadian and Turkic Sil "to shine."

Sillan "long" (i. 9), Akkadian Sil "long."
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Silipi (xi 64) "deciding," Akkadian Sil "to direct."

Sini "anew" (ii. 57, v. 69), Sinai (ix. 117), Mongol sine "anew."

Siün (v. 69) "alike," Mongol siini "like."

Sipiiku perhaps "clearly visible" (xi. 46) from Si "to see" and i "clear."

Siipi "gathering" (vii. 10), Akkadian siib "to hold" "gather," Turakische seib "sweep."

Sippi (viii. 61, x. 23), Medic sip "court."

Sira "ordering." See Siras (vii. 34, xii. 96) "an order," Sirapies "make thou order" (x. 3), Sirieda "having ordered" (x. 15), Siri "ordering" (vii. 44, x. 34), Siraan "order" accus. (x. 14), Medic Sera "order."

Sū "hand" (ii. 79, iv. 4, viii. 51), as in Akkadian. See Sūu (v. 88, xi. 60) "giving," Suassena (v. 70) "let be given" (or "taken"), Sumansa "will be given" or "ordered to give" (ii. 75).

Sūa (vi. 106) "news," Turakische Sava.

Suus (v. 62, 86; ix. 118) "word," Turakische sōz "word."

Sunpi "the same," frequently found. Turakische sū this," Akkadian suu.

Suū or Suhu "take," a common verb from su "hand."

Sue "people," frequently found, Akkadian su "multitude," Turakische soi "race."

Suggani (v. 94; vii. 32; x. 54, 56; xii. 114, 118) "agreed," Akkadian Sug "to settle." See Suggunu-uddu (v. 80, xii. 108).
Suggu (vii. 1, xi. 49, xi. 75) perhaps "full" "complete," Mongol "suk "together" "gather," Turkic "sok "end."

Suka (viii. 52, 53); Sukaan (iv. 15) perhaps "at the same time," Mongol Suka.

Suukku (iv. 12, v. 78, xii. 111) the same as Suggu, as appears from the context.

Sugkheni (x. 30) "fighting," Turkic Sokh "fight."

Sulla "finishing" (ix. 114), Akkadian suul "finish," Mongol sul "end."

SUR (iii. 109; vi. 113; vii. 24, 16, 17) "servant," as in Akkadian.

Suttarna (ii. 55), proper name of Dusratta's father, "Set judges."

Sutta (iii. 93) "far," Akkadian Sud.

Ta "to thee" frequently found. See Ti.

Ta "so," Turkic ta frequently found.

Taallaman (vi. 104) perhaps "intelligible." See Talami. See Taallan (viii. 64).

SAL Tadukhep (ix. 89, xii. 103), proper name of Dusratta's daughter, "all sweet" (Turkic tat "nice").

Taiia (iv. 5), Taii (ix. 124) "besides," Medic Daie "other."

Taka (vi. 112) "the rest," Akkadian taka "remaining."

Takhkha (ix. 130) "make" "establish," as in Akkadian.

Talama (vii. 7, 5) "translation." See Talame (v. 85; vii. 3) "interpreter," Talami (vii. 37, x. 4) "interpreter"; Turkic TILMES "interpreter."
Tulintena "rendering greater" (xii. 120, 121), Turkic Tulim "great" and te "to render."

Taanas "know thou" (vii. 15), Turkic tani "to know."

Taanilli "being understood" (iii. 117). See Tanillaman "recognized" (xi. 47), Turkic Tanla "to prove."

Taanu "information" (vii. 10). See Taanusi (vi. 123), Taanusaussena (ii. 81). It occurs frequently. See Tanas. Tan, see Dan; the syllable has either sound apparently.

Tais "was" (vii. 50), as in Medic Das "was."

Tariitenan "stopped" (x. 30), perhaps Akkadian tar "to fix."

Tarasise, perhaps "arranges" "fixes."

See Tartippi.

Tartippi "judgment" (iv. 18, 31), Akkadian tar and tarta "judge," Turkic tart "to weigh."

Taassa "to bear." See Tassellan "borne" (iv. 22), Tasaman (vii. 47) "to be carried," Taassena "let carry" (ix. 100); Turkic tas "to bring."

Tase "because" (iii. 93, 96, 98, 100), Medic tas.

Te, a common verb. See Tea, Teen, Teenan, Temanna, Telan, Teenna, Teeidda, Teepi, Tees and Antees. Akkadian Te or De "to give" "render" "offer."

Ti "thou" "thee" "thy" commonly used. Medic ti affix 2nd person, Mongol ta "you." It occurs in several Turanian living dialects as Lenormant has pointed out.

Tia "taking" (iii. 82). See Anti.
Tü "say." See Tü "word" (x. 24, 27), Tiü (vii. 19), Tieallan "spoken" (vii. 16), Tüma (ix. 120) "word"; Turkie die "say," dia "word."

Tûkha "full" "enough" (viii. 49; x. 8. 22), Akkadian díkh, takh "full" "complete," Turkie tokh "full."

Tilan "all" (iii. 85, x. 17), Tiliæ (ix. 130) "completing"; Akkadian til "complete," Antillaman "to be completed" (vi. 132).

Timme (vii. 18) "as," Akkadian dim, Turkie tíñ "like."

Tipi "message" occurs often, Medic tippi "sending," Tipiena MES (see v. 83) "message words" "messages." See E.

Tissan "quick" "quickly," Turkie tís "brisk" "quick."

Tissi (vii. 12) "at length," Turkie tís "to extend."

Tisippi (v. 65, 113; xii. 86, 95) "the King," Akkadian tís.

U "and," occurs e.g. vii. 11, x. 9.

U "people," e.g. i. 11.

U "battle" possibly xii. 122. U Rirasa "battle raising."

U or Hu "I" "me" "my" as in Medic, occurs often.

Ub "which" (x. 64), ubbi (vi. 123, viii. 46), ubbu (vi. 101); Medic appo.

Uddan or huttan apparently "brings" (v. 60, vii. 41, xi. 71) or "sends," Medic Hutto "to send."

Uddukman "promoted" (i. 11), Akkadian udda "to rise."

Ukka (x. 17) or Mannukka "the collection of people."
ukkia (xi. 60) "to people," Akkadian uggī, uku "people."

Uku "person" (x. 8), Akkadian ug "man."

Ukku "right" "law" (x. 8, xi. 60), Mede ukkū "law."

Uggū "Law" (vi. 113), ullaḫḫuuggu.

Via (ii. 60, viii. 46), Turkic oi "to think."

Ullan "glad" occurs often, Akkadian ul and Khal.

Ulli (ii. 67, vii. 16, xii. 95) "being," Turkic ol "to be," cf. ulla "become" (vi. 113), ululli "to cause to become" (xi. 63). Úmûn "Lord." The text is doubtful.

Úri or Hurī "announce" (iii. 116, vii. 31, viii. 56, x. 33, xii. 95), and in the passive "hear," Akkadian urias "hearing."

Urukku apparently ù "this," ru "doing," ku "for" "therefore," occurs several times.

Usse and ussa frequent, Turkic us "think" "understand."

Ussaanās "border" "extent" (x. 1) from us "long." See Ussena.

Uskhena (iv. 21) "previous," Akkadian us, Turkic Eski "old."

Uskha perhaps "exalted" (viii. 66), Turkic us "high," Akkadian us "long."

Ussena "let extend" (x. 18). See preceding.

Ustaman "to make extend" (x. 2). See preceding.

Zabe (i. 25) "host," Akkadian Zab. Zaal incomplete word (v. 70).
Zalāmsi (xi. 77, 90, 97, 99, 106); Medic Zal, Zaimu "image" and si "in sight of."

Zaanni (vi. 76, viii. 59) "think" "consider," Mongol Zan "to think" or "believe." Compare Anzannukh (i. 18; ix. 129; xi. 50, 51) "to be considered," Turkic San "think."

Zaru "afterwards" (ix. 105), Akkadian Zar "afterwards."

Zazalusa "shall appear" (vii. 14), Akkadian Zal "appear."

Zu "know," Zuga "you know" (iv. 11; viii. 67, 68), Zumuniin "made know" (x. 4); Akkadian Zu "know." Probably Zulu "known" (vi. 127, 134), Zusa "he knows" (iii. 102).

Zubia "kind" (xi. 72), Akkadian Zubu "kindness."

Zubzanien "kind thinking" "propitious." See the preceding and Zanni.

Zutarkhippi "decision" (viii. 61), from Zu "to know," and tar "to decide," "fix," "judge."
Front of Tablet.

Left-hand columns.

(Assyrian.)

I.

(1) ... (ni) mu u ri i a ................................................. Amenophis III.
(2) ... ia na .............................................................
(3) ... (ra) at ta SAR ...................................................
   ... (Dus)ratta King
(4) ....................................... ana ia si sul mu to me peace
(5) ....................................... ana NINMES ca to ladies thy
(6) ... GUMMES GAL ka D.P. KURRAMES Princes thy horses
   ca ana ... MES ca
   thy to thy
(7) ... ana KUR ca va ana mimmuca dangiri šulmu to Land thy and to all thine greatly peace
   (The remainder in native language.)
(8) ... ma a an na al (la ma) a an at ta a ar ti ip pi as MES being received the replies
(9) ... a an se e ni ip pi û e ... (na?) ta a du ka a brother me so come it ru si il la a an
   long distance
(10) ... ... al la ma an ka ...... sa KUR Ma a
   received of the
   as ri a an ni e en
   Land of Egypt
(11) . . . . . . . en . . . . . . ud du u uk ma a an KUR Kharpi promoted Land Phoenician
        u khe ni e pi na race the whole of
(12) . . . . . . . . . . . . . i ri . . . . in ma a an ni is it not?
(13) . . . . . . . . . . . . . pa (sut) . . . . . . . al la a an expedition with
        i nu me ni i in Lord when of them
(14) . . . . . . . . . . . . . du u ni (i) . . . . . . . an KUR Land
        Kharru u khe ni e pi Phoenician race the whole
(15) . . . . . . . . . . . . . du ru be i in ni obedient ruling

(16) . . . . . . . a ti i ni i in ma a an ni i im ma ma an this is it not thus it is
(17) . . . . . . . . . an du ru be i in nu uk ku subject no law
(18) . . . . . . . se e ni ip pi an za a nu u khu pi tis sa an brother to be considered it quickly
(19) . . . . . . . . . . . . . ka a . . . . is KUR Khar pi u . . . . Land Phoenicia race
        ni e (en) thereof
(20) . . . . . . . . . . . . . ma a an KUR SAR Mi i ni e being Land King Minyan
        im ma ma (a) an thus being
(21) . . . . . . . . . . . . . la an id du ka a ra a la (a) an with an order it presenting
(22) . . . . . . . . . . . . . an su e ni e . . . . . . . peoples
(23) a...ti is ta ni ip pi...as far as able
(24) an te e es su e...offer people
(25) lu ú pa za za a be la...I also with an host
(26) tis sa an...quickly
A gap occurs here of 22 lines.

II.

(49) ar...
(50) ta la an ú ru...
(sent?) therefore
(51) pa za na a an su ra a...
also proceeding matter to it
(52) ta a na as ta a ú...e ta pa za na a...
so it desiring it I have sent also saying
(53) a an du { dub } ni en a...gu ru man...
written as wholly?
(54) ri en na a an a ru man sa
immediately it shall be done

(55) pi úe Su ut tar na pi...(father) my Suttarna who
sa a la
favoured
(56) ni...man sa ma a an am ma ti ip pi úe ni...commanded friend my
(57) a an si ni se e ni ip...pi
aneu brother
(58) i in su ú ta ma an...as su si
received as an embassy
(59) an sa a la pa an . ti ip pi ú pa za na a ri
favoured highly the . . . . I again at once
(60) . . . ta ma an me su te mi pi u ia
when the meaning understanding
khi il lu si ik pa da a an explained plainly
(61) . . . . pa za Pa as si i id khi pi ú
Ma ni e da also from Menes the embassy my
ta to thee
(62) . . . se e ni ip pi ú e na a se e . . . . si i
brother me to it seeing
i e e clearly speaking
(63) . . . e ni i ru sa e a la se . . . a ni i in
to explain reply? this?
(64) . . . u sa la a na at ta an su e ni sa an
and sending to go people very
tis sa an quickly
(65) . . . . . . . . ta su e e en . . . . an ti
people thus to take
(66) . . ma a an . . . . ni i ru sa e ta a nu sa a ú
to explain informed
(67) . . su uk as . . . u ul li en Pa as si i id khi
become of Menes the embassy
ip
making
(68) . . a an kha a (as) . . pa a khi i i pi pi ikh ru . .
how much the obligation strengthening?
ni es si making see?
due
(69) ... (ta) gi ... la a an kha a as ra pa a khi i ta 
how much to bound

se e ni ip pi û e
my brother

(70) ..... se ir ri e pi KUR SAR Mi i in ni e pi 
thegold Land King Minyan the

al la i holding

(71) ... su û an na ma .... an
cause to take

(72) ..... ni es pi is sa at tu u sa
due all that which is given

(73) ............... en se e ni ip pi pa as su si û 
brother as convoy? of me
du ra a an ni ma a an
kept

(74) ............... û... ip pi e na a an su û an na
I (self?) the word speaking causing to be
ma an
given

(75) ............... se e ni ip pi us su man sa tis sa an 
my brother will be given very

tis sa an quickly

(76) . . . . . ni KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi su û an na ma an
The Minyan causing to give

tis sa an tis sa an
very quickly

(77) ... i sa as sa a an ma a na su e ni su e an ti
commanding from here certain persons to take

(78) ... ni i ru sa e tis sa an tis sa an ... u sa a û
to explain very quickly
(79) . . ir ip pi ra ta a ta us se na a su ra
        to so to thee let it reach it to hand
        | Ma ni e en . . la ma an
        of Menes being given

(80) . . (id) khi pi us pi ru u ma a al la a an
        the embassy the tribute? it receiving

(81) ma a na su e ni ti pi e e na ta a nu sa a us
        from here of people message their informing its let
        se na reach

III.

(82) i . . . . ta a ni i in i en ni se e ni ip pi us ta a ti a
        this again? my brother so taking

(83) . . . e ni i in i en ni Se e ni ip pi i sa as ta a ta ü
        again? brother order so to thee I

(84) a nam mi be la an . . te e es su pa as AN Sa us be
        in condition of fulfilling the god Rimmon the god Sausbe
        AN A ma nu ü (ti?) la an
        the god Amanu thy with

(85) AN Si mi i gi ni e . . be la an AN Ea a sarri nie
        The god Simigiz . . fulfilling god Ea King { this
        ti la an ma an (ti?) be la a an
        of him all grant fulfilling

(86) . . . e e en na . . us ti si a sa an tis sa an tis sa an taa
        of the gods . . being sped? very quickly so
        ta as ti te en
        to thee desire giving

(87) E ra as se na . . ma a an sapi al la sa bi zu ub
        may they will it will be hastened they being
        za ni en tis sa an tis sa an
        propitious very quickly.
(88) is ú ú ra ú sa as se na a ma a an
to me I may order it to be

ti pi e e MES
messages words

(89) Pi ikh ru pa za ni en is ta ni ip pi sa ag gu us
making see? also it, as — far-as-able (that) honor
a gu ú a
great

(90) e (ti?) i i ta ta a na as ti en ni i ru sa e . . .
is done (made) so it desiring to explain (very)
tis sa an
quickly

(91) Gi li i as sa a an pa as si i id khi pi us ti pi
Gilias this man he the envoy a message
an ti gu lu man sa
to take to utter is ordered

(92) ma a an na a an khi il li se e na pi sa an
make proceed making duty the him of

(93) Kur Mi zi ri e pi ni es ip ri is ta se ab sut ta
Land of Egypt the of he friend because home distant
a nu u sa
it he rules

(94) URU I khi be ni URU Si mi i gi ni e pi ni e
city Ikhiben city of Simigiz which it
ma a an ú nu man sa
being I rule

(95) An Si mi i gi ni e pi ma a an e e ni i pi at ta i i si
god Simigiz of who being god paternal
a ku u sa
is adored
(96) At ta a ar ti i pi na a ma a an su û al la ma an
    the reply to be spoken being received
tase e e na MES
    because words
(97) tis sa an tis sa an gi lu u su a za ar ra ma a an
    very quickly in reply to be despatched
    se e na a ab be
to duty whom
(98) KUR SAR Mi i ni si man si a ti i ni i in ta se en
    of Minyan land in presence of this because of
    id du u us ta
    I ordered
(99) Se e na (pa?) an \{ e (ti?) \} \{ \ UN \} i e e
    duty high doing thus he is
    ta se e ni e pi pi ri i ta
    because of which sent
(100) Si i a ir ka a mu u sa ma a an tis sa an \[ Gi li i as
    seeing him all as to ordered quick Gilias
    ta se ni e pi
    because which
(101) id du \{ dub \}
    mi ma a na an khi il li nu be e ni
    completing? make speak? making not fully
    na an kha ar ri en
    it to write
(102) na a zu u sa a ti i ni in AN Si mi i gi ni e pi ni e
    it he knows this God Simigiz self it
    im ma ma an
    thus is
(103) Am ma man sa sa bu û kha a at ta a an tis sa an
    he is besought this my man speeding quickly
    a ti i ni i in
    this
(104) ta a an khi ... ka du u sa i i al la a ni i
    so to carry back voice he shall make to show
(105) seu ni ip (...) u e ni e pi KUR SAR Mi i ni pi
my brother that which of the Minyan land
e ru us ki i in na
the wish bearing
(106) e ti i ... ta a na as se na i i al li e ni i in
done so it let avail having journeyed
(107) seu ni ip pi ta se e ni e pi e ti ... ta ti pi e na MES
brother because which done messages
(108) e ru u us ... ta a nu u sa as se na ti la ... a an
the wish (of) information let speak complete making
(109) SUR Si mi i gi ... AN A ma a nu ú la an AN
servant of god Simigiz god Amanu with god
E a a Sar ri ni e el la a an
Ea King the holy with
(110) seu ni ip pi ... a KUR SAR Mi i ni i pi al la a an
brother him Land King Minyan receiving
e ti i ta khu tan na
made this must be
(111) be en ti en ... ir sa a al la a an se kin na a
done of thee he favoured of favour message it
al la a an
receiving
(112) i i al la a ni i in se e ni ip pi us ta se e ni e pi e ti i ta
showing my brother because the same he made
(113) ti pi e na ... ta a nu u sa a as se na AN Si mi i gi ni e pi
messages information let speak god Simigiz of
E ni i pi
god
(114) At ta i i pi e ti i ta an be la a an AN Si mi gi iz
paternal made to fulfil The god Simigiz
a ri e ta
adorable
(115) seu ni ip pi ú a se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an ti sa
brother to me brother I glad by thee
a an na
favoured
(116)  ú ú ri a a as (se?) na ti pi e na MES su ú al la ma an MES
         me let hear messages received
(117)  ta a ni il li e ta a al la a an a ti i ni i in
         to be understood word so receiving this
         ma a an na al la ma an
         first being received

           
(118)  a nu ú a ma a an ti pi e ni e pi se e ni ip pi khi zu ú
         at once what was sent brother earnestly
         khu (be) u . . .
         heard
(119) . a al li e . . . . se e ni ip pi ú e na pa as si i id khi . .
         it received brother me he the envoy
(120) . . . na a úa . . . ú ma ni il . . . . . . bi khu sa . .
         to me
(121) . . . i la . . . . e ni ip pi ú ul la . . . . an kha si en
         brother I glad . . . . . when
         pi kha la . .
         what remains
(122) . . . il i an . . . . si i id khi ip pi . . . . en na a an
         understanding to . . . envoy speaking
         pa as si i id khi ip
         envoy
(123) . . . ku sa a ú ú ú na a al la a an se e ni ip pi ta
         my child of me myself handed? brother to thee

End of the left-hand columns of Front of Tablet.
Front of Tablet.
Right-hand columns.

The first three lines have been destroyed.

IV.

(4) ... sa a al la a an se e ni ip pi us su ra a ... with favour my brother matter to it

(5) tis sa an en ta i i a at ta ma an ta a nu si en pi ta a... speedily as besides to be sent information as the thus

(6) se e ni ip pi ú e ni e pi as ti i pi in na ma a ni i... brother me what desirous to make possess

(7) Gil i i an M a ni en na a an kha su u sa ú id ta a as Gilius Menes them of together of me given sa...

power

(8) ma az za kha a at ta aan kha a rat ta ma an land distant to going being decided se e ni ip pi ú ... my brother (to)

(9) As ti i i pi ni kha a ri i ta ta a... ú ru u li e pi a ú... desirous to write so I doing it I

(10) tis sa an tis sa an se e ni ip pi ú e ni e EN nu very quickly brother me it D.P. Province ukh kha ti... nu ukh kha thy ruled

(11) man lu be khe e pi a ti la an zu ga e E si ip jointly race all to which completely you know Prince pi as dan a a pi ad du ga great to it you named
(12) se e ni ip pi ta a ma a an ti pi su uk ku (khal?) li brother so being message full hastening?
se e ni ip pi us sa . . .
my brother

(13) kha si en a ti i ni i in Ma ni e na an se e ni ip pi ú . . . when this Menes word telling my brother

(14) Pa as si i id khi ú ú na in na ma a ni i in ni ri a ri a an embassy of myself to make possess to show ku u . . .
a record

(15) úa du ra a an ni ma a an se e ni ip pi us (su ka?) a an to me to be kept my brother at same time ni ip pi . . .
himself

(16) gi pa a nu u sa a as se in na ma a ni i in Ma ni es a a . . . a decree ordering to make possess Menes

(17) Bu uk lu sa a pa za na a an KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi in aid its also to his speaking the Minyan ú an na ma . . .
my ready

(18) Pi i ra tar ti ip pi la an dup pa as se na dub be all judgment with may he serve the letter khi il lu si . . .
explaining

(19) Ma ni e ta i i al li e ni i in se e ni ip pi us . . . . Menes to thee making travel my brother

(20) su ú al la ma a an gi pa a nu u sa a as se na i i al being received a decree let order to be li e ni . . . .
made travel

(21) dup pa ku u us khe na MES su ú al la ma an tablet in the previous things being received se e ni ip pi . . .
brother
(22) gi pa a nu u sa a as se na khu ub bu ta as sa a
    a decree let order rolled up? being borne
    al la a an . . . .

(23) . . . man li man mu khu ub lu lu us te la an
    being ordered as to rolled up? the letter delivered
    su û
to be received

(24) . . . (na?) a ku lu us te la an be . . . .
t the letter delivered making giving sanction
    te el la a a n a a . .

(25) . . . . . . man sa a al la a an tis sa an ka na bu û
    us su im kha . .
favourably quickly. Voice of this I
    usu understanding . .

(26) . . . . . . khi il lu si i id ta a an KUR SAR
    making clearly the
    Mi i ni ip pi . . . .
Minyan

(27) . . . . . . . e ta at ta ma an pi id ra ta ar ti ip pi id . . .
    made go either the judgment

(28) . . . . . . ta at ta ma an a a el li e ni i in
    made go it sanctioned

(29) . . . . . . i na MES du be na a ma a an su û
    command make to be sent being
    la ma an du u bu . . . .
    received

(30) . . . . . . e la an su û al la ma an . . . . ú an na a an . .
    sanction being received I preparing?

(31) . . . . . . KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi ú a . . . ra
    The Minyan to me
tar ti ip pi . . .
    judgment

The tablet is here broken and a gap of 27 lines occurs.
V.

(59) \ldots \ldots \textit{la aù a i (dan) te man na e tis sa an my gift it was to be delivered very tis sa \ldots \ldots . quickly}

(60) \ldots \ldots \textit{a se e ni ip pi ú ut ta a an na a be li e \ldots . brother sending to it fulfilling}

(61) \ldots \ldots \textit{as sa at ta ma an pa ta a ra a al la a an mi \ldots . sent being followed}

(62) \textit{AN MES e e en na su us na ak ki du u pi en D.P. of the gods word they observe being as khi zu û khu us \ldots . earnestly urged}

(63) \textit{Ai i in ip du li e pi gi ip se ma a an KUGI it is, the make give like as received gold se e ni ip \ldots . brother}

(64) \textit{Ma ka a an ni ip pi ú paza na gi pa a ni e ta an du Land all it of self I again having decreed to give ú a at ta a \ldots . I it send}

(65) \textit{te man na e tis sa an tis sa an bi zu us te e pi to be delivered very quickly two-fold gift ti si ip pi an ma \ldots . the King of,}

(66) \textit{Su e ni a nam \{ is mi \} la a an paza du se e ni ip pi ta people of understood also is made brother to thee gu lu sa ú pa sut i \ldots . it goes? I despatching.}

(67) \textit{Pa za du ma a an \textbar Mani en na ma an se e ni ip pi ú e To proceed of Menes as said brother me pa as si i id \ldots . embassy \ldots .}
(68) se e ni ip pi us sa ma an a gu ka ra as ti en brother being understood it exceedingly desiring a i la an na be being to fulfil

(69) du\{dub\} ni i i si im khe na si in si ni be e ru being written how all region alike anew making give in khe na all region

(70) KUGI su as se na an zu su as la a ku u gold let be taken an addition for gift sa a an ni i . . . ú pi . . . . proclaiming . . . . .

(71) ag gu dan ni kha a ar ri e dan ta la me ni e dan by word of mouth \} by writing \} by explanation \} it was said \} it was written \} it was interpreted \} an ku u . . . . to establish

(72) bi zu us ta te u na e tis sa an i i e me e ni . . . . . two-fold to thee to render quickly after this wise . . .

(73) se e ni ip pi us gi pa a ni e ta a am ma ma an my brother decreeing making prepare an du ú e . . . to give, me . . .

(74) As ti i e e te u na e tis sa an . . . . desiring to render quickly

(75) ti . . e na a an is ta ni ip pi sa AN te es su (pa?) as as far as possible god Rimmon

AN A ma nu ú . . . .
god Amanu

(76) ta MES u sa a as se na an za a an ni ú nu witnesses, and let it be granted to consider I not ú me e ni i in za al . . . .

I until them
(77) ta a du ka a ri a nam mi be la a an sa a at ti so assuring as regards fulfilling all that which is ta ni ip pi sa . . . as far as possible . . .

(78) Is ta ni ip pi us be la a an su uk ku u ut (ti?) . . . as far as ability to fulfil full . . .

(79) KUR Ma a as ri a a ni ma a an KUR SAR Land of Egyptians first to Land of King Mi i ni a nu ut ta ni . . . Minyan

(80) . . ta ni a sa ma ka sug gu û ud du u . . . . . . . as far as going land all settle make

(81) . . te e en KUR Ma a as ri a an ni e pi . . . delivering the Egyptians Mi i in ni e pi . . . . . . . . . the Minyans

(82) se e ni ip pi en na a an (khar?) pi u khe ni e pi . . . brother as saying the Phoenician race all of it . . man i in ni e pi . . . . . . . ruling

(83) i a a la an ú ú khal ki KUR SAR Mi i in . . lying I myself Chalcis Land King Minyan an ni si . . . . . . . . . in . . .

(84) ia ti la a an ú ú khal ki sa a at ti . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . extending I myself Chalcis all that which . . . I

(85) ai la an ti pi e na an ni ta la me na . . . . man being messages not of interpreter . . . . ed pa za na . . . . . . . . . . . sa again

(86) As du ka a ar ri ip pi si AN MES e e ni ip pi a record in confirmation D.P. the gods su us . . . . . . . . . ta. word
(87) AN e (e) ni ip pi... se e en AN Te e es su u ub be AN
D.P. The god granting the god Rimmon the
A ma a nu û e... in ni
god Amanu

(88) be en... nu ub pi (la?) a pi en na ma an at ta a ar ti
so being not which giving as said reply
...... su u pa za na
...... giving again

(89) ta a du ka a ru si ik ki i i e e en man li......
so become it made find clearly as commanded
za...... e na a an
also......

(90) ti pi e na MES su û al la ma an e ti ip pi sa......
messages received what to do
ma a an
being

(91) a ti i ni i in ma a an na al la ma an KUR SAR
this previously taken Land King
Mi..... la a u e... id ta
Minyan giving to

(92) e ti ip pi... la a an i..... e... i a as an... ta a...
what to do it with
ri..... la

(93) KUR SAR Mi i in na su û al la ma an se e ni ip pi û
of the Minyans being received brother I
...... an

(94) sug ga ni e pi an ti pi e pi an e ti (ni?) dan
the arranging to give word which of was made
...... ma an

(95) ta a du ka a ar ri e a ti i ni i in ma a an na
so confirming this first
at ta ma an
spoken (or sent)
VI.

(96) Ma ni en na ma an se e ni ip pi us a gu ú ka (rá) as ti en of Menes as said my brother it greatly desiring
... a i i in

is

(97) Dub bu u pa za ni ki im ra a at ta an be en du pa za...
this letter also to explain writing making give also...
a ru u si man ul la a an

gladly

(98) KUR SAR Mi i in na pa as si i id khe na su ú al la ma of the Land King Minyan embassy his received
an... nu... ri en na a ni

.......

at once

(99) man ul la KUR SAR Mi i in na su ú al la ma an bu ú gladly of Land King Minyan received this I ra rat ti pi dub be
made write which letter

(100) Ai dan a ú ú rat ta ma an a a al la li pa a...
... úa
was it for me written papyrus leaf to me
at ta ma an a i i in
sent being

(101) Ma ni en na ma an ma a an nu ukku a a ub bu ú of Menes as said { before } not right it which I
usse bi i il la as ta a am ma ma an
understand knowledge so prepared

(102) i a a la an ta a na ú man ul la a pi e es si il la ma an (only if?) so it I with pleasure what being com-
a ti i ni i in
manded? This

(103) se e ni ip pi e en ta a du ka a ar ri is (Giz?) ú ú ra brother saying so confirm thou proclamation to me
khi is si mu.... na an
this ordering? as to.... thereof
(104) su ú al la ma an i i u ta a al la ma an pi ri ip pi
being received clear and intelligible altogether

(105) \[ Ma ni en na ma an pa as si i id khi ip ni i ri tis sa an \ldots
of Menes as said an embassy makes to come quickly
\ldots ú ru uk \ldots.
\ldots therefore

(106) \ldots su a a ni KUR SAR Mi i in na sa su ú ani sa a na
\ldots his news Land King Minyan of in reception its to be
ma ma an a nam mi \ldots.
favoured as regards \ldots

(107) A ti i ni i in KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi a an
this D.P. D.P. to the Minyan
Se e ni ip pi us \ldots \ldots \ldots
my brother

(108) Pa nam i ma a an i i im ma ma an pi ru u sa
certified clearly thus being all he
(us?) se \ldots.
understanding

(109) i i \{ dub \ um \} mi i im ma ma an KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi
wholly thus being the Minyan
ta a nu u sa a as \ldots ir ru ku
let him give information

(110) se e ni ip pi us sa ma an \[ Ma ni en te khu u sa an \ldots
brother being understood of Menes as delivered
ú e ma a an \ldots ri
me first

(111) Pa nam i ma a an i i im ma ma an ú ru uk ku i \ldots
certified clearly thus being therefore \ldots \ldots e ma a ni i \ldots ti pi
\ldots \ldots message

(112) \[ Ma ni es se e ni ip pi ta ka be li e ta a ma ma an
Menes brother the rest finishing so (begun?)
pi ikh ri \ldots \ldots
showing
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(113) lik khi ma a an se e ni ip pi us sa an ki i (li?)... la a... as to what being brother understands between.... SUR (pi?) us si ik ki in the servant understood

(114) ullu khu ug gu ú pa za se e ni ip pi ú an ..... (become this law?) I also my brother

(115) su u pi an ti pi ip pi an gu li a a ........... the same it giving which it coming

(116) lik khe e en pa za la gu li a a ma pa za... ma a an as to all saying also gift coming also lik kha gu li a a .... as to this coming ....

(117) Pa za du ma an se e ni ip pi e en na as .... ni en also said Brother word thus ....... ma an se e ni ip pi us here my brother

(118) Pa as su man sa khu ra a ....... ma a an ........ chief, will rule protecting e e ra .........

(119) Pa as su man sa ú a ................. chief will rule to me

(120) ú ú nu u us ta ma a an .............. se e ni ip pi ........ of me extended brother

(121) Ma ni en na ma a an se e ........ of Menes as said brother.

(122) Te man na e tis sa an tis sa an ........ to be delivered very quickly

(123) ta a nu si ub pi ú ............... informing which I

(124) Ki i pa as si ip pi ta a nu e ........... together with the leader so

(125) Khi si im du ú ú pa za .... ma as si ip ........ I also
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(126) ḫ Ma ni e ra as si ū te na ta a
of Menes being desired I (authority?) so

(127) ul la ma an in a a zu lu
gladdened it known

(128) ū e en khu ra a ti su ū
me protecting receive

(129) se e du ul la a an bi
propitious glad

(130) A khu la ma an a a
given

(131) ma na al la ma an a ti i ni i (in)
being received this

(132) an ti it la ma an ma a an nu li e pi a an ma a an

to be completed not far

(133) inu ū me e ni i in se e ni ip
Lord I when of them brother

(134) Khu ra a a as si a a zu lu
protecting its to it known

(135) inu ū me e ni i in se e du u ri
Lord I when of them gracious

End of the Front of the Tablet.

BACK OF THE TABLET.

Left-hand columns.

VII.

(1) Ti pi (en) ma a an sug ku se e ni ip pi us
Message as made filling My brother
se e ni ip pi ū a an
Brother to me he
(2) a a i ni da ti si SUR pi te a ka ti ik ku u
it well in thy speech the servant delivering in thy language
pa za ni ma a an nu \{ khe ma \} uk ku la a an
also if not rightly

(3) An ti ú ú nu uk ka la an ta la me ni e pi a a i i ta
to take I myself not knowing? interpreter what said
ip khu ........
made (hear) ...

(4) SUR pi ti pi ka ti (ku?) khi il lu si i in
The servant message in thy language of explanation
khi il lu si ik ku ........
explained

(5) Se e ni ip pi da e ti ip pi ú e ni i ru pa a ta e
Brother orator my to make clear obliging
gu lu u sa a la da a an
word spoken by

(6) ni i ru pa a ta e kha su u sa pa za na a an
to make clear obliging together also speaking
gu ru se e ni ip pi us ti i pi li a
all my brother by message it

(7) da a nu u sa a as sa na pi a an ta la ma se e ni
information shall have what it interpreted brother
ip pi us ni i nu su ú a
understanding not receiving

(8) a ú a a ar khe na a sa ma a an gi man sa a a
this it further being spoken shall be made to it
at du u us ta ma a an
said longer to be

(9) kha su ú sa ú ú pa za bi (ib?) an du si i id da a an
this writing my its I myself also them cause to give carefully
a i ma a ni i in
preferring

(10) Se e ni ip pi us a nam ta a nu si i pi al la a an ni
My brother information gathering it
khi zu ú si .. li e da da a an
earnestly explaining
11 Tis sa an khe en ni ma a an gu ru khi il lu
quickly all { said } { every } making
ar ki û pa za ni khi il lu si
effort & also to explain
12 tis si at du i i { bar } a an na at an ka ti a
at length speaking clearly having been written, speech thy to
ma a an se e ni ip pi se e na a an na e
here brother reception none
13 ma a an ni i ni i (in), ti si an ti û na a ni i in
is it not those things before thee to put I telling them
pa khe an ti a nam
care to take as regards
14 Khi il lu si is ka dup pa a ni i in ti pi an ti
explanation language { tablet servant } this of message to take
za za lu sa e se e ni ip pi sa an
shall appear { word speech } brother his of
15 KUR SAR Mi i ni i pi a a i i ta na pi ta la ma
Land King Minyan the what said which translation
e ti i ta ta a na as du khu
made know thou fully
16 Pa nu û ul li e ni i in i i is khe e pi ti e al la a an
sure not I being of them how all spoken
SUR pi se e ni ip pi da
the servant from brother
17 ka ti ik ku se e ni ip pi da a ma a an a si en ni
in thy language brother having spoken given it
e ni i in ti pi SUR pi
of them message the servant
18 i i a am ma ma an ka ti li e pi su u pi ni e
foreign being: in thy speech the word the same it
e ti ip pi û e
what to make for me
(19) **KUR SAR** Mi i ni ip pi û e ni e e ti e ti i e e
D.P. D.P. the Minyan me it making tell
se e ni ip pi û ul la a an tim me
Brother I am glad as

(20) a û e na a am ma ma a n kha sa a si pi a en a i la a an
this preparing to speak comrade his as being
| Ma ni es | Gi li i a al la a an
Menes with Gilias

(21) gu li a a ma i i e na a ma a ni i in | Ma ni es
coming again preparing they Menes
| Gi (li) i a la a an ka be li ta
with Gilias all knowing

(22) su u pi ni e e ti ip pi û e e KUR SAR
the same it what to make for me word D.P. D.P.
Mi i ni ip pi û e ni e e ti i e
the Minyan me it making

(23) lik { khal } la a an | khas { pal da a la a an kha sa a si il la a i
as to what remains disputed mutually making
ni il la a an Se e ni ip pi us
to be agreed My brother

(24) a pi en na a ni i in gu ru su û û da i i a
what they are made say wholly receiving: to me speech
am ma ma a n khi il lu li e pi
foreign being. Done which

(25) see ni ip pi û e ni e e ti i e e KUR SAR Mi i ni ip pi
brother for me it word making D.P. D.P. The Minyan
ni e e ti i e e
he word making

(26) Kha sa a si pi al li i il la a an ai la a an | Gi li i as
comrade received being Gilias
| Ma ni e et la a an
with Menes

(27) gu li a a ma i i e ma a ni i in | Gi li i as | Ma ni es
coming again? being they Gilias Menes
sa a an gu li e da
these having come
(28) Seeniipûenie . . . eti e e KUR SAR Miiini pi
Brother me it (word) making word D.P. D.P. Minyan
nicieti e e
of, word making

(29) Lik kha al la an pa al da a la an kha sa a si il li i i
as to what remains disputed mutually making
la a an
agree

(30) Pa za du ma a an i i al li e ni i in ti pi e na MES
To proceed they having travelled messages
se u al la ma an
being received

(31) se ni ip pi us ka . . . sa a as se na u u ri a a as se na
my brother . . . let order me let hear
an be la a an
to be accomplished

(32) e e ma na a am kha ta a (nu?) sa a u ti sa a
word thereof it is besought information this thou to be
ma a an se e ni ip pi u e sug ga ni en
favourable brother me agreeing

(33) Pa ti ti pi e ni en khi zu u khu si ub pi as ti i in
your settlement thereof earnestly urging, what wishing
se e ni ip pi u e
brother me

(34) a ru u sa u se e ni ip pi u e ni e en ti sa a an na
thereunto I brother me if so be thou favourest
sira as se
order receiving

(35) Pa za du u pa za ! Ma ni e na an se e ni ip pi u e
Besides also Menes him brother for me
pa as si i id khi pa za du u pa za
an embassy besides also

(36) ! Gi li i a na an ! Ar te e es su pa na an ! A sa a li in
of Giliyas and Artessupas Asalis
na a an pa as si i id khi ip pi
he the envoy
Gi la il a a na an ta la mi | A sa a li in na a an
Gilias' interpreter Asalis him
dub sar ri ip pi ú pa za ni
scribe my also he

ki i bu su ú us si se e ni ip pi da al la a an
as this my writing understanding brother speech with
ni i ru sa e tis sa an
to make clear quickly

Pa as su sa a ú se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an pi ri e e ta
Chief he this my brother I gladly have sent

se e ni ip pi ú ul la a an pa as si i id khi ip pi Ku sa
brother I glad the envoy a throne
gus gi a en? \{ NA KUGI
us ti pi a en \} D.A D.A
gold covering its

se e ni ip pi ú ud da a a an si la khu su us ti pi a en
brother brings (send) brilliant the gift thy it as
pa as si i id khi ip pi la an
with the envoy

se e ni ip pi us \{ (EGA?) su (ra ka ti?) \} en na ak ki en (MU?) pi
my brother's gift a crown in exchange for the throne
a ab ta a an gu ru ú ut
to thy house it back I send

Se e ni ip pi ú e ma a a an gi e el ti ni ri se kha
Brother for me one of wives thy to please this
si i i li
being seen

bi \{ kar \} an ti is tin na a an tis sa an
it let to take here from proceeding quickly
se e ni ip pi ú e ni e si ri el ti i pi
brother me it order sanctioning
VIII.

(45) *Se e ni ip pi en na a an khi il lu li e si e ta la an*

Brother thus it done pardoning

*pa a si i id khi ip pi ku* {sa} {la} . . .

the envoy by gift?

(46) *u i a ma a an ku zu u si ub pi la an se e ni ip pi ü e*

being considered Delayed with which my brother

*ni e pi a dan as ti i i pi*

what very desirous

(47) *ni kha ri i ta ü ru u mu pi ri e ta a an*

to have written of me gift as to having sent

*se e ni ip pi ta sa ma an*

brother to be carried

(48) *se e ni ip pi ü e ni e pi as ti i pi ni kha a ri a ru u sa*

brother me what desirous to write there to

*us se*

understanding

(49) *ib su si in ti i kha giz khi i in ü ü na a an se e ni ip pi*

make say enough briefly I thereof brother

*e ni in*

him (of it)

(50) *a a i i e e*

it saying (telling)

be te es ta is

made give it was

(51) *Se e ni ip pi ü ul la a an pa a si i id khi ip pi su ra*

Brother I gladly of envoy hand to

*a (an?) ti en na ak ki en*

to take in return

(52) *id da i SAL la a an | Ma ni en na a an see ni ip pi us*

giving power this woman Menes as he says my brother

*su ka pa as si en*

at same time to conduct
(53) id da in na a an pa as si i id khi ip pi ra su ka
power gave (as) the envoy at same time
man li e en se e ni ip pi us
ordered my brother

(54) Pa as si i id khe pa as sa ri ip pi a en \( \uparrow \) Ma ni en na ma an
an envoy as a conductor of Menes as told
pa as si en a i ma a ni i in
to conduct preferring

(55) \( \uparrow \) Ma ni en se e ni ip pi us pa as si a a ma
of Menes my brother the conducting
man \{ sut \} ma a an pa as se e e da
having ordered he has conducted

(56) \( \uparrow \) u i ri ub pi pa za na a an se e ni ip pi
I announce what also there of brother
us sa ma a an pal la a en
being understood \{ \text{timely} \} \{ \text{desirable?} \} as

(57) u i a ma a an se e ni ip pi sa an \( \uparrow \) Ma ni en na ma an
considered brother ordering of Menes as told
pa as si en to conduct

(58) Se e ni ip pi u e ma a an as ti an ni a ru u sa
Brother me desiring time? there unto
us se ta a ki ma a an an ti
understanding so home to take

(59) (Ma \{ a \} za \{ an ni? \}) se e ni ip pi us sa a an
is it not \{ so \} brother understanding
pal la en a i ma a ni in ma a nu pa a ta e
time decision \} as preferred is it not binding
(60) $<\text{M}\rangle$ (i?) e id da gu li e i d da ta a an (ki?) ma a an
XXIII month to come so her home
an ti ma a an ni
to take is it not

(61) tis . . . an ma a an na a an se pi a an si ip pi ú pa za
to be hastened this accepting court my also
na al la a an zu tar khi ip pi at la ma an.
it with the decision taken

(62) . . . . el la ma an sa ta a al la a an SAL
. . . . sanctioned being resolved D.P.

$\{ (duk?) \}$
$\{ eti \} i da$

(wife?) my with being \{ satisfied \}
\{ made ? \}

(63) e . . . (zu?) u sa I SAL la a an ab zu sa a
the maiden deep to heart
ul la ma an me e na ma a an ki ko e
being pleased when of it? talking

(64) (pi?) a as na e na a nu dan ta al la an AN MES
who happy she news not \{ must \} be said D.P.
\{ can \}

$\{ e e ni ip pi al la a an pal la in \$
with the gods the \{ decision \}
\{ time \}

(65) AN MES (dan?) ni al la a an se e ni ip pi ú e
D.P. with the strong gods brother for me
na pal la I SAL la ma an a i i in
it deciding \{ the girl being told ? \}

(66) . . . . . . . ki an nu ú pa za na si la a khu us kha
whether I also her brilliantly exalted
ir ni a i i in ni i ir sa e
it to be not desiring

(67) SAL . . . . . . a an na a za al ta zu ga pa ti
the girl . . . . . . advantaged you know surely
a i i in
it is
(68) du ú... ki i ta zu ga pa ti
   you know surely
   ú ú ul sa
   I myself shall be glad

(69) ... ti a a i ni e pi e en su uk ku man li dub be
   thou it preferring saying fully ordered letter
   zu ki man pa za
   also

(70) ... uk ku pa za nam ma a an gu ru ak kil la a an uk
   right also concerning all thought
   MES

(71) ... ú al la ma an zu gi id da al la a an a
   of me received being
   gu ru
   all

(72) ... ú ul la ... (zu?) ga pa ti as ti...
   I glad you know surely wish

(73) ... ti en na a an

(74) ... an ti

(75) ... e en i e pi ma a an as be ...

(76) ... e ni ip pi \{ us \} a ma a an ...
    brother so being

(77) ... ip pi da a ma a an man la e e im ...
    the so being ordered: lord region

(78) ... el la a an man ul la me ...
    sanctioning glad when

A gap of six lines occurs here.
IX.

Ma ni es
Menes
i in

ni i in

na ma an... na a an

sa SAL Ta a du khe e pa
D.P. Tadukhepa

sa i su ú khu si i in
taken alike

us ta a an si i a ma a an
being made see

ú pa za i su ú khu si ik ku u pa za na
I also & also it

ta ma an i si sa a la pa an
how favoured highly

e pi a ni i in KUR SAR Mi i in ni...
Minyan kingdom

a ni la ú KUR Sa an ni ra sa...
Land Zoan to she

ta a du... ri im mu ú us se ni e... a an
I understanding

pa{\{sut\} u mu{\{sut\}} i in KUR Ma a... na
expedition distant Land of Egypt

an at ta a ar ti... ra MES
reply

{\{sut\} u mu u{\{sut\}} i in at ta... ip pi us
expedition distant go...

{\{sut\} u mu u{\{sut\}} i in at ta... ip pi us
expedition distant go...

ar ti as... ta a as se na
far back let carry
(101) ... ta a as sa khe en ni e ... ma a ni i in carries all as it

(102) ... ta khu si kha su u ... ma a al la a an urging together

(103) ... khi il li û bu u su u ti ... in an be la a an by making my to be fulfilled

(104) ... i in ki nam ri na an ... ti i pi an takh as su û

(105) ... a as ri a an (na?) sa za ru pa za ru a (Land) Egyptian it in afterwards also making ma a la an (dwelling ?)

(106) ... khi i su sa a pa za na a an ... mi i pi an also

e ti i tan was done

(107) ga an ti na a an ... (ma?) a an ni ti pi to be taken is it not message

(108) ... ni ip pi us sa a an ... la en i nu û ma understanding Lord I land a ni i in to their

(109) ... ka be li e id khu ... am ma ma an man la e prepared

(110) ... û ul la a an ... kha sa a si pi a en I rejoice how much perceiving

(111) ... ip pi an man na an ... tis sa an pi ikh quickly

ru \{\text{dub} \} \{\text{um} \} me

(112) ... û ra û se e ni ip ... en na an ip khu ub ti in brother

(113) ... ru us be la a an ta ... du ka a is ti si ip pi fulfilling say the king sa a an him
(114) . . . . . . . . us KUR SAR Mi i ni ip . . . . \{at\} a an ka
D.P. D.P. the Minyan ka all
su u ul la in finishing

(115) . . . a ni khe . . . ip ri ip pi sa i . . . e ni i in se ir
friend he by
ri e dan gold

(116) . . (e?) e en ni ip pi dan se kin ni . . . . khu dan ni ip pi
the gods by favour message . . . was the same
as sa a khu il li dan
being it which was agreed

(117) . . a i be la an si ni e . . be la ma an . . . MES e e
fulfilled anew to be finished D.P. of the
en na su us na ak ki li en
gods word observed

(118) AN \{sut\} e es su pa as Ama a nu û be la a an
D.P. The god Rimmon, Amanu fulfilling
ip ri ip pi su us at ta ip pi su us
friend's word father's word

(119) se ikh ru us be la a an a ti i ni in ma a an na
safely fulfilling this before
be la ma an . . . be la a an
fulfilled to be fulfilled fulfilled

(120) . . . . . . . . la a an a ti i ma ni i in . . ra a ti la an
it word their all
is ta ni ip pi . . . be la a an
as far as possible fulfilling

(121) se e en . . . (m) kha khe sal lu uk kha a be la a an
all to handmaiden fulfilling
ta a du ka a ri is i nu û me e ni i in
confirmation king when I of them

(122) . . . . . . . . su an ma pi ri i ma in ta a ti a a nam mi
so giving as regards
be la a an is ta ni ip pi sa
fulfilling as far as possible
(123) . . . . . . . ka a ar ri e pi \quad ag gu us sa a an \quad a gu \text{\`u} e 
the confirmation strengthening it greatly
is ta ni ip pi sa an
as far as is possible
(124) . . . . . . . sa a ri il li e ta i i al la ni i in KUR SAR
increased besides showing D.P. the
Mi i in na MES
Minyans
(125) . . . . al la ma an e se ni dup pa as se na AN
received multitudes? let serve D.P. god
Si mi i gi ni . . . la a as se na
Simigiz of let it be sanctioned
(126) . . . . a an su \text{\`u} . . . la ma an e ti ip pi sa i i . . .
received which done . . . .
li e pi a nam \{\text{mil}\} ia a an
. . . . understood
(127) . . . . . . . e pi . . . . \text{\`u} (mun?) \quad \downarrow Du us ra . . .
Lord Dusratta
KUR Khar ti \quad khe e pi ni e . . .
Land Phoenician thy all . . .
(128) . . . . . . . im mu ri i an KUR Ma a as ri . . . ni e pi
Amenophis III.
The Egyptian
ir ni a i la . . .
him of being
(129) . . . . . . . is ta ni a sa \quad an za a an nu ukh kha . .
as far as going to be considered
in na al la ma . . .
belonging
(130) . . . . . . . a takh kha . . . ta a du ka a ri
making confirm
. . . ti la e tis sa an
completing quickly

End of the left-hand columns of Back of Tablet.
BACK OF TABLET

Right-hand columns.

X.

(1) Se e ni ip pi us sa a an as ti sa a ru u sa KUR
Brother thy border in region Land

pal Mus ri e . . .
opposite Egypt

(2) Pa za du ma a an a ru u sa û û pa za also to proceed there unto I myself also
id da u us ta ma a an se e ... ip . . . being ordered to extend brother . . .

(3) i nu u pa za sar ri an ti sa e si ra pi e es Lord and also King to take this, order thou
se e ni i in pi (a?) ... an ni obedient . . . . . .

(4) su e an ti bi zu nu u ni i in ta la mi ta people to take them making know by interpreter
	takh khu li ik ku in na a an interpreted the possession

(5) a ti i ni i in ma a an ni i im ma ma i a a an û û this is it not clear thus made be I myself
	Kkal ki ma a na su e ni Chalcis land of peoples

(6) Khar ru mi KUR SAR Mi i ni a an û û Phoenicia-west of Land King Minyan I myself
	Khal ki ma a na su e ni Chalcis land of peoples

(7) gam ma a as ri a a an ni KUR SAR Mi i ni conquering whatever, is made subject D.P. D.P. Minyan
	se e ni ip pi û e GIZ as ti is brother for me proclaim thou

(8) se e ni ip pi ta ti i kha nu u ku ma a as se ni brother's word enough no one hence forth
	su e ni na pi uk ku û pa za of people what my right also
(9) an du ú e e su e n i e e pi ri ik ku u to take I master of people master, disputing; and pa za ni a ti i ni i in again this

(10) ma a an ni i im ma ma an ma ra a du lik (ku?) is it not clear thus it is \{ expedition \} \{ command \} as to
na a an a ti i ni in ma a an ni i im ma ma an going forth \} this is it not clear thus it is
thereof

(11) Pa za du ma a an se e ni ip pi ú e en as ti a ru u sa to proceed brother me as desiring thereunto ú id du u us ta ma a an I being given power to extend

(12) se e ni ip pi da in na a ma a ni i in ú ú e id from brother possession made me alone da to

(13) se e ni ip pi us sa a an pi ri e ta a (as?) ... my brother his order let send sa as su khi kha ú na a an the order delivered I go forth

(14) se e ni ip pi ú a si ra a an se e ni ip pi ú is ni brother to me order brother I if it e en na ti sa a an na thus of thee favoured

(15) i kha a ri ma a an gu ru se e ni ip pi us clearly written all my brother si ri e e da having ordered

(16) .. ru u si im bu ú us kha mau lu ú kha a ti thereby region this of me ruled united I Hittite ma an dan gu e si ip pi as dan land of power Prince great
DURRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(17) ma a an nu uk ka ti la an a a pi la takh kha
being people all whom conquered
se e ni ip pi ú a al la a an
brother to me taking

(18) (URU) Khar a nu sa a us se na im pa za nu sa a city Harran into it let reach region also of no King
ul la ma an pi ri e da a al la a an enjoyed being taxed

(19) se e ni ip pi us ú na a la an
my brother I am going forth

(20) se e ni ip pi ú e ti i kha ni (giz kha) la an
brother me fully it with this proclamation
ib su si i la an making to be founded

(21) Pa za du ma a an in na me e ni i in se e ni ip pi
To proceed these possessions of brother
ú e as ti ú ni e id da
for me my desire it expressed

(22) in na ma ni i in se e ni ip pi da ti i kha nu u
the making possess from brother enough not
ul li e id da
being spoken

(23) ú si ip pi ú pa za na ma a an su u pi ni e en na
I & my court also being told the same it as it
id ti tin ú si ip pi pa za na a an
was sent my court also proceeds

(24) ti i kha ni tin se e ni ip pi us sa a an KUR SAR
by royal command My brother them? Land King
Mi i ni su ú an na ma an
Minyan Land having made receive

(25) bu uk lu us ti en man ul la a an KUR SAR Mi i in
your aid it joyfully of the Minyan
na su ú al la ma an
land accepted
(26) Pi i ra te e na a a n  pa as si i id khe na MES su u of authorization messages being 
al la ma an  dub lu la in received by tablet

(27) ti i kha ni i tin  na a a n se e ni ip pi da ni kha a ri i in by royal command thereof from brother writing

(28) se e ni ip pi ú e ni e  a a i e e nu te es ti tin su ú a n brother I them it telling no grant by thee to be 
na ma an 
made receive

(29) in na ma a ni i in  se e ni ip pi ú e ni e  a a i e e of giving possession brother I them it telling 
u te es te e id da no grant given

(30) ta ri i te na an  sug khe ni  e e tin  khai e ni la an being stopped fighting by word which was spoken 
Se ni ip pi us 
Brother's

(31) pi i ra te e na su ú al la ma an (Ps\textsuperscript{a}) as si i id khe na a a n authorization being received of embassies 
 su ú al la ma an 
being received

(32) man ul la a a n KUR SAR Mi i in na su ú al la ma an gladly of the Minyan kingdom received 
ma ri a na  eti la an marching back

(33) se e ni ip pi us  ú ú ri a a as se na  pi sa i na an my brother let me hear what desirable?
se e ni ip pi brother

(34) be te es ti e na a n ni kha a a ri  si ri fully the grant thy of these things to write ordering 
en na a a an thus thereof
(35) Pa za du ma an at ta ip pi û e en sa a la e e li ip pi
to proceed the father me as favoured the sanction
ma a an ni im ma ma an
is it not so it is

(36) dub \{ be \ nu \} dub bi ma a an ni kha a ri i pi ma a an ni
this tablet is stamped to write which is it not
im ma ma an dub \{ be nu \}
so it is this tablet

(37) am ma (tì) ip pi û e e en sa a la at ta ip pi û e
friend me as favoured for me the father
e e la
word-sanctioning

(38) ma a ni e im ma dub \{ nu \} dub bi ma a an ni
previously thus this tablet being stamped to
kha a ri i pi ma a an ni im ma ma an
write which is it not so it is

(39) gu ru dub \{ nu \} a \{ bar \} an ni e ni la an se e ni ip pi us
all this tablet it having caused to write, my brother
dub bi as
a tablet

(40) si ni a se na a am ma ma an kha si e ni ìl la a an
aneu? let be to make prepare when by words
su u pi ma a an dub \{ nu \} be
the same tablets of

(41) ni kha (a) ar ri e pi a ru u sa us se ni e pi a
what is written thereunto making understand it
bar \} an ni en na ma an
having caused to write

(42) se e ni ip pi us kha si en na an a la a te as e ni i in
My brother when speaking answer the things
ni kha a ri te a
written
(43) a le te as e ni i in ni i ri a la te as e ni i in
answer the things to come answer the things
se e ni ip pi u ... brother of me ...

(44) a i i in ul lu i e e la ar ti ip pi ue
say (or is) being of sanction the return for me
na a se e im ma ma an
he it granting thus being

(45) ni kha a ri a a se dub bi as dub bu uk ku se e ni ip pi
it shall be written, a letter for this letter brother
en na a an
thus it

(46) e ti i tan na ma an si pi i ku pa \{ li \} a ma
must be done clearly visible a signature
a as se ma a an u ru uk ku
it being given therefore

(47) pa li a al la a an e ti i ta ni il la ma an
with signature made to be recognized
se e ni ip pi us
my brother

(48) dub bu pa a ta a al la ma an i i in ip ri en na
the tablet binding having made again of friendship
su us pal du pa a ud
word sworn we bind

(49) se e ni ip pi ta a ma an ti pi sug gu khal li
brother so here message full hasting?
se e ni ip pi us sa a an kha si en
my brother understanding when
(50) se e ni ip pi e en at ta ar ti ip pi dan tis sa an na ma an
brother saying the answer must be hastened
an za nu u khu sa a ū
to be considered my child

(51) sa a ta \{ bar \} as be (pa tis) e a nam ma a an
ra
resolving, road which following concerning it
an za an nu u khu sa a ū khal li ma a an
to be considered my child been hastened

(52) i i al li e ni i in \| Ar ta ta a an am ma ti ip pi us
travelling Artatan your friend
at ta i ip pa
to the father

(53) \(\text{id ti i i ta tipi e na MES ta a (nu u ?)}\) sa a as se na
being sent messages let give information
ir ru sa a an al la ma an
her going being ordered

(54) i sal la a an sug ga ni e el la ma an pa
of the maiden the agreement being sanctioned the
as si khi ip pi e e ma na a mu sa a ū
messenger word saying as to my child

(55) i i al la a ni i in at ta ip pi us pi e si e ti i pi
appearing the father what he ought doing

(56) tipi e na MES ta a nu u sa a as se na an be la an
messages information let give to fulfil
sug ga ni e el la ma an
her agreement sanctioned

(57) pa as si khi ip pi i sa as e e ma na a mu sa a ū
the envoy order thou word saying as to my child
i i al la a ni i in
appearing

(58) am ma ti ip pi us at ta ip pi us at ta i ip pa
your friend the father to the father
pi e si ma (ka ?) a an na
what he ought is it not saying
(59) gi pa a nu lu u us ta a as se na a ti i ni i in se ikh
decree letter let him bear this safely
ra a al la ma an
being received

(60) bu ud du ú uk ki a su u pa za na a
confidence of me people to giving also said
al la a an su u pi na a su u pa za na ir nu uk ku
being the same he it is giving also it is not right

(61) pi ri e ta a la an pa za du se e ni ip pi ú ul la
to be sent) moreover my brother pleased
ma an gi pa a nu sa us se na
being decree let say

(62) se e ni ip pi ú a a nam mi id da ma an se e ni ip pi ú a
brother to me as authority being brother to me

(63) gi pa a nu ul ul li e pi a at ta a an a ti i ni i in
a decree to be made it coming this
ma a an na at ta ma an
first sent

(64) a nam mi id ta ma an se e ni ip pi ra lik khu ub du si li pi
as authority being to brother as to what deciding
a nam mi id da ma an
as authority being

(65) ta a du ka a ar ri e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an na la ma an
the assurance this first given

(66) Is si na a an se e ni ip pi us at ta a ar ti ip pi ú
here thereof my brother's the reply I
pa za na khi i ru ukh kha e
also her to be wedded

(67) Ir nu u khu si a a ma se ir ri e pi i in KUGI
it not urging the gold D.P.
at ta i pi us am ma ti ip pi úa
paternal to me your friend
(68) u a du ra a an na gi pa a nu u sa a as se
to me making keep a decree ordering
pi e es sa a an at ta ip pi u a
what belongs to me the father

(69) u a du ra a an na gi pa a nu u su u us te a
to me making keep decree this same delivering
at ta i ip be ni e dan
father's child her from house

(70) ... ud an na ma an su u pi ma an se e ni ip pi us
to be sent the same here my brother
ir nu u khu si a a ma
it not urging;

(71) at ta ip pi u e ni e en na gi pa a nu u sa a as se
me her father thus the decree ordering
se ni ip pi u ud da a an
my brother sending

(72) zu bi a an ti en ip ri en na as sa ir i in na
kind it to take as of friendship { happy 
{ enjoying of it again
ar ti ip pi u a
the return to me

(73) man ul la a sa KUR SAR Mi i in na a sa
let make glad D.P. D.P. Minyan she
pi ri a sa khi i a ra ukh kha at ta a an
being sent will go to be wedded going

(74) te man na se e ni ip pi us gi pa a nu en pi ip
to be given my brother's decree as makes
id ta a an se e ni ip pi us sa a an
authorize brother understand

(75) ul (ti?) i ti pi ip pi suk ku ta a na as ti en
will be the message settling so of it desiring
ti si ip pi en na a an
the King as saying
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(76) Khi ... (khi?) pi a en sa a li ip pi ü e en
       the father me as
       se e ni ip pi ü e ir e pi as ti i pi
       brother me he it desiring
(77) ........ us za lam si khi i a ru ukh khe
       before the image married
       na (ak?) ... sa ku .......
       will be made
(78) ........ ta a na as ti en ma a nu ü ... na a
       so it wishing is it not I
       ............
(79) ............ in. na a an u lu
       becoming

      _______________

XII.

(80) .......... ri ........ khu ma a an ud ta as ti
       may it arise? wish
ta en
       giving
(81) ....... ni i in se (be?) ti sa a dan ta a ni .......
       by thy son so to
(82) ....... ana a ma a an e be ... i dan ... an e el mi i
       ikh { ukh }
       ru { ikh }
       { ukh }
(83) ....... ma a an e ti i dan ... ma an bu û pa za
       first was made to be ... this I also
na .......... it
(84) ....... ik ku u pa za i i e ... za na ma an
       & also clear considered
       se e ni ip pi ü an .......
       my brother to .......
(85) khi i ....... te si ip pi en ... a an khi zu ú khi si a en
       the king as (thereof?) earnest perceiving
       a ri en na an .......
       at once
(86) sa a ru si . . . . ukh kha ti si ip pi ú pa za
   in region (ruling?) I the king also
   nu ukh kha si i . . . . .
   ruling

(87) an za a an nu . . . . se e ni ip pi us at ta a ar ti ip pi
to consider my brother by reply
dan tis sa ni id . . .
speedily

(88) . . . . zu bi a an ti e . . . . se e ni ip pi us KUR
   kindly to say (or take) my brother D.P.
   SAR Mi i ni ip pi ú a pi ri . . . ta
   D.P. the Minyan to me sent

(89) . . . . e pi na a an se e ni ip pi us khi zu ú khi si a en
thereof my brother earnest appearing
   bar du ú a na an
daughter my . . . .

(90) se e ni ip pi dan za lam si SAL sa a (ni?) ip pi
   by my brother before the image D.P. the girl self
   ú e khi i a ru ukh kha na pi . . . .
   for me being married which

(91) sa a ru sa a ú i a me e ni i in in . . e ti ip pi
   in region this of strangers the doing
   pa la a ú se e ni ip pi us
   this work my brother

(92) te man na e tis sa an tis sa an ta a ti a a a . . . sa
   making render very quickly so taking . . . she
   ti sa a dan se e ni ip pi ú ma a an
   by thy son my brother let be

(93) gu ru KUR SAR Mi i hi i ta khi i a ru ukh kha
taken away from the Minyan Land wedded
   . . pa la a ú a . . in . . .
   work this it

(94) te a se e ni ip pi ú a ma a an pi ri i ta . . . i i uk ku
delivering to my brother let be sent . . . .
   pa za na ma an se e ni ip pi . . .
   again here brother
(95) ul li pi a en ti si ip pi ... khi zu  ú ... a en
to be, which as the king earnest perceiving
ú ri im bu ú us su ukh kha ...
announcement this region of me ruled

(96) na khu ul li im bu ú us su kha si ra a as...
it hearing this region of me ruled an order
se e ni ip pi us a ri en si ... ma a an
my brother at once

(97) za lam si si in ni be e ru ... khe se e ni ip pi us
before the image newly made ... my brother
a ri en nu ú me e ... at once

(98) URU NII Nu a a si AN Sa us ... si AN
city great Thebes before god Sausbe before D.P.
e e ni ip pi ú a a a ... ... ta
the god to me adorable

(99) ka ti id da ú khi i a ru ukh khe ma a an za lam si
to my son-in-law? being married made before the image
su u pi ... a pi
the same

(100) dub bu li e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an ni im ma ma an
by means of this letter this is it not so it is
.......

(101) ... a pi ru ... e ni i ra te e na ka ti i in na i
wife her
nu ul li e ni i in
to become possessed

(102) ... ... e pi a ti i ni i in ma a an na al la ma an
this first being received
an ni i in .......

(103) ... ... ukh khe na ak ka se SAL Ta a du khe e
married being made D.P. Tadukhepa
pa an ma a an ni ... Du us ra at ta a pi
of is it not Dusratta who
DUSRATTA'S HITTITE LETTER.

(104) KUR Mi i id ta a an ni e pi ip ri i pi sa a la
of the Land of Mitani friend favoured
† Im mu u ri i a si Amenophis

(105) KUR Mi iz ir ri e pi ni e pi ip ri i pi as ti i in na
D.P. the Egyptian what of friend desiring
a ru u sa a as se thereunto consenting

(106) † Im mu u ri as sa a an za lam si ta a sa
Amenophis' son of before the image so her
khi i a ru ukh kha na ak ka as sa married made

(107) † Du us rat ta a pi ma a an gi e nu u sa ta a
Dusratta who far off abides so
ra (as) is e arranges (or disposes)

(108) sa a at ti la an {AN} nu tan su e ni tan is ta ni ip
all which completely by prince by people as far as
pi sa sug gu û ud du u kha able to be fulfilled

(109) ta a du ka a ri i be la a an te man na e tis sa an
so assuring fulfilled to be rendered very
quickly D.P. the Minyan him

(110) is ta ni a sa bi id du ka a ra in na a am ma ma an
to the utmost him ordering it is hoped
se e ni ip pi û e brother for me

(111) (du) ru be ú ru u pi en a i ma a ni i in sug gu u
my subject acting as thought best fully having
written the subject
(112) se e ni ip pi úa KUR SAR Mi i ni i ta pi
brother to me D.P. D.P. at the Minyan land what
se e pi pa as si na an se e ni ip pi
graciously conveying brother

(113) su ú ú ta uní pi u khe ma a an KUR SAR
having received the race the whole race D.P. the
Mi i ni MES kha kha ni MES nu ú ú te MES
Minyans Princes ruling

(114) sug ga ni ma a an su e ni se e ni ip pi ú e ni e pi
having agreed this people my brother me which
du ru be i i pi subject

(115) E ti i ta . . bi in ú ru li e pi ma a ni i in gu ru
made seeing what I do to their country wholly
su man pi beneficial

(116) du u ru . . pi bi in na a am ma ma an ú ru u pi
subjects they seeing to to trusted I what do
en pa as se ti i id
as brought

(117) se e ni ip pi ta gi pa a ni e ta ma a an Se e ni ip pi us
from brother a decree being (made?) My brother
KUR Ma a as ri a a an ni
D.P. of Egypt

(118) KUR SAR Mi i ni MES kha kha ni MES nu ú ú ti
(and) D.P. D.P. the Minyan Princes ruling
MES sug ga ni ma a an su e ni du bi ip pi a
having agreed the people’s submission

(119) E ti i (tan) ú be e ti i ma a an gu ru kha a ra
made I cause having spoken all being
a am ma ma an . . . . a as written

(120) si ni e il . . . in ip ri en na ta li im te na KUR
renewal . . . of friendship rendering greater D.P.
SAR Mi i ni
D.P. Minyan kingdom
(121) ta li im te na du ru pa ti i be a û pa za ni ma rendering greater service - obliged - race to I also if a an an ni du ra .... be not obedient

(122) e ti i ta a u ri ra sa khu si a as se du ru making; so battle shall levy being obliged the be ip pi .... subject

(123) û ru uk ku ... ... i i ri i in ip pi as sa a .... therefore the hope of winning?

(124) û ru uk ku pa za na ma an {AN} nu tan su therefore again here by a prince these e ni e ip .... people make thou ....

End of the Back of the Tablet.
ART. XV.—The Mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Ἱeligible. With a Map, Water-colour Drawings and Photographs by the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai. By Ernest A. Floyer, M.R.A.S.

By the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai, despatched by his Highness the Khedive in the beginning of the year, that part of the eastern desert of Egypt which lies south of a line between Kina and Kosair and reaches rather below the twenty-fourth parallel of latitude, was rapidly examined and surveyed. The map is in the hands of the engraver of the Royal Geographical Society; the geology exhibited in a map and sections is before the Geological Society; and a map of the antiquities is attached to the present memoir. The country embraces an area of 23,000 square miles of mountain and desert, and is called by the inhabitants the Northern Etbai.

It was sought at first to trace a connection between Etbai and Etmur, the name for the broad plain of Nubian sandstone to the south. It seemed probable that Etmur might be the flat, and Etbai the mountainous country, but, while the pronunciation of the modern Abbadi inhabitant is difficult to catch, the weight of evidence shows that Etmur should be spelt ایتمور, and Etbai ایتبای. There is little difficulty in accepting Etbai as the derivation of Ἱeligible. The inhabitants of the country are strangers, who by their own account came from the south. They were met in latitude 24° N. by an immigration of the Maaza tribe, who came from Arabia probably round the head of the Suez Gulf, and with whom after many fights a boundary was agreed upon, running from
the Jiddama hills to Guai, a fishing village on the coast. The Maaza, an uniformly light-coloured race, speak a pure Arabic with distinct elocution. Not so the Ababdi, who are varied in form and colour, and who, to a capacity for all the Semitic gutturals, add a Nubian carelessness about the final syllable. The name Abbadi, plural Ababdi, belongs to the country and not to the people. It is probably derived from ظد، root دك، with a general meaning of desert and desert dwellers, and means to lie open, as a panorama.

The Abbadi loves to climb a hill and name the peaks all round the horizon. The phrases are in constant use, "beyond that range the country is all Abbadi," and "such an hill Yabdi," i.e. is visible, "from that point." The Ababdi are not one, but many races. A straight-nosed, handsome type, with curly hair and a dashing manner, suggest that the offspring between a soldier of the Turkish garrison of Assuan and a negress or Nubian woman may have been among their ancestors. The most conspicuous type is one with straight hair and very large aquiline features. This type is a light yellow ochre in colour, and their young—they are much like antelopes—have beautiful skins and large brilliant eyes. A third type has a short round head and an insignificant nose. All are Ababdi, and most of them live in the Nile valley. Some fifty families live at Legeita; the same number form a suburb of Kosair; and scattered among the mountains are again some fifty families. When settled they build villages of stone or mud. But in the mountains a scanty mat over three crooked sticks suffices them, and excites the contempt of the Maaza Arabs, who dwell in Arab style in goat's-hair tents. The expression used by the village Ababdi with regard to their mountain brethren is that they are كرةحيانين; they are hermits from the Rif. The Rif is the term for the Nile valley, just as it is for the coast of North Africa. It has curiously enough been thought of as the origin of the English word ruffian.

The mountaineers are, to a great extent, merely the herdsmen of those in the valley. In the sale of their sheep, donkeys, and camels, they are much at the mercy of the Nile dwellers.
On the other hand, their solitary and independent life gives them freedom and dignity of manner; while their etiquette is elaborate and their courtesy profuse but barren. They are fed by grain from the valley, and the sheep are not their own. The sub-tribe of this region are called Ash'abab, or ravine dwellers, from wasm, a ravine; and the "wasm," or mark on their camels, is the junction of two ravines—Y. It appears that these Ash'abab are approaching extinction. The intermixture of blood has spoiled them for the desert solitudes; the removal of oppression and the establishment of good government in the Nile valley tempts them thither more and more. All will join in the scramble for pence from steamers, and the proudest sheikh will fleece a tourist. On the other hand, means of livelihood for the flocks are gradually being destroyed. This may be traced to the introduction of the camel, still imported in large numbers every year from Arabia. There is more truth than appears in the Arab saying that the camel drove the lion out of Palestine. He consumed the food which sustained the antelopes on which the lion preyed. An antelope, when he has nibbled what is within reach, goes elsewhere. But the camel's owner chops off the branches. And when the tree has no branches he burns it for charcoal. It is difficult to fix the date at which the camel was introduced, but it is probable that their numbers were not large, and that they did not breed in the country until the Muslim conquest.

The Beja, who inhabited the country then, had in A.D. 850 some camels of their own, that is, brought from the south, and some Arabian camels. It seems clear that the camel, aided by his owner, will drive out all plain-grazing animals except the antelope, and that the camel has thus expelled the horse, the wild ass, the cow, and the ostrich from this country, and the elephant from the country to the south. He in his turn will be expelled by the charcoal industry, although a tree which will support two sheep for a year brings as charcoal but a trifling sum.

The tracing of an Arab people by its tribal name is a futile task. A new tribe arises whenever one woman
has, in addition to some wealth in camels, a numerous family of vigorous healthy sons. A prodigious pride in genealogy is the surest sign that there is no foundation for it. The facts are now what they were candidly admitted to be by the Beja, that the only sure descendant is the descendant of a daughter. The women own the camels and take them with them when they marry. And families provide against oppression by hastening to send a daughter in marriage to any one near who appears to surpass in vigour and wealth, and to be likely in the future to oppress them. Thus the Mahdi received hundreds of wives.

It is, however, some contribution to the ancient history of this country which will be here attempted. It is traversed in every direction by Roman roads—waggon roads, for the Ptolemies employed not camels, but rode in carts drawn by oxen. And these roads are often cleared of stones for many miles together. Some such waggon was employed as that in which Strabo journeyed from Assuan to Philae. At frequent intervals are old stations, large caravanserais for the supply of convoys, and small post houses for the fast-travelling royal scribes and mine inspectors. These latter were on the royal roads to which Euclid referred, when he told the Egyptian king "there is no royal road to learning," and they may appropriately be referred to by the Persian names of Caravanserai and Chapar Khanah, for the station of Abu Geraia might change places with the Caravanserai of Chal-i-Siah without annoyance to the travellers or the architects of either country, and the scenes which were enacted at the post house of Feisoli seventeen hundred years ago may be studied to-day at the Chapar Khan of Nou Gombaz.

It is not, however, proposed to speak now of the ancient roads across this country established by Psammetichus and other vigorous ancient Egyptians—roads which were post-housed by the Ptolemies and measured by the Antonines—nor is it proposed to describe the quarries whither the gentle Diocletian, who reversed the rôle of Cincinnatus, sent unnumbered crowds of faithful Christians there to labour with
an ankle seared with hot iron to prevent escape. The sparkling *lapis psaronius* of Mons Claudianus is surpassed by stone nearer home, and the still unique imperial porphyry can be bought from Mr. Brindley in London. Some account will be attempted of large mining stations not previously visited, and which are specially interesting as showing two distinct periods of mining industry. To the south of the quarries, where the country broadens out, the ridge of up-thrust which connects the peaks of Mons Porphyrites (Jebel Dukhan) with the *πεντεδώκτυλονόρος* (Jebel Ferayeg) ploughs up the earth's crust over a length of 250 miles, and exposes to man its mineral treasures in great variety. The broken surface is honey-combed by tentative shafts and dotted by mines, and by the towns in which dwelt the men who directed their working. Here alongside of the European barracks of the Ptolemies are the hut-clusters of a vanished race, a race whom Alexander was too late to see and whom Herodotus misnamed. An interesting description of mining in Æthiopia was written by Agatharchides about B.C. 113. This writer deplores the miseries of the miners, and wrote for a people susceptible of compassion. He drew a contrast between the wretched half-naked women who produced, and the royal voluptuaries who wore, the gold. Parallel contrasts have been drawn by those who have watched the weaving by squalid children of costly Cashmir shawls, the toil of diamond mining, or the slave-caravans of ivory. After describing the working this writer adds in free translation: "This method is of the greatest antiquity, for the earliest kings of the place had discovered the nature of this metal. It ceased to be worked when the Æthiopians invaded Egypt, and for many years held Egypt's towns, at which time the Memnonia were built, and again when the Medes and Persians possessed the land. Even in our time are found cutting hammers of brass, for in their time the use of iron had not become general, and human bones in incredible numbers, crushed possibly in those wide, thinly-supported galleries, so vast and deep that they reach to the very sea."

In this mention of human remains in the mines may
perhaps be found a clue to the name Trogloodytes, given by the ancients to the people of this land.

It is difficult to explain cave-dwellers in this country otherwise than as mine-dwellers.

The old geographers were often strikingly exact in summing up in one word the characteristics of a race. The name Ichthyophagi, given by Alexander's generals, bold travellers and accurate describers, to the men of Mekran, is an instance. Any one who has voyaged along that coast during the matūt season will recognize this. For miles along the sandy shore are spread to dry millions of little fish like whitebait, called matūt. They are dried like hay, and made into stacks like hay. Poultry and donkeys are fed upon them; camels will break away at scent of them. It is a veritable harvest scene. The air is thick with gulls, which are caught in simple traps by the urchins who act as bird-scarers, and let fly to die of starvation with a quill feather twisted round their beak. Inland, the first eager question to a traveller is, "Have you fish for sale?" The date harvest is for the rich, and precarious, for they must often fight to reap it. The fish harvest is for all, and sure.

The name Ichthyophagi sums up this people in one word, and it was probably given by the Greeks.

The derivation of Mekran from Mahi Khuran, fish eaters, is not convincing. No Mekrani or Baluch would slur over the ah of Mahi, nor would he change the kh ڻ into ك. Nor does a race describe itself by its principal food, though, like the Baggara of the Sudan, it derives it from its principal occupation. Thus it may be concluded that the name Trogloodytes had application. But throughout the country there are no caves, except at Kosair, where the exception is emphasized by the name λευκος λιμη, descriptive of the white limestone; the metamorphic or granite rocks approach close to the sea. There are no caves of any sort, except such as have been made in search of gold and precious stones.

It would seem that Trogloodytes may best be translated by miners.
Linant de Bellefonds, who examined the country south of Assouan and Berenice as far as Korosko, describes the geological formation as similar to that of the Northern Etbaï. Herodotus was probably the first to use the term Trogolodytes, and it is interesting to note that he wrote before the Ptolemies re-opened the mines. Thus he was writing of a people known only by tradition, or at most by hearsay.

The Ptolemaic miners employed methods of great antiquity, and this may indicate that there was never any long total interruption of mining. The trade secrets how to fuse the ore were never lost. It is known that in one year the mines brought Thothmes 2400 lbs. of gold, or £137,000 in the value of to-day. Later again, in the time of Ramses the Great, 1200 B.C., work at the mines was very briskly pushed forward, though the great well recorded in the inscriptions was dug for the mines of Allaki, then called Akita, and attention was principally directed to the country south of that now under description. And it is possible that the miners of Ramses also used methods of great antiquity, for there are distinct and very interesting traces of Phœnician occupation of this land, whence they may have diverged, some to the Mediterranean and some to Zimbabwe, where Mr. Theodore Bent is discovering traces of their presence. In the country limited, as described in the opening of this paper, there are four main drainage systems from the mountains to the Nile. Below Assuan is the Wadi Allaki, described by Agatharchides as containing gold mines, a long valley having its source in the lofty mountains of Elba, stored with myth and legend, and close to the Red Sea. North of this is the Khareit, springing from the mountains of Berenice. North again is the Wadi Abbad, in which stands a rock temple bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions to the effect that Sethos, father of Ramses the Great, had built a cistern and had discovered gold mines with the eye of a hawk. Golenischeff considers that the actual temple was built by the Ptolemies. North of the Wadi Abbad is the Wadi Zeidun, which springs from the Sabai mountains, and enters the Nile between Kos and Luxor. A great interest centres round this Wadi Zeidun.
It does not stand alone as a Phœnician name. The valley which springs from the emerald mines is the Wadi Ghadira, Ghadira being the Phœnician word for enclosure, and the same as Cadiz.

There was probably a fort or settlement at the mouth of the Wadi Ghadira. And there was probably a fort or settlement called Zeidun between Kos and Thebes, perhaps on the site of the modern Koft, which means Phœnician, perhaps at the Arab village of Legaita. What vigour to his pen this fact would have afforded Strabo when writing his earnest vindication of Homer's geographical knowledge.

Κύπρον, Φοινίκην τε, καὶ Ἀγυπτίους ἐπαληθεῖς, Ἀιθιοπᾶς θ' ἱκόμην, καὶ Σιδονίους, καὶ Ἐρεμοῦς, καὶ Αἰβύην—Having wandered to Cyprus Phœnice and the Egyptians, I came to the Ἐθιοπιας and Sidonians, and Erembi and Libya.—Odyssey, Lib. iv. 83.

These are the lines which formed Strabo's great stumbling-block. Modern scholars have thought that the reference was to an Ἐθιοπιας colony in Palestine in order to explain the juxtaposition with the Sidonians. But it is not fanciful to suppose that the Tyre and Sidon of the Mediterranean were repetitions of Tor on the Red Sea and Sidon on the Nile, and that Homer referred to the Sidonians near Ἐθιοπια, south of Egypt. There is much evidence to show that no European had entered Egypt until long after Homer's death. Yet Homer's mention of Thebes instead of Memphis is curious. There is no difficulty in identifying Erembi with Blemmye, when it is remembered that Sulpicius of Aquitaine wrote the latter "Blembi," and both probably used Sabaia spears made from the iron of the Sabai mountains, whence the Wadi Zeidun takes it rise. It is hoped that this matter will interest men more learned than the writer, and that some small addition may be made to our knowledge of the Phœncians. That the Ptolemaic miners used mining methods of great antiquity is known from their historians. Nor is there anything known incompatible with the supposition that the miners of Ramses employed mining methods handed down to them by an older race.
It is to be regretted that while the quarries in the north and at or near Assuan (their position was of course dictated by the geological formation) are all dated by inscriptions, only two of the mines tell any part of their story in writing.

Quarrying and stonemasonry were the employment of noblemen, who used the best tools obtainable and rejoiced in their task.

Gold-mining was done by miserable slaves driven by cruel taskmasters, and the gold was only esteemed when it adorned a king. At the mines of Sighdit is an hieroglyphic inscription recording without date the visit of a royal scribe and a mine inspector, and at the emerald mines of Sikait, called by the Arabic historians Kharbe, or Gharbe, are Greek dedications over the rock-cut temples. Thus, in support of the statements that the mines are of two epochs, there is only the appearance of the buildings. It seems very clear that the Ptolemies, after studying all the existing mines, established workmen at selected spots. Here they built temples, caravanserais, houses for the overseers, and barracks for the workmen. Not far from these stations are found the remains of hundreds of stone huts of irregular outline. These stone huts are distinguished from the modern Abbadi huts, first by a uniform irregularity of outline, and secondly by their better construction. Not always, but generally, there is this difference. The walls of an old hut are built of two lines of large stone; the space between is closely filled by splinters. "Great without small makes a bad wall" observed the Greeks, and the Ptolemaic walls are constructed with the same precaution as the older huts. An Abbadi uses mud, mat, or rags to stop the crevices in a wall of a single line of stones.

The reasons for attributing these modern towns to the Ptolemies are not conclusive, in fact not much has been done hitherto beyond finding the mines, fixing them with some accuracy on the map, and copying all inscriptions that could be found. But the buildings are of distinctly European construction.

The quarries of Mons Porphyrites are dated by the in-
scription on a temple partly erected in Trajan's time. At Mons Claudianus, on the architrave of the temple, is read τριαντα, the comma indicating ἀπριανου broken off. In the Wadi Abbud the temple bears inscriptions dating from the father of Rameses the Great. But Golenischeff ascribes its construction to the Ptolemies. The quarries in Hammamat bear dates from 2500 B.C. down to Ptolemaic times. The figures copied by Schweinfurth in the Wadi Jusus date from Psammetichus, but, excepting at Hammamat, at none of these places are there mines. Hitherto indications of date have been found at none of the mines. The mines of Sighdit, in lat. N. 25-28 and long. E. 34-5, are best approached from the Nile by following the Wadi Abbud, past the rock temple and into the Wadi Miah, and thence up the Wadi Sighdit. High up on the face of a steep rock, overhanging a copious well of sweet water, is scratched faintly the following inscription, copied several times in varying sunlights:—

This is the inscription referred to above, which appears to record the visit of a royal scribe and a superintendent of the mines. More cannot be said until one learned in hieroglyphics goes and reads it in situ. The country round is what is called by the Abbadi a "ginna." The Abbadi are intelligent geographers, and indeed geologists so far as naming seven different rocks. Unlike the Greeks, who used μαρμορ
GENERAL PLAN OF THE MINES OF UM ELEAGHA

V. Zehekian, Artist Scien. Exp. Northern Etbai.
for both, they employ different words for quartz and limestone. What they call a "ginna" is an area of cushion-shaped or mammillated hills of metamorphic rock. It is in such places that, near the Wadi Khashab, topazes are searched for. Near the well, clustered along each side of the valley, and climbing up each ravine, are some five or six hundred small stone huts. About three miles to the west is the "robat," or square enclosure of a caravanserai, the raised platform of a temple, and numerous square European-looking houses. All are in absolute ruin. The vein worked is above the caravanserai. Here it seems probable that the western station was built long after that on the wells. The former looks comparatively modern against the latter. And the supposition that the masters lived in the west, while the workmen lived on the well, is met by showing the danger the masters would run of being cut off from water.

Going south are found, in the broad Wadi Hamesh which forms part of the drainage system of the Khareit, the Hamesh mines in lat. N. 24° 40' and long. E. 34° 10'. Here the remains are purely European. There are no small huts, and yet the excavation made represents many thousands of tons of rock removed. The work is scientific compared with the burrows at Um Roos. Pillars of ore are left to support the roof, and the quartz, which lies in heaps about the mouth of the mines, has a burnt appearance, and is very brittle to the hammer. Though every house was examined and potsherds innumerable were scrutinized, no vestige of inscription was discovered.

The large mining district in lat. N. 25° 27' and long. E. 34° 35', near the mouth of the Wadi Imbarek, is clearly either θυεστία or what led to the construction of the Port of θυεστία, placed by Ptolemy in lat. 25° 30'. The town is distant only five miles from the sea. On the coast no ruins were observed. But after the difficulty experienced in finding the ruins of Berenice, great caution must be used in stating that no ruins exist on the sandy sea coast where every erection invites the burying sand-drifts. Here at a place now called Um Roos, over a space of some five square miles the surface quartz veins have been burrowed away by a people who lived
in hundreds of stone huts, of which the plan is almost uniformly that given below.

Commandingly placed in the valley is the modern Greek town, of which some 300 ruined houses remain. One of the shafts here is remarkable. A thick vein has been cut away, making a broad low cave, sloping steeply to a depth of about 100 feet, where is a large pool of crystal water. This has the reputation of causing those who drink it to swell up. But it supplies a fishing village, and the number of huge shells used for filling waterskins which strew the edges of the pool may form a topic for the geologist of the future.

The name of this place, Um Roos, has probably given rise to the name Jebel Rusas, mountain of lead, which has long appeared on the map, but of which I could hear nothing. In the general Arabising of the old Hamitic names, I think the Hamitic "yam," "water," has often been changed to the Arabic "um," "mother of." Though I do not yet know the meaning of Roos, I think the name Hamitic, and that it makes reference to the very singular water supply.

It was while studying the extensive but crude mining near the stone huts of Um Roos that the following theory suggested itself. It would seem probable that the Etbai was formerly peopled by a tribe of natural miners—a negroid tribe, perhaps the ancestors of those who now inhabit the mountains in the south of Kordofan, who work the copper mines Hofrat an Nahas; who forged the spears with which the Mahdi's followers were armed, and who, untouched by fanaticism, were the last to defend the Austrian missionaries, and the first to stem the flood of the Muslim revival. All the mountain summits of Durfur are peopled by a race of metal workers, who do not intermarry with the Arabs, who wander
in the valleys hunting ostriches and collecting gum. But the wanderers and the miners are necessary to each other. For the latter is, from the nature of his occupation, stationary, and, where agriculture is impossible, is dependent on the nomad Arabs both for his supplies and for the realization of his mining products. This dual occupation may explain why the so-called Troglydyes and the pastoral Blemmyes are described as inhabiting the same country.

To these negroid miners came the Phœncicians seeking trade. Something drove them south; perhaps oppression by the Egyptians. Sennaar was peopled by Egyptians, or by Æthiopians, if the derivation Essi-n-arti, river island, be accepted, who left Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus. Or perhaps the mines became exhausted. Or perhaps, again, the greater profit in the transport on the Nile—Red Sea trade routes called away the nomad Blemmyes.

The adventurous spirit of the naval Phœncicians when once they reached the Nile would carry them on to the west. Trade and not mining seems to have been their characteristic. It was at the mines of Um Roos that I first observed a kind of mining apparatus which has not been described. There lay near the town a large heap of long, heavy, hollow stones, each one a section of a massive granite cylinder. And it seems that here we have the original of a word which has hitherto had a doubtful meaning.

A somewhat detailed account of the gold-mining process employed in these mines is given by Agatharchides, from whom, as quoted by Photius, Diodorus Siculus, and probably all other ancient writers on Æthiopia, have copied more or less exactly. The following passages are freely translated from Müller's text. Near the Red Sea are places where are found plentifully metal-bearing rocks, which are called gold-bearing. They are intensely black, but among them is produced a quartz than which nothing can be whiter. Such as are ruined in fortune are led by kings into the most bitter slavery of the gold-diggings, some with their wives and children. Some without these bear their labours, which the author (Agatharchides) describes as the greatest calamity,
and he thus sets forth the way in which gold is found. Of these mountains those which are rugged and have an altogether hard nature they burn with wood. And when they are softened by fire they experiment on them and cut the loosened stones into small pieces with an iron chisel. But the principal work is that of the artificer who is skilled in stones. This man shows to the diggers the track of the metal, and apportions the whole work to the needs of the wretched men in the following manner. Those whole in strength and age break the places where shines the quartz with iron cutting hammers. They use not skill, but brute force, and thus they drive in the rock many galleries, not straight, but branching in all directions like the roots of a tree wherever the stone pregnant with gold may diverge. These men thus with candles bound on their foreheads cut the rock, the white stone shewing the direction for their labours. Placing their bodies in every conceivable position, they throw the fragments on the ground, not each one according to his strength, but under the eye of the overseer, who never ceases from blows. Then boys, creeping into the galleries dug by these men, collect with great labour the stones that have been broken off, and carry them out to the mouth of the mine. Next from these a crowd of old and sickly men take the stone and lay it before the pounders. These are strong men of some thirty years of age, and they strenuously pound the rock with an iron pestle in mortars cut out of stone, and reduce it until the largest piece is no bigger than a pea. Then they measure out to others the pounded stone in the same quantity as they have received it. The next task is performed by women, who alone or with their husbands or relations are placed in enclosures. Several mills are placed together in a line, and standing three together at one handle, filthy and almost naked, the women lay to at the mills until the measure handed to them is completely reduced, and to every one of these who bear this lot death is better than life. Others called Selangeus take from the women the powder thus produced. These are the artificers, in whom lies the power of carrying to the end this work of royal utility.
The method is as follows. They pour the quartz already milled on a table rather broad and polished, with a smooth surface, which however does not lie flat but has a slight inclination. On this table they rub with their hands the dust mixed with water, first lightly, and then with greater pressure. By this I imagine the earthy particles are dissolved and flow down the slope of the table, but that which is heavy and worth anything remains on the wood. And when the Selangeus has frequently rinsed the matter out with water, he handles the quartz dust lightly with soft thick sponges, and pressing lightly from time to time he absorbs from the table and throws away that which is soft and light entangled in the web of the sponge. There remains to him separated on the table that which is heavy and shines, and which on account of its weight is not easily movable. In this way the Selangeus, after he has cleansed the grains of gold, transmits it to the cooks, who, immediately they receive it by weight, put it into a clay pot, and in proportion to its quantity they add a lump of lead, grains of salt, a little alloy of silver and lead, and barley bran. The pot's mouth being carefully covered and luted round, they cook it five days and five nights consecutively. On the following day, when the burnt materials are cooled, they pour them into another vase. They find none of the things which were put in together, but only a mass of molten gold, but little less than the original matter.

This passage has been carefully examined, to see if it was written by an eye witness or not. The words "I imagine," if they are in the original of Agatharchides, indicate that it was written from hearsay; though this evidence is inconclusive, still the probability is great that the writer had no personal knowledge of the matter under description. The word for table in the original Greek of Photius is σημαγγ; thus, when the Selangeus is using the sponges, "το μεν ἐλαφρόν καὶ χαλμον εμπλεκομενον τοις ἀραμώμασιν ἀπο τῆς σημαγγος ἀναφερει," and the Selangeus is "ὁ καλομενος σηλαγγεος." Müller suggests that the Selangeus was he who worked at the Serangx, and there is no difficulty in accepting the connection between the two words.
The table, so far as it is described, is referred to as follows:

"καταβάλλουσι την άλησμένην μαρμορον ἐπὶ σανίδος πλατείας μὲν καὶ κατεξομολογεῖται ἐν ἑσθείαν τομην, ὅπερ ἐν ὀρθῇ δέ χώρᾳ θετήκην καὶ ἀλλα μικραν ἔχουσιν ἐπικλεισίων." And again, after the washing, "τὸ δὲ εμφροίεις καὶ στίλβον ἐπὶ της σανίδος ἀποτεκμεμενον ἀπολείπεις." The word σανίς appears to have meant invariably something wooden, while σῆραλξ means a hollowed stone. In an old Greek lexicon penes Mr. Butler, of Brasenose, the word is given "a word of doubtful import, a hollow stone."

It is necessary to choose between a wooden and a stone table. With only the text in hand σῆραγξ takes preference over σανίς. Admitting the connection with σηλαγγευς, the workman implies the tool. While σανίς is a general word of wide application, σῆραγξ is a special name for a special implement. One hearing of a σῆραγξ would ask for a description, and receive the general term σανίς πλατεία. Against a wooden table may be urged that the country could not produce a broad slab, that if one were imported it would split and warp.

Lying about the mines are three kinds of stone implements. First there are mortars made of granite; a common stone for these is the lapia psaronius, or "starling granite," identified by Brindley as coming from the Mons Claudianus. Second, a flattish rounded irregular stone some eighteen inches broad by ten thick, smoothed on all sides by attrition. There are some hundreds of these in large heaps at the mines in the Wadi Imbarik at Um Roos. Their use cannot be satisfactorily explained. Third, a stone of which a sketch is given.

A hollow stone, part section of a cylinder, scored across the hollow surface by light chiselled lines.
This is probably the σηραγεξ referred to by Agatharchides. It is a hollowed stone, the first meaning of σηραγεξ, and it would well serve the purpose of the table for gold-washing. It would be interesting to trace the word back to some language older than the Greek.

It was most disappointing that beyond an occasional scratch on a broken water-vessel, no writing of any sort could be found at Um Roos.

The mines of Um Elaigher, name derived from the shrub Vigna Nilotica, extend over a wide undulating plain at the foot of the great ridge Abu Dhaher.

Here are evidences of two periods of working. The surface quartz has been burrowed out, and in the middle of some two hundred perpendicular shafts are the remains of a well-built settlement, very like the settlement at the quarries of Mons Claudianus. Roughly square in outline, it contains some 300 rooms, with a space in the centre where formerly stood a temple or place of assembly. It is not clear what was sought for in the pits. One shaft is driven a considerable distance in a hard, green granite. A plastered building was reported to exist here, but was not found, and remains to exhibit to some future explorer perhaps an inscription which will throw a flood of light upon this very curious mining district.

The quartz was worked for gold. But the mineral sought when sinking the small vertical shafts could not be guessed at. The drawings give almost all that could be learned about these mines.

Of the topaz diggings near Wadi Khashab in lat. N. 24°18' and long. E. 34°28' but little need be said. All the "ginna" hills of a soft, close-grained metamorphic rock look as if they have been ploughed. Every boulder has been turned over, and exposes an unweathered surface. This has a curious effect, for it is a feature of these rocks that they all weather a rich brown colour, though they are inside of a rich green matrix containing angular yellow blocks.

The old method of searching for topazes as described by Photius is curious as indicating the scarcity of metal tools,
which were owned only by the great men. The people searched at night, for the stone was lustrous only in the dark, and on finding a stone they placed over it a σκαθίς (conf. the skep of Lincolnshire) proportioned in size to the lustre. In the day workmen came and, cutting round the rim of the σκαθίς, removed the stone. To-day the Ababdi hunt for the topazes by turning over the stones.

The most interesting mines in the whole district are the emerald mines, which supplied the Cleopatras with jewels. One is mentioned as presented to Lathyrus, engraved with Cleopatra's portrait.

Idrisi, the geographer, after referring to the gold mines of Allaki, writes as follows: "Not far from the town of Assuan on the east bank of the Nile is another mountain, in the roots of which is a mine of emeralds. Nor is there found in the whole world a mine other than this one, which is indeed crowded with miners. And from hence the emeralds are distributed over the whole world."

Sir John Chardin writes of Egypt as "a country of fair emeralds," and it is probable that until the conquest of Peru in 1524 these were the only mines known, though occasional emeralds were brought from India.

The Jebel Zabara, as the emerald mines are now called, are a mass of green talcose schist, with veins of talc and quartz. They are some 1200 feet high, and spread over an area of some forty square miles. Both north and south sides have been attacked, and the mass is honey-combed with holes, from each of which streams a shining talus of mica particles. The hills have much the appearance of a great rabbit-warren. There are two main centres of activity; that on the south flank, whence springs the Wadi Sikait to join the Wadi Jemal, and that on the north, whence springs the Wadi Ghadir already referred to as possibly a Phoenician name. Here no pre-Ptolemaic remains were found, though in the rugged mountainous area they may easily have existed unobserved. The Wadi Sikait seems to have been longest occupied. Here are three rock temples hewn in the soft rock in very ruinous condition. Of one the three portals bear an inscription
published in the *Athenæum* of the 8th of August, 1891, and, though long studied by Canon Wright, of Coningsby, indecipherable save for the dedication of the temple to Apollo and all the gods, and a mention of Berenice, which may refer either to a queen or the port 50 miles off. Later apparently than these and more costly in erection is a fine building of dry stone, of good proportion and imposingly placed on a rock jutting from the valley side. To this led up a handsome flight of steps. The stones are naturally squared. There is no roof to the body of the building, but the apsis is roofed with long shining slabs of schist, which look like beams of wood petrified. The body is filled with tumbled slabs. From the platform before the door a view is obtained of the watch towers perched on the hills where are the principal shafts. I have used the word apsis, for I believe the building to have been a church. The side window, the absence of portico, the niches in the wall, and the apse all suggest a church. Yet on this point I am not able to say more than that during the long periods of Christianity in the third and fourth centuries the mines were steadily worked, and that it would be as natural to look for a church here as for a temple built during the Pagan Greek occupation. Until 1358 the mines were worked by the Egyptians, who had here a staff of clerks and overseers. No remains however of their occupation were found. The houses of the Wadi Sikait are of European construction, and the non-discovery of modern Egyptian remains makes it impossible to say that pre-Ptolemaic remains might not be found on further search. The area of mountain and valley to be searched is immense, and no one central water supply was found round which all miners would be compelled to congregate.

Some ten miles to the north, where the many small affluents of the Wadi Ghadira spring from the foot of the mountain, are the broad deep shafts of the Albanian miners who worked under Caillaud in Muhammad Ali’s time. Here, however, nothing was found older than the nineteenth century. Yet it is probable that by following the Wadi Ghadira to the sea some interesting discoveries might be made. One, if not two, of
the watch towers on the hills seemed placed especially to look out over the sea, which is only some 25 miles distant. Some port would probably be found. For except Berenice, which is sheltered by a natural promontory, the ports of the Red Sea are opposite valleys which at once form a road into the interior, afford water, pasture, and firewood, and at the same time make a gap in the coral reef which lines the coast. For the coral insect dies under or avoids the fresh water which the valley from time to time carries into the sea.

The country examined by the late Expedition extends south only so far as lat. 23° 30'. The map thus overlaps that of Bellefonds, engraved by the French War Office in 1832 from observations made in 1831–2.

It is to be regretted that the portion contained in both maps shows very wide differences. Accuracy must be adjudged to the newer map, constructed on many astronomical observations and plane-table bearings. Example may be taken of the πεντάδακτυλον ὀρος, which Bellefonds places in lat. 23°. The new map and the Admiralty chart place these hills in 23° 30'. As a piece of geography this country must be done over again. But the map has a value as indicating the names of some twenty mines. Here are the mines of Allaki, described by Diodorus, and here are the mines for which that astonishing character Abderrahman el Omary fought and intrigued with the Christian kings to the south for thirty years of bloodshed and treachery.

In the history of gold-mining there can be no more astonishing episode than this of the ninth century, ending in the assassination by his own slaves of the bloody-handed adventurer. Towards the end of his career, when he had made a solitude and called it peace, 60,000 camels carried to his workmen provisions from Assuan. And this supply was exclusive of supplies of wheat received by way of Aidab in such quantities that Tulun, the ruler of Egypt, sought to stop the export from Suez, and only removed the prohibition from fear of El Omary's 100,000 men.

It was thought that this ancient port of Aidab had at last been definitely placed on the map.
Great interest attaches to the port of Aidab, which has been placed by Arab geographers both in Abyssinia and Egypt. Jeddah, now for 400 years, has been the pilgrims' door to Mecca. The corresponding route from Egypt was from Kos to Aidab, and from 1060 to 1260 these towns throve. Aidab was thought to be one-and-a-half day's sail from Jeddah. Yet with such ample indications it has never been found. Purday in 1878 approaching from the north marked a native town in ruins. But it was near Berenice, and he regarded it as a village in some way connected with that town.

In 1891 in the same neighbourhood I marked a Jebel Aidab, and thought the ruins must be those of Aidab town. But a further examination shows that the coast from here to Massowa has many mountains Aidab, which indeed may well be a word meaning "mountain" and connected with the "ida" of Morocco. The town of Aidab cannot therefore yet be placed with certainty.

In summing up the above notes there seems nothing known in contradiction of the following.

Minerals seem to have been always sought after by the early rulers of Egypt. The first mines worked were those of the Wadi Mughara in the Sinai peninsular by Senofet, towards the end of the third or beginning of the fourth dynasty.

The earliest inscriptions in the mines and quarries of Hammamat date from the fifth dynasty. It may be presumed that as the third dynasty inscriptions have been preserved at Wadi Maghara, they would have also been preserved at Hammamat had the latter mines then been known. It is curious that the more distant mines should have been the earlier worked. Possibly those of Sinai were on a trade route older than that of Koptos. Possibly the Egyptians had known them on their march from Asia. Possibly the desert which was called the land of the gods was regarded with fear and distrust.

Hammamat bears inscriptions of the 5th, 6th, and onwards up to Ptolemaic times. The earliest paintings represent the first Egyptians as brown men and yellow women. This was remembered when we interviewed an old and very striking
Abbadi whose harim were yellow and whose lofty stature and massive features were reproduced in small in a family of most handsome yellow children. The children were noteworthy for the beauty of their skin and the brilliancy of their eyes.

Later the Egyptians become of a darker colour. It seems probable that they found the Nile valley inhabited when they arrived, and that they intermarried with the aboriginals, who were of a dark brown.

Such seem to have been the Æthiopians. It is not placing on etymology more than it will bear to say that the resemblance of the Æthiopian kings' names to modern Berber words indicates that the Æthiopians were the Berbers of to-day. The Æthiopians must be then regarded as a strictly riparian race. And it must be remembered that between the cultivated Nile border and the mountain pasture valleys and metal mountains is a belt of waterless desert with an average width of two days' journey. Life in the Nile valley is no preparation for crossing such a belt.

A third distinct race were the men of Kush. These were immigrants who entered Africa near Massowa and Suakin. Of their descendants are the Beja, and of the Beja are the Bishari of to-day. They have an instinctive horror of a mine or of entering a cave.

As a question of probability, we may dismiss as the pre-Ptolemaic miners the Æthiopians and the Kushites. The ancient Egyptians would have left inscriptions, as at Wadi Maghara and at Hamamat.

But only at Sighdit is found an hieroglyphic inscription. This one might judge to be Ptolemaic, and to belong to the more recent buildings. It is merely scratched on the rock, and is by no means the permanent and pompous record of an ancient Egyptian monarch. The mines of the country of the Wawat seem to be identical with those of Allaki, in the country now called the country of the Babs. This country had in the ninth century of our era a king to whom the Christian kings of Dongola and Suria (Khartum) sometimes fled for refuge, and this king became the Sheikh el Jebel,
which seems to give the origin of the "old man of the moun-
tain." But the people of the Wawa were Kushites, Blemmyes, Beja.

There is much that points to an aboriginal mining race preceding or contemporaneous with, but unknown to, the ancient Egyptians. The clusters of little stone cottages were not inhabited by overseers, nor were they built for or by slaves and captives, with whose misery the language of 2000 years ago excites our sympathy. Herodotus heard that the country was inhabited by Blemmyes and Troglydotes. And the analogy with the dual occupation of Darfur seems the most probable explanation of the ancient mining towns and ancient mining methods which have been referred to.
Art. XVI.—On Hiuen-Tsang instead of Yuan Chwang, and the necessity of avoiding the Pekinese sounds in the quotations of ancient proper names in Chinese. By Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie, late Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (University College).

Summary.—§ 1. Why hesitations on spelling the name of Hiuen-Tsang. 2. Chinese custom of Tabu-ing proper names of reigning dynasty. 3. Curious effects in numismatic books. 4. Hiuen substituted by Yuen in 1662 in all reprinted works. 5. Spelling Yuen instead of Hiuen is yielding to a temporary superstition. 6. Modern sounds in Pekinese are much debased. 7. Instance of A-yü for A-dzuk-Açoka. 8. Two corruptions absorb one sixth of the Pekinese vocabulary. 9. Confusions in the names of dynasties. 10. Tsang is the right spelling of the alleged Chwang. 11. Conclusion.

1. The reasons which induce me to preserve the spelling Hiuen-Tsang instead of adopting the newly-proposed Yuan Chwang¹ are that the latter is erroneous and without any standing whatever, while the other, besides its long acceptance by European scholars, is more true to history.

¹ Yuan chwang or Hiuen Tsang? By T. W. Rhys Davids, above pp. 377-379. [The learned writer has not quite understood the point I intended to raise in my letter. No two of the six European writers (all of them well-known writers on Chinese subjects) quoted in the letter agree in their method of representing in English letters the pronunciation of a name that has to be constantly used by Indianists. How then are they to pronounce it? As a first step I ascertained by the method set out in the letter, that the modern pronunciation of any ordinary person in Pekin of the second of the two sets of characters used in China for the pilgrim's name would be represented (in the transliteration used by Indianists) by Yuan Chwang. I expressed no opinion as to whether that pronunciation was erroneous or not, and distinctly reserved the further (and very important) questions as to what the pronunciation 'may have been elsewhere and in the pilgrim's time.' The sole object of the letter was to elicit the opinion of others competent to speak on those points.—Rh. D.]
We are told in the notice on the subject in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of last April, that the name of the illustrious pilgrim to India appears to have been written 玄奘 (Huien Tsang) and 元奘 (Yuen Tsang), but the cause of this difference is not explained. As it is important in the discussion, let us see briefly in what it consists.

2. It has long been customary in China to consider as tabu-ed the personal names of the sovereigns of the reigning dynasty. "So soon as a dynastic change has been effected, the Tabu, which has previously been in force, is removed, and thus at the present time only the personal names of the reigning Maudshu house are unwritable." Other characters near in sound but not fully homophonous were often employed instead of those temporarily disused. The practice is gradually becoming quaint and before long will be obsolete; for instance, when Tsung Hien, whose reign was styled Yung Tcheng, came to the throne (A.D. 1723-1735), his personal name was 廣禛 Yuen-tchen, 'Inherited blessings,' and to express the same ideas, his subjects were directed to write 允禛 Yuen-tching, 'Permitted felicity.' But when the reigning emperor, whose nien hao is Kwang-siū, began his reign, the symbols of his personal name, 賴恬 Tsai Tien, remained in use, with the sole exception that the bottom line of the second character was dropped 洲.

3. Now during the present dynasty a large part of the ancient literature has been re-edited and printed with due observance of this superstition, until recent years. For the unaware readers this might produce the most ludicrous effects and confusions. Let us take as an example a learned work

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1 Huien Tsang or Huien Tsang in French. Sir Thomas Wade himself is quoted in the above paper as preferring Huien to huian or yuan. Morrison wrote Huen Tsang (with the first e for i); Edkins writes Huien Tsang.

on numismatics, the Tsuuen she 霰 厥, in sixteen books, published in 1833, which I happen to have on my table. The author claims to reproduce in fac-simile the coins he describes. We remark that Shun 淳 (personal name of the last emperor and altered into 淳), is reproduced without alteration; it shows that the author wrote before 1862. But the legends, 欽寧通寶 Tsing ning tung pao, issued in 1055–1065, 弘治通寶 Hung tche tung pao, issued in 1503, are reproduced as 欽 宁通寶 and 弘治通寶,¹ because Ning 欽 and Hung 弘 were the personal names of Siuan Tsung (Tao Kwang) and Kao Tsung (Kien lung) of the present dynasty, contemporarily and before the author's time.

4. Applied to the reproduction of proper names of ancient times, in the new editions of olden texts, the results are disastrous. Let us come nearer the object of the present note. When Sheng Tsu (K'anghi) ascended the throne in 1662, one of his personal names was 夏 Hiuen; henceforth the symbol was altered into 夏, but more commonly substituted altogether by 元 Yuen.

Tchoung² Hiuen 鄭 夏, a famous commentator of the Han period, was henceforth quoted as Tchoung Yuen 鄭 元, and became liable to confusion with a writer of the latter name of the Yuen dynasty.

In reprinting the Buddhist Records, wherever a Hiuen 夏 occurred, an Yuen 元 was reprinted in its place. Hiuen tchou, Hiuen T'ai, Hiuen Hao, etc., all Buddhist pilgrims, who went from or through China to India in the seventh century, were reprinted Yuen Tchou, Yuen T'ai, Yuen Hao, etc.

The name of the great pilgrim Hiuen Tsang 夏 壬 did not escape the fate of the others. Previously to the K'ang-hi

¹ Cf. Tsuuen She, kiv. 9, f. 23; 10, f. 3; 12, f. 8.
² I always write tch for English ch, because of the confusion otherwise possible with the French ch (=sh) and the German ch (=x).
reign, it had never been written with an \( \Upsilon \) Yuen, as shown by the ancient editions of the Buddhist records, the ancient dictionaries, and the \( K'ang hi tze tien \) itself.\(^1\)

5. Therefore spelling Yuan or Yuen the name Huien of the pilgrim would be unscholarly and give way to a temporary superstition, which as far as we know may have disappeared within a few years hence. Not a few modern scholars have ceased to pay attention to it with reference to ancient proper names.

Should any of my readers select to write the name of Huien Tsang in modern Pekinese according to the convenient Wade transliteration, it is not Yuan Chwang which he must write, but Hsüan Chwang.\(^2\)

6. The sounds of modern Pekinese are much debased and entirely unfit for the quotation of ancient Chinese names without the characters in European literature. The number of distinct syllables, once available for the transliteration of foreign proper names, has dwindled down considerably, and the effect of this shrinking of material is also troublesome for the native names in history. Let those who favour the use of Pekinese, in quotations of ancient literature, attempt to read thus an ancient transliteration of Buddhist words. We have already enough difficulties to overcome in Chinese re-researches without increasing them with the Pekinese corruptions.

7. For instance, the name of Açoka was transcribed 阿育 \( A-yū \), which would have been rather wide of the mark, and without raison d’être. In the ancient Mandarin represented by our dictionaries, instead of \( yū \), we find \( yūh \) (cf. Basile, Medhurst, Wells Williams, etc.). The final \(-h\) shows that a consonant at the end was fading away; we recover it in the dialectal pronunciation yok, of Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, etc. With \( A-yok\) we are already one step nearer of the original pattern. Now, if we refer to the most archaic of the Chinese dialectical sounds, those of the Sinico-Annamite,

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\(^1\) Cf. \( K'ang hi tze tien\), s. v. 善.

\(^2\) On some doubts about chwang, cf. infra note.
which branched of 200 B.C.,\(^1\) we see that the ancient sound of 
yuān was dān.\(^2\) Therefore the name of Açoka was transcribed 
A-dān, and should we not know the antecedent of the 
Chinese transcription, we might have easily recognized it in 
A-dān, but not in the Pekinese A-yuān.\(^3\)

Of course I will admit that this is an exceptional case, and 
that giving up Pekinese would not have led us farther than 
A-yuān, but there the survival of a final was suggestive of 
a further enquiry. We cannot expect to be able to drive 
home Chinese transcriptions in every case, but we may ask 
not to be compelled to accept as usual renderings sounds 
which are emaciated, and take us far away of any possible 
identification.

8. For instance, the modern Pekinese chi (tchi) conceals 
the ancient Mandarin kih, ki, tsih, tsi, tchih, and tchi, which 
themselves recover the former kik, kip, kit, tsik, tsip, tsit, tchik, 
tchip, tchit, preserved in the Archaic dialects; and the modern 
Pekinese hsi conceals the ancient Mandarin hi, hih, si, sih, 
which themselves recover the hik, hip, hit, sik, sip, sit, pre-
served in the dialects.

Thus, the two modern Pekinese syllables chi and hsi are 
the present decay of twenty-five syllables all formerly 
distinct, and still represented by ten distinct syllables in the 
ancient Mandarin. Albeit all the vocabulary is not so bad 
as that, I think that the instances quoted, which throw dis-
order in more than one-sixth of the whole,\(^4\) are sufficient to 
show that the adoption of Pekinese in European sinology for 
historical researches is far from being desirable.

9. There are several names of Chinese dynasties which are 
easily confused in Pekinese; such as Ts'in 秦, Ts'in 畿, and

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\(^1\) Cf. The chronological table of Chinese dialects in my work on The Languages of 
China before the Chinese, 1857, § 205.

\(^2\) Cf. P. Legrand de la Liraye, Prononciation figurée des caractères Chinois en 
Mandarin Annamite, Saigon, 1875, p. 297.

\(^3\) Stanislas Julien, who was not aware of the archaic sounds preserved in the 
dialects, could only state that represented çô in Açoka (while it represented 
really çô). Cf. his Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits qui 
se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois, 1861, No. 2265.

\(^4\) In Wells Williams, Syllabic Dictionary, 217 out of 1150 pages; in G. Stent, 
Pekinese Vocabulary, 110 out of 643 pages.
Kin, which are transcribed Ch'in and Chin (Tch'in and Tchin), and in the Sacred Books of the East, K'ín and Kin, where, unfortunately for the non-specialist scholars, the peculiar system of transcription adopted in the collection happens, in the Chinese series, to be complicated with the Pekinese sound. Perusing some days ago a recent work by a well-known scholar, not a sinologist, I met therein a vague quotation from this learned collection, where a curtailed reference was made to a K'in dynasty. I have not yet found which of the three dynasties, mentioned previously, is there referred to. So much for the advantages of the Pekinese sounds.

10. In the name of Hiuen Tsang, the second symbol is pronounced chwáng (tchwang) in Pekinese. I do not see any advantage in adopting it except that of a useless complication. The Imperial dictionary of K'ang hi⁴ quotes four previous dictionaries which give the pronunciation by the well-known fan tsiēh method. They are:—

1. The Kwang yun of A.D. 1008.
2. The Tsih yun of A.D. 1039.
3. The Yun hwei of A.D. 1300.
4. The Tchung yun of A.D. 1375.

The initial is marked by in the first; by in the fourth, and again by in the second, third, and fourth; this spelling is given with special reference to the name of . Moreover in the first case, tsang, and in the second case, tsang, are given as being homonymous of tsang, whose pronunciation is therefore settled to be tsang.

11. Such are the reasons which justify the spelling of Hiuen-Tsang for the name of the great Chinese Buddhist, pilgrim of the seventh century, and the avoidance of Pekinese sounds for the historical names.

¹ Cf. K'ang-hi t'ieh, s. v. 始.
² In Pekinese, these two words tsang are still at present pronounced tsang, and it may be asked if the diverged sound chwáng ought to be applied to 始 in a proper name.

(4 R 23. No. 1.)

The original of the document here translated (K 4806) is unfortunately much injured, and the text presents great—Dr. Jensen has said insuperable—difficulties to the translator. Dr. Sayce has attempted a version of Col. I. in his Hibbert Lectures, p. 495. Dr. Jensen has made some good remarks on the piece, and given a version of Col. I. 8–15 in his Kosmologie (pp. 91 sqq.). A closer study of the entire text reveals important points of contact between this document and others, published in the same volume of inscriptions, from which I have attempted to extract a connected sense elsewhere (Glimpses of Babylonian Religion, P.S.B.A., Feb. 1892). These will be noticed in due course. In general, it may be said that, in spite of a few still enigmatical expressions, it is clear that we have in this interesting relic of Babylonian religion an Office or Liturgy, in which rubrics or ritual directions are interspersed with prayers and invocations of gods. The purpose of the whole appears to be the consecration of a graven image; not as Dr. Jensen thinks, of a new city. It is true that 𒔻𒐿 <<<< << may be read du gal ešši, "sons of the new city." But it is also true that 𒔻𒐿 might be read šīhir, as elsewhere; while <<<< << may be Sin innamar "the moon is visible," or the like (cp. 3 R 51, No. 8, 1; 58, No. 12, 1. 2). This is the more probable, as the purport of the opening lines seems to have been to fix the time astronomically for the rites which follow.
**Transliteration.**

**Col. I. Obverse.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dingir E-barra lağ du ud xxx gan (ud)na-a-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuzku mar šalušē bubbulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>dingir meš du d. Emme-šarra zi dub-dubbu meš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>dingir meš za-bar ana šag liliš za-bar šub-ma liliš za-bar tekil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gu gal gu mag šam KI-UŠ azaggag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gugallum gumahhu kabis rite ellitim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ša-gub (?) dib-diba ĝe-gal da-galla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>īltah kirbiti murim hegalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dingir Du-šarra urua agar gilia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eriš il. Nirba mušullilu agar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>šu mu lag-lagga ši zu bal-bale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qataya azag meš iqqa maḥarka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ka zu-ab ša šag ge 2. gu ša zag ša liliš za-bar a rami ina gin šag kud gin dugga turahhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Gu ilitti il. Zi atta-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ana parši kidudē našuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ana dariš il. Ningišzidda ibrika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[XII. ? dingir]</td>
<td>meš gal meš giš-ĝar meš uṣuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kibît Beli mu]sim parši ša šamē u irṣilim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ana šu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sig alam nē']</td>
<td>ana il. Belu liqta'is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>[ka zu-ab ša šag ge 2. g']u ša gubu ša liliš za-bar a rami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gu mulu]</td>
<td>na elum mulu na li-ku ban-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gu ša]</td>
<td>šallu belum ša šallum aði mati šalil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kur gal ā dingir Mul-lilla mulu na li-ku.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>šadû rabû abu ilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siba nam-tar tarra mulu na li-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ri'u mušim šimāti ša šallum aði mat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Col. II. Overse.

tu (or mu) galgal...

labīš šu[bāti]... ina tu (or mu)...

gana gal-galla...

ša miristi...

ina bu...

ki-šù-bim...

ana šag liliš za-bar...

Siba zidda siba [zidda]

10 riu kinu riu [kinu]

En-lilla siba [zidda]

En-lil riu [kinu]

umun tig kala-ma siba [zidda]

bel naphar māti riu [kinu]

15 umun tig d. Igīgi siba zid[da]

bel naphar īl. ŠU riu ki[nu]

umun tig dargul siba [zidda]

bel tarkulli ri[U kinu]

umun māni giš-ĝarra umun mā[ni giš-ĝarra]

20 belum muṣṣir...

umun māni giš-ĝarra [umun māni giš-ĝarra]

belum muṣṣir...

munga malla [munga malla]

makkuri šakna[ta makkuri šaknata]

25 gil-sā malla [gil-sā malla]

šukutta šakinta [šukutta šakinta (?)]

dur azagga...

šubta elligim...

ki azagga...

ašru ellum...

ki-na azagga...

tapšaḥa ellum...
Col. III. Reverse.

gal udda\textellipsis
\textit{alum šubû} \textellipsis

umun d. En-ki lugal \textellipsis
\textit{belum il. Ea šar} \textellipsis

5 umun d. Mardug \textellipsis
\textit{belum il. Marduk} \textellipsis

umun \d{a} d. Merra \textellipsis
\textit{belum abu il.} || \textellipsis

umun šul d. utu \textellipsis

10 \textit{belum itlu il. šamas} \textellipsis

umun d. Iba\textemdash;ge \textellipsis
\textit{belum il. Nin-ib} \textellipsis

umun ma\=g šul-pa-uddua \textellipsis
\textit{belum siru il.} || a [\textit{bu}] \textellipsis

15 šu sidi bi šu [sidi bi]
\textit{qata šutešir qa[ta šutešir]}

šu sidi bi KI-ŪŠ mu [sidi bi]
\textit{qata šutešir kibsa [šutešir]}
dugga bi sidi dugga [bi sidi]

20 \textit{kibita šatum šutešir [kibita šatum šutešir]}
liliš zabar dugga bi [sidi]
liliš kibitsu šu[tešir]

\textit{ki-šù-bim dugga liliš zabar} \textellipsis

\textit{ina pan Lum-\d{a} u liliš z[abar]}

25 gin du \textit{tukan ke\d{s}da [ke\d{s}da]}
\textit{šani dea lal ni-nunna [tašakan]}
zi(d) ašnan dub\textemdash;ak lu niqê [bal-ki]
uzu zag uzu me-gan uzu ba [-\textit{aš}-lu \textit{tukan}?]

\textit{\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textit{[\textmd{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet}]}
\end{tabular}
Col. IV.

[kī-šū-bi]m ša asīb kun nīšiddu sadādi
[dugga ma] tu (or mu) šiddu šābat

[šu laqqa me]n šu laqqa men
[qatika mi]si qatika misi
5 [šu laqqa me]n d. Enlilla men
[qatika misi ilu [ ]] misi

10 ....... [qata-kunu (?) mi]sā

17 ... tilla bi (?)] ġulla men
...... napharšunu līḫduka
[dingir en-lil-la]l lugal zu ku ni-gab mara-b
20 [ilu en-li]l ana šarrīka pāṭrata rišiu
 d. Merra lugal zu ku ni-gab mara-b
    ilu [ ] ana šarrīka pāṭrata rišiu

ki-šū-bim ša asīb našē dugga-ma
asīb ina il-la (4 R: ma) šiddi tunāḫ

25 enuma gu ana bit mummu tušeribu
nīpiši NAM UŠ KU ĝe
    kurra bi dim absar a-an ban-uddu

Translation.

......

(When) the Shepherd of Ebarra on the thirtieth day a
keepeth holiday, and
The seven b gods, the sons of Emmesharra, are pouring
out the grain: 
[Rubric.] The twelve brazen gods into the brazen tripod put, and The brazen tripod thou shalt cover.

[Prayer.] Great Bull, lofty Bull, pure trampler of the pasture (Ass. trampler of the pure pasture), Enter the ploughland, increasing plenteousness, Planting the god Dusharra (Ass. Nirba), making glad (Ass. fertilizing) the field! My pure hands have poured a drink-offering before thee.

[Rubric.] Into the mouth of the Deep, between the ears of the bull on the right of the brazen tripod, pour water. In a head-lopped reed thou shalt drench sweet reeds.

[Prayer.] The Bull, the offspring of Zú, thou art; For the decrees, the statutes, they brought thee. For everlasting did Ningishzidda carve (?) thee; The twelve (?) great gods did grave the graven work, At the bidding of Bel that ordaineth the decrees of heaven and earth. Unto the hands of Ghalum let it be committed, and [This image] unto Bel may be present!

[Rubric.] Into the mouth of the Deep, between the ears of the bull on the left of the brazen tripod, pour water.

[Prayer.] Bull that liest down, Lord that liest down, how long wilt thou be lying down? Great Mountain, Father Mullil, that art lying down, how long? Shepherd, ordainer of destinies, that art lying down, how long?
COL. II.

Clad in splendid attire
The great garden

[Rubric.] The prayers
Into the brazen tripod

[Invocations.] Faithful shepherd, faithful shepherd,
Ellil, faithful shepherd!
Lord of all the earth, faithful shepherd!
Lord of all the spirits of Heaven, faithful shepherd!
Lord of the Helm (of the world), faithful shepherd!
Lord, Graver of gravings, Lord, Graver of gravings,
Lord, Graver of gravings, Lord, Graver of gravings,
That createst wealth
That makest goods
In pure abode (thou abidest);
In a pure place (thou dwellest);
On a pure couch (thou liest)!

COL. III.

Spirit glorious (or created, produced)
Lord Ea, king
Lord Merodach
Lord (and) Father Rimmon
Lord, hero Shamash
Lord Nin-ib
Exalted Lord Dapinu, father
My hands direct, my hands direct thou!
My hands direct, my feet direct!
This utterance direct, this utterance direct!
The brazen tripod, the utterance thereof, direct!

[Rubric.] The prayers say, the brazen tripod (uncover?).
Before (the god) Ghalum, and the brazen tripod,
Reeds abundant (or gross, luxuriant) thou shalt
place; a knot thou shalt tie;
Twice (?) pour (a libation); honey, curds (or ghee?)
thou shalt set on;
Grain of wheat pour out; a lamb offer;
Flesh broiled, flesh roasted, flesh sodden, thou shalt
present;
Fragrant herbs (?) and pulse thou shalt pour out.

Col. IV.

[Rubric.] The prayers of (unto) him seated behind the
riding-litter (?) or ark)
Say, and take the riding-cloak (or, take off the veil
of the ark).

[Invocation.] Wash thine hands, wash thine hands,
Wash thine hands, thou Ellilla!

. . . your hands wash ye!

[The gods thy brethren?] may they all rejoice at
(or with) thee!
Ellilla, unto thy King thou hast given large room;
Merra (Rimmon) unto thy king thou hast given
large room!

[Rubric.] The prayers unto him seated on high (lit. lifted
up) say, and
Seated on the top of the ark thou shalt leave him.
When thou bringest a (the) bull into the House of Mummu.
Function of the servants (of the Sanctuary).

[Scribe's Note.] Like its original, written and sent out (from the scriptorium).

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Notes.

a Lit. a son of the 30th day. Cp. the Heb. idiom דע ל,’ a day old,” used of the moon; but especially the Aramaic מָסְס בַר לֵילִי, eodem die.
ud-na, day = lie down, is “rest-day,” and “to keep rest-day”: see Jensen, Kosm. p. 106. The Assyrian rendering is “Nuzku, a son of thirty, is withdrawn.” With babālu, bubbulu, cp. רַבָּל, נַבָּל, Isa. lx. 20; Joel ii. 10.

b Emmesharra (“Lord of Plenty”) was a Chthonian deity and god of vegetation. Adar (א ו, šeggar, grain + put?) was the month of reaping and sowing; and “the Seven, the great gods” presided over this month (4 R 33, 47a). Jensen thinks that they may be the Pleiades: see his Kosm. p. 92. The Chinese formerly believed that the seven stars of the Corn Measure (Těu), i.e. Ursa Major, marked the courses of the seasons. On the other hand, they call the sun, moon, and the five planets the “Seven Directors,” or rulers of the times and seasons.

c The Accadian liliz, lilis, appears in Assyrian as 𒈪𒈹, Sb 260. The general sense of our text requires that it should mean some kind of vessel or receiver. The form of the word suggests that it is a reduplication of liš; liš-liš = liliš = liliš. Now 𒉿 liš (=luš), dil, idgurtu (cp. adaguru), seems to denote a vessel in (giš) liš-
bīz "oil flask (?)" (giū) liš-ni-šeš, napšaštu, do.; Brünnnow, 7753 sq. We may also compare 𒈦𒈬 dug, lud, the determinative of goblets, tankards, cups, etc. The Chinese lik, .lift i s "a tripod or incense caldron," holding six or ten pecks (the 193rd key or radical). Perhaps the liliš was a "brazen laver."

1 tekil = tekkil, fut. qal of Kal; whence eklištu "darkness." The text certainly seems to say that the twelve "gods," that is bronze idols, were to be put into the liliš and shut in; probably a lustral rite.

2 𒈦𒈬Š𒈬Š may be a single group, denoting "to trample down grass," like the Chinese p'ut, p'o, Chalmers, No. 94. Otherwise, the order of words in the Accadian indicates the rendering given above. Cp. line 15, where šu mu laglagga is taken in the Assyrian as equivalent to šu-laglagā-mu "my pure hands," though it would rather mean "my hands are pure."

kibitu: cp. 𒈬𒉺. (I had identified this term independently of Jensen.)

This recalls the American planting of the maize-god "the friend of man, Mondamin," in Longfellow's Hiawatha. With šalalu cp. ἁλαλυ embryo, Deut. xiv. 7, Jon., and perhaps ἁλαλυ, semen genitale. The Acc. gili is kuzbu, ulšu "joy," "pleasure."

I suppose that the liliš, or brazen caldron, was flanked by two brazen bulls (cp. 1 Kings vii. 23 sqq). Between the ears of each bull was an orifice, with a pipe to carry off the holy water poured into it, either down into the earth, whence it was called a "mouth of the Deep" (which is underground), or else perhaps into the liliš.
The thrice repeated \( \varpi \) is clearly the relative particle, and not a verb as Sayce takes it. The gin sag-kud is, I think, a truncated reed, used as a bucket. The gin dugga are "sweet canes," or edible reeds. Various kinds of reeds were used in lustral ceremonies and for offerings: see 4 R 25, 34b. Sayce renders the two lines: "The mouth of the deep ('the sea') which is between the ears of the bull is made; on the right is it made; a rim of copper I found. On a reed whose head is cut thou shalt press a good reed." He evidently transcribed təlaḥhaṣ, instead of turaḥhaṣ, "thou shalt steep, or plunge, or soak."

The Accadian of this second prayer or hymn is unfortunately not given. The line ana parsi kidudē našukku may perhaps mean "They have brought thee, in accordance with, to satisfy, the sacred Law"; or even "to have the sacred laws graven upon thee." For the expression parsi kidudē, see Lehmann, Šamas-sun-ukin, Bil. 12. (In Bil. 23 Lehmann leaves the name of the castle of Sippar unexplained. Bad BAR. UL. RU. SA. A, or rather bada Utu ulu ru sā, is "the castle called 'the Sun, the Maker of Joy'" = Šamsu ban or epīš ulši. Cp. Gudea E. col. 9, 1 sqq., which may be transcribed thus:

nin mu ba ziggi
nam-ti ba
ud sag dag ni-ru
mu-ku mu-na-sā

"'My lady, the righteous giver,
The giver of life,
Maketh double the sum of days,'
For a name he called it."

Ningišzidda was a "throne-bearer (guzalū) of Earth,"
4 R 1, 44b; Gudea B. iii. 4.
I have taken ībri as aor. of גרב (cp. Ezek. xxi. 19, pi.). Might it rather be ihtal=ībalt? Cp. 4 R 25, 41a.

I write giš-ĝar, because of the Chinese k'ak (=k'ar), k'o “to carve, sculpture, engrave.”

Lum-ĝa, or ġa-lum “monster fish,” is a title of Ea, viz. of Ea 𒊩𒈹 mulu UŠ-KU (see col. 4, 26); 2 R 58, 61b. The sign 𒂠𒂔 had also the sound ba-lag (ba-lang), Sb 156, and this seems akin to ġa-lum. We see lum “huge” in da-lum also. May not balaena, φάλαυνα, possibly be related to balang, ġalum?

The Chinese have certain festal rites which they call “waking the gods,” celebrated in the spring of the year.

KIŠU BI IM. That this is a complete expression appears from its recurrence in cols. 3, 4. Cp. Chinese k'it “to pray,” pin, ping “to supplicate” the gods. We might also transcribe KI šubim (=šūpi) “the splendid place” or “seat”; but it would not suit the context of cols. 3, 4.

The “great garden” or “plantation” (merištšu) reminds us of 4 R 25, 24b.

The “utterance of the brazen tripod,” or caldron, is the prayer which is uttered beside or before it.

See 4 R 25, 25b.

See 4 R 25, 28b: kalumma qim ašnan šani ṣēa, “dates wheaten grain twice (or again) pour out.” Perhaps ka-lumma should be supplied here also.

uzu zag, uzu me-gan: cp. the Chinese sacrificial terms chik, tsāk “broiled,” and ṣan, ṣēan (=kwan, kan) “roast.” (Like the Accadian ṣanne, gan, this old Ch. kan, pan, is also used with the ordinal numbers.)

The next line is restored from 5 R 25, 12b.
kun = arkat, Br. 2041. niṣiddu and śiddu, l. 24, are doubtful. I have thought of the Talmudic הָרַע, a box-shaped litter or palanquin. The following invocation calls upon the new god to prepare for the banquet, as in 4 R 13, No. 2 (see P.S.B.A., Feb. 1892) γ gunni śiddu = tent of the ark.

My restoration of the Accadian of col. 4, 19/20 agrees with the indications of 4 R. The Accadian ni=gab = pitū “to open,” and 𒆠 = 𒇍, pitū; so that ni=gab mara-b is a compound like gal-kida, meaning “to open,” “release,” “set free,” or something of the kind: cp. the Heb. רֶעֶה יְהֹוָה לְנָה Gen. xxvi. 22; also Ps. iv. 2. But we may perhaps understand a reference to opening the mouth of the idol; cp. 4 R 25, 47–50a. The “king” is then the new god.

With a final prayer the idol is now to be left, seated on his ark-like throne.

The Chinese dedication of a god consists in giving by blood the appearance of life to the eye and countenance of the idol, and placing it on its seat. This they call kai kwang shing tso “giving light, and raising to the throne” (Morrison).

The line “when thou bringest a bull into the House of Mummu” is perhaps only the catchword of the next tablet in the series. The expression nipisi nam-uš-ku-ĝe may probably be rendered “Function of the Hieroduli.” See 2 R 21, 39, 40, and 43, where UŠ-KU is made a synonym of mulu “man,” and la-bar “servant.” Nam-uš-ku, therefore, is like servitus or servitium for servi. The pronunciation of UŠ-KU was possibly (uš) tug: cp. 5 R 12, le tugga, zikaru.
THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF ORIENTALISTS.

LONDON, 1892.

About 100 members assembled for the preliminary meeting on Sunday night, the 4th September, in the Whitehall Rooms of the Hôtel Metropole, where refreshments were served. The Chairman and some other members of the Organizing Committee received the guests.

The first, or opening meeting, was held on the following morning at eleven o'clock in the Theatre of the University of London, Burlington Gardens. About 200 were present, including delegates from the Governments of Austro-Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, the N.W. Provinces of India, the Punjab, Burmah, Egypt, and elsewhere. H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda was represented by his brother.

Delegates attended from the Universities and learned societies and institutions.

In the absence of H.R.H. the Duke of York, the Chairman of the Committee of Organization (Sir Thomas Wade) invited the Earl of Northbrook, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, to take the chair.

Letters of regret were read by the General Secretary (Prof. Rhys Davids) from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, Sir Francis Knollys, the Belgian Minister, the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia, from the Ministers of China, Japan and Chile; also from Sir Henry Rawlinson, and a telegram from H.H. the Gaikwar of Baroda.
The General Secretary then read his report—

**GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.**

**MY LORD,—** The Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Stockholm and Christiana in 1889, left the selection of the next place of meeting to a Committee of former Presidents.

The Committee approved of London as the place of meeting, and were so fortunate as to secure for the office of President the illustrious scholar, Professor Max Müller, K.M.

The choice has been amply justified. In spite of adverse circumstances, the response to our invitations has been most cordial. The list of members includes many of the most distinguished Orientalists of Europe, and papers of unusual interest will be presented.

Eleven Governments, twenty-six learned Societies, and thirteen Universities have sent delegates; two invitations for future Congresses have been received, and the undermentioned Princes of India have most generously contributed towards the expenses of the present meeting:—

H.H. The Gaikwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I.
H.H. The Mahārājā of Vizianāgram.
H.H. The Mahārājā of Māisur.
H.H. The Mahārājā of Travancore.
H.H. The Rao of Kutch, G.C.I.E.
H.H. The Thakur Sahib of Gondal, K.C.I.E.
H.H. Rangit Singh, Rāja of Rulām, K.C.I.E.
H.H. The Rāja of Kapūrthala.
H.H. The Mahārājā of Kush Behār, G.C.I.E.

The announcement was made that H.M. the King of Sweden had presented to the Congress the drinking horn used at Stockholm to be the property of each succeeding President. His Majesty had further expressed his wish to give a gold medal for the best essay on some point (to be afterwards more definitely announced) of Aryan philology.

The President of the Congress, Professor Max Müller,
then read his inaugural address, in the course of which he said: "What we are assembled here for is to bring the East which seems so far from us as near as possible, near to our thoughts, near to our hearts." ... "One of the greatest achievements of Oriental scholarship is to have proved that the complete break between the East and the West did not exist from the beginning." ... "We must be satisfied with the general statement that the Consolidation of the Aryan speakers took place somewhere in Asia." ... "The same holds good as regards the original home of the Semites." ... "No history of the world can in future be written without its introductory chapter on the great consolidations of the ancient Aryan and Semitic speakers; that chapter may be called pre-historic but the (linguistic) facts with which it deals are thoroughly historical." ... "At the present moment, when the whole world is preparing for the celebration of the discovery of America, let us not forget that the discoverers of that old pre-historic world deserve our gratitude as much as Columbus and his companions. The discoveries of Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Humboldt, and of my own masters and fellow workers, Bopp, Pott, Renouf, Benfey, Kuhn, and Curtius, will ever remain a landmark in the studies devoted to the history of our race." ... "It is equally due to the industry and genius of Oriental scholars, such as De Sacy, Gesenius, Ewald, and Wright, if we can no longer doubt that the ancestors of the speakers of the Babylonian and Assyrian, Syriac, Hebrew, Phoenician and Arabic formed once one consolidated brotherhood of Semitic speech." ... "The name of our letter Alpha in the Greek alphabet is a more irresistible proof of Phoenician influence than all the legends about Kadmos and Thebes." ...

In connection with the last quotation Prof. Max Müller showed that although positive proofs (like those found in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets) of the inter-relation of the different peoples of the East were scarce, we have every reason to suppose that it really existed.
On the conclusion of this address a vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by Hofrath Professor Dr. Bühler and seconded by the Conte de Gubernatis.

The meeting then adjourned.

Afternoon meeting.—At three p.m. the list of books presented to the Congress was read. For these thanks were returned, and the following resolution, moved by Dr. Ginsburg and seconded by Mr. Delmar Morgan, was passed:

"That the Congress expresses its grateful thanks to the several donors of the works presented to the Congress at this session, and that the Committee of Organization be authorized to hand these works to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland as additions to its library, and with power to dispose of surplus copies in such way as it shall think best adapted to further the purposes of this Congress."

The following resolution was proposed by Sir Thomas Wade and seconded by Dr. T. H. Thornton:

"(1) That a Committee be appointed to consider the time and place of the next meeting of the Congress and the selection of a President, and for the further purpose of drawing up regulations for the organization and conduct of the same, based upon the practice of past sessions of the Congress.

(2) That the Committee be selected by the President of the Congress in concert with the Chairman of the Committee of Organization (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Professor Rhys Davids), the Treasurer (Mr. Delmar Morgan), and the Delegates of Governments and Societies.

(3) That the proposals of the Committee appointed as aforesaid be submitted to the Congress for ratification."

In accordance with the above resolution, the following were appointed to be members of the Representative Committee:
Italy . . . . . . . Count de Gubernatis.
Austria . . . . . . . Professor Bühler.
United States of America Professor Lanman.
Germany . . . . . . . Professor Kielhorn.
Sweden . . . . . . . Professor Piehl.
England . . . . . . . Dr. Peile, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

Armenia . . . . . . . Professor Minasse Tchéraz.

To these were added the President of the Congress, the Chairman of the Organizing Committee (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Prof. Rhys Davids), the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. E. Delmar Morgan), and Dr. T. H. Thornton. Power was reserved to add other members to this Committee.

The following resolution for regulating proceedings of the present Congress was proposed by Sir R. West, seconded by Mr. Percy Newberry, and carried unanimously:—

"That the proceedings of the present Congress be regulated, so far as possible, according to the practice observed at previous meetings. In the event of questions arising, the President of the Congress or Section, as the case may be, shall determine them, with power, should he think fit, to report questions of difficulty to the representative Committee appointed as provided in the preceding resolution."

The meeting then terminated, and the various Sections met in their several Sectional Rooms.

The numbers attending the different Sections were about the same as in former Congresses, except that the Semitic section was smaller and the Indian (held in the Library of the University) more numerous. The following were appointed office-bearers of the various Sections:—


III. Semitic—
(a) Babylonian and Assyrian.—Pres. Prof. Sayce; Vice-
Pres. Prof. Hommel and Dr. Hayes Ward; Secs. Prof.
Rogers and Mr. T. G. Pinches.
(b) General.—Pres. Prof. Robertson Smith; Vice-Pres.
Profs. Karabacek and Kautzsch; Secs. Prof. Prym and
Mr. Bevan.
IV. Persian and Turkish.—Pres. Sir Frederic Goldsmid;
Vice-Pres. Prof. Darmesteter; Sec. Mr. E. G. Browne.
V. China, Central Asia, and the Far East.—Pres. Sir
VI. Egypt and Africa.—Pres. P. le Page Renouf; Vice-
Pres. Prof. Reinisch; Secs. Prof. Pichl and Mr. Newberry.
VII. Australia and Oceana.—Pres. Sir A. Gordon; Sec.
Rev. Dr. Codrington.
VIII. Anthropological.—Pres. Dr. Tylor; Vice-Pres.
Prof. Darmesteter; Secs. Prof. Goldziher and Mr. Strong.
IX. Geographical.—Pres. Sir M. E. Grant Duff; Vice-
Pres. Count A. de Gubernatis and Dr. C. Gilman; Secs.
Rev. J. C. Casartelli and Mr. H. J. Mackinder.
X. Archaic Greece and the East.—The Rt. Hon. W. E.
Gladstone; Sec. Mr. R. Brown, jun.

Inaugural Addresses of Presidents of Sections.

I. Sir Raymond West spoke on the Higher Education
in India, its Position and its Claims (Monday afternoon).

II. Prof. Cowell treated (before the combined Sections I.
and II.) of the Results of Aryan Philology obtained
in the last decade, inserting some slokas of his own
with English translation (Tuesday morning).

III. (a) Prof. Sayce read an address on Assyrian Discoveries
and Investigations of late years (Wednesday morning).
(b) Prof. Robertson Smith delivered no formal address.

IV. Sir Frederick Goldsmid delivered an address on Trans-
lations from Persian (Wednesday morning).

V. There was no inaugural address in this Section (Tuesday
morning).

I. No inaugural address in this Section.
VII. Sir Arthur Gordon read a paper on Fiji Poetry *(Wednesday morning)*.

VIII. Dr. E. B. Tylor's address was upon the traces of the ancient stone age in the Oriental region, with the view of discovering the basis upon which later and higher stages of civilization were raised.

IX. Sir M. E. Grant Duff delivered his address on Additions to our Knowledge of Asiatic Geography since 1869. *(Tuesday morning)*.

X. In the absence of Mr. Gladstone his address was read by Prof. Max Müller in the Theatre of the University of London on Wednesday afternoon.

_Single Papers._

_I. Tuesday morning* (I. and II. combined). Prof. Kielhorn made a communication with respect to a Collection of Notes by Colebrooke in the University Library of Göttingen.

The discussion of Sir Raymond West's address was resumed by Profs. Bühler and Cowell, Messrs. Chintamon, Bhatt, Neil, and Taw Sein Ko.

Prof. Leumann contributed a short paper on a communication by Prof. Pullé concerning 350 Jain MSS. in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko read a paper on Burmese Beliefs about Spirits.

*Wednesday morning.*—The Rev. Murray Mitchell treated of the Mahrathi Poets.

Mr. J. A. Baynes gave an abstract of his paper on the Language Census in India. This was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. W. E. Crooke and Prof. Bühler took part.

Prof. Rhys Davids delivered a *résumé* of the paper by Miss Foley, dealing with the Life and History of the Women members of the Buddhist Order, and read a portion of Mrs. Bode's translation of Buddhaghosha's commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya.

*Wednesday afternoon* (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Bühler produced Photographs of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura,
and explained the various curious details, especially a figure of *Negamesa* and representations of *Centaurs.*

Prof. Cowell read an excellent paper on the Mahākāvyya called Buddhacarita. He showed that it had been imitated by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvsansa and by the author of the extant Rāmāyaṇa. Prof. Cowell had published an edition of the work and distributed fifty copies to members of the Aryan Section.

Prof. Bühler gave an account of Mr. Pathak’s paper on Kumārila in Jain Literature, and Prof. Rhys Davids read Surgeon-Major Waddell’s Report on Excavations in Patna.

*Thursday morning* (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Bühler gave a brief abstract of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s paper on the Sūtras of Aṅgālīyana and Čāṇkhāyana. The object of the paper, which is an exceedingly scholarly and valuable one, is to give an account of a lately discovered MS. entitled Anukramanidhundhū, and to show with its help that the two Sūtras are intended for the adherents of both the Bāshkala and the Čākala Samhita.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith then read his paper, entitled: “Observations on the Gupta Coinage,” an abstract of which has already been printed and distributed. Prof. Bühler added some remarks.

Prof. Rhys Davids next read Mr. H. C. Warren’s paper on “Buddhaghosh’s ‘Path to Purity.’” Dr. Morris and Prof. Lanman expressed the thanks of the Section to the author of the paper; Prof. Lanman adding that Mr. Warren had been engaged for some time on a complete edition of the Pali Text of the work in question, which will certainly be published, either in the Harvard series, or by the Pali Text Society, during next year.

Mr. C. B. Clarke, F.R.S., read an abstract of a paper by Mr. W. Brennand on “Indian Astronomy.” Dr. Burgess added some remarks.

The thanks of the Section were passed to Mr. Malabarī, to Mr. H. H. Dhruva, and to Prof. Wilhelm for the papers submitted by them; and to Mr. G. B. Tilak, B.A.,
for printed copies of the summary of his work called "Orion," which were distributed among the members of the Section.

Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang’s paper on “Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles,” was read by Dr. Burgess, who remarked that the paper was one of great value.

_Friday morning_ (I. and II. combined).—Prof. Deussen read his paper on the Philosophy of the Vedas, distributing at the same time a prospectus of a new general history of philosophy to be published by him later on.

Mr. E. J. Rapson read Major-Gen. Sir A. Cunningham’s paper on “The Coins of the Hūna Kings.”

Mr. Stuart Glennie treated of “The Origin and Cradleland of the Aryan Race.”

Prof. Ascoli read his paper, “Über die verwandschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen.” A discussion followed in which Prof. von Bradke and Prof. Rhys Davids took part.

_Afternoon._—Prof. Max Müller submitted to the Congress the new edition of his Rig Veda, and moved a vote of thanks to the Maharāja of Vizianāgram.

Hofrath Dr. Bühler seconded the vote of thanks to H.H. the Rāja, and handed in, in support of his contention, the following document:—

“The undersigned, while giving expression to their high sense of the obligation to H.H. the Rāja of Vizianāgram for the generous help given for the republication of Prof. Max Müller’s edition of the Rig Veda with Sayana’s commentary, venture to hope that an additional volume may be published containing a verbal index to the hymns.”

The document was signed by the Sanskrit scholars attending the Congress.

Dr. Pavolini read a paper on the Mādhavānala Kathā.

Prof. Rhys Davids read an abstract of the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris’s paper on “Jain and Sanscrit Etymology in the light of Pālī.”

Prof. Bühler and Prof. Cowell discussed some of the points raised by Dr. Morris.
M. de la Vallée Poussin read two papers by M. Sylvain Lévi (1) on the early Cartography of India with facsimiles; (2) On two Chinese Versions of the Milinda-pañho, this paper being the joint production of MM. Specht and Lévi.

Mr. St. John spoke of "Some old Towns in Pegu."

II. Tuesday morning, Wednesday afternoon, Thursday morning, and Friday this Section was combined with I.

Wednesday morning.—Prof. von Bradke spoke on the pre-historic separation of the Aryan nations.

Prof. Kielhorn discussed the exact commencement of the Kalachuri era.

Prof. Colinet revealed the primitive nature of the goddess Aditi.

Dr. Schrumpf lectured on the Progress of Armenian Studies.

III. (a) No report of this Sub-Section has been received up to the time of going to press.

(b) General Semitic Section.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. I. Goldziher read a paper, in German, entitled "Sālih b. Abd al-Kuddūs und das Zindikthum während der Regierung des Chalifen Al-Mahdī." He discussed the doctrines of the Zindiks (i.e. "heretics"), a religious sect which exercised much influence under the earlier Abbasid Caliphs. It was shown that in some of their writings there appear distinct traces of Buddhist ideas.

Prof. J. P. N. Land made some remarks on the earliest development of Arabic music. He distinguished between the native Arabic music of pre-Islamic times, and the later systems which were developed under Greek and Persian influence. Drawings were exhibited representing various kinds of lute or guitar in use among Arabs and Persians.

Tuesday afternoon.—Dr. H. Hirschfeld gave some account of his forthcoming edition of the Diwān of Hassān b. Thābit, at the same time discussing the poet's history, and the genuineness of the pieces attributed to him.
Wednesday.—Prof. D. H. Müller presented his work, "Die Recensionen und Versionen des Eldad had-Dāni," adding some explanations. "The Book of Eldad the Danite," is a mediaeval Jewish composition, describing an imaginary Israelite kingdom in the centre of Africa. By a comparison of the variants in certain passages, Prof. Müller has succeeded in establishing a genealogy of the various manuscripts.

Dr. M. Gaster described his forthcoming edition of the Aramaic Chronicle of the Hasmoneans, sometimes called "Megillath Antiochus." This work, according to Dr. Gaster, was composed in the first century of our era. The Western manuscripts of it are less correct than those from South Arabia. The latter have the superlinear vocalization.

The Rev. G. Margoliouth read a paper on the superlinear vocalization, of which there are two varieties, the "simple" and the "composite." The author rejected the notion that this vocalization is of Karaite origin, and also disputed its right to be called Babylonian. He argued that it was based upon a combination of the two systems of Syriac vocalization and was originally applied to Aramaic documents only, not to the Hebrew text of Scripture.

The President of the Section communicated two papers by Prof. E. Nestle, of Tübingen, the first dealing with some points of Semitic paleography, the second with the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint.

An abstract was also read of a paper by the Very Rev. A. J. Maclean, describing his work on the living Aramaic dialects of Kurdistan and the neighbouring districts. These dialects are numerous and divergent; previous to Archdeacon Maclean's researches only one or two types had been fully examined.

Thursday.—Dr. K. Vollers read a paper on "Arabic Phonetics." There are two phonetic systems which, from about the end of the eighth century of our era, have been known to the native Arabic philologists. Both may perhaps be ultimately based upon Indian systems. Dr. Vollers pointed out the great importance of phonetic researches as
Mills one on "The Zend MSS. recently acquired by the Bodleian Library." Facsimile pages of the reproduction of the Yasna MS. shortly to be published by the Clarendon Press were distributed to the members of the Section.

Thursday.—The Rev. L. Casartelli gave an account of the literary activity of the Parsees during the last ten years; and Miss Sorabji read a paper on the public and domestic life of this people, with special reference to the educational and social position of Parsee women.

Friday.—Mr. H. Weld Blundell gave an account of his recent explorations in Persepolis, illustrating his description by photographs and diagrams shown by lime-light.

Mr. William Simpson spoke on "Indian Architecture," tracing the origin of Muhammadan architecture back to the Sassanian, and showing the influence of primitive huts of bamboo on the later buildings of the Buddhists.

V. CHINA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE FAR EAST.

Tuesday morning.—The Section met in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, under the presidency of Prof. Sir Thomas Wade. Dr. Legge, of Oxford, opened the business of the day with an account of "The Comparative Merits of the Three Doctrines accepted in China," as represented in a work by Liu Mei, a Chinese Buddhist author, who flourished some five or six centuries ago. Liu Mei naturally ranks Buddhism above the systems of Confucius and Taoism; but Dr. Legge avowed a decided preference for the doctrine of Confucius and his followers.

Sir Thomas Wade spoke upon the same subject.

Afternoon.—The Rev. Dr. Edkins argued that Chinese is of an older type than any other known language. His view depends mainly on the theory that certain letters are more recent than others, and that Chinese is poorest in the latter and richest in the former sounds. Egyptian, Tibetan, and Tartar were placed next in the scale to Chinese; then the Semitic group, and lastly the Aryan, as the youngest of the great linguistic families.
Sir H. Howorth, who followed with some interesting remarks, suggested that the Semitic words, which Dr. Edkins had collected from Tibetan, might have been introduced into that language by such agencies as that of the Nestorians.

Wednesday morning.—Dr. T. de Lacouperie read an abstract of a luminous paper by Prof. de Harlez on "The Age and Composition of the Li ki." After a few comments by the President, the Rev. J. C. Ball, M.R.A.S., treated of "The Accadian affinities of the Chinese writing and language." By way of illustration, the characters for "parent" (house + star), and those for "reed," "gold," "sheep," "righteousness" were shown on the black board to be ultimately identical in the two languages. A discussion followed, in which Prof. Legge, Dr. Edkins, Sir T. Wade, and Sir H. Howorth took part.

An essay on the ku wen, entitled "China's älteste Culturzustand auf Grund seiner Schriftzeichen," by Dr. Rudolf Dvorak, was laid before the Section.

Wednesday afternoon.—Some fine old Daimio swords were exhibited by Sir Henry Howorth.

Dr. T. de Lacouperie discoursed of "The shifting of the Names and Symbols of the Points of Space from Babylonia to China, as Evidence of the South-west Asiatic Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization." It was alleged that the Sumero-Akkadian symbols for north and south have been interchanged by the "Bak families" who were the civilizers of China, while those for east and west have been retained in their original application.

Thursday morning.—Mr. C. J. W. Pfoundes read part of an exhaustive account of "Buddhism in Japan." Incidentally it was pointed out that the designation "Esoteric Buddhism" was an absurd misnomer of so-called Theosophy. Dr. Georg Huth, of Berlin, presented a new work in Tibetan, and read a paper in German on "Hor chos byung, eine Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei und Tibetischer Sprache." Dr. Ginsburg interpreted. Prof. Max Müller remarked on the superior value of Tibetan versions of Sanskrit texts. A letter from Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming,
about Mr. Murray's adaptation to Chinese of Braile's system of teaching the blind to read, was laid before the Section by Prof. Legge.

_Thursday afternoon._—Mr. Walter Denning's review of "Modern Japanese Literature" was read by Prof. R. K. Douglas. The writer criticized Mr. Satow's article, "Japanese Literature," in the _American Encyclopaedia_, and argued against discarding the native script in favour of the Roman character.

Mr. Dickins, who had sent Mr. Denning's paper, added also some remarks of his own in favour of Romanisation.

Dr. T. de Lacourperie presented a catalogue of the Chinese Coins of the British Museum.

A letter was received from Gen. Alexander on the peculiar structure of the Mongolian eye.

_Friday morning._—Mr. E. Delmar Morgan addressed the Section on the subject of the recent discoveries in Mongolia. His paper was entitled "Reports on the results of the Russian Archæological Expedition to the valley of the Orkhon (Mongolia)." These Reports are written by Dr. W. Radlof and other members of the expedition. They are accompanied by a fine Atlas with Photographs, a set of which, received from St. Petersburg, was laid on the table.

Prof. O. Donner followed with "Die Inschriften am Orchon und die finnische Expedition dorthin 1890." Prof. Donner presented to the Congress a publication by the Société Finno-Ougrienne of Helsingfors, containing inscriptions from the valley of the Orkhon, brought home by the Finnish Expedition in 1890.

There are three large monuments, the first erected 732 A.D. by order of the Chinese Emperor, in honour of Kiue-Teghin, younger brother of the Khān of the Tukiu (Turks). The second was also erected by order of the Emperor, in honour of Mekilikor (Moguilen), Khān of the Tukiu, who died 733 A.D. Both monuments are covered with Chinese and "runic" inscriptions. The third is trilingual, the inscriptions being written in Chinese, Uigur, and "runic" or
Yenissei characters. The importance of these memorials, for the problem of the oldest forms of the Turkic dialects, is evident.

The Rev. H. Hanlon's paper on "The Folk Songs of Ladak" was read by Mr. Casartelli.

The Section did not meet on Saturday.

VI. EGYPT AND AFRICA.

Tuesday.—Papers were read by Professor Hechler on a newly discovered MS. on papyrus of a portion of the Septuagint, and by Dr. Flinders Petrie on recent excavations at Tel-el-Amarna. The Hon. Sec., Mr. Newberry, also read a paper by Mr. Ll. Griffith on "Fragments of Ancient Egyptian Stories."

Wednesday.—Papers were read by Dr. Karl Piehl on personal pronouns in Egyptian, by Dr. Ed. Mahler on the decree of Kanopus, and by Prof. V. Schmidt on the sarcophagi and funeral wrappings of the Egyptians.

Thursday.—Prof. Norman Lockyer read a paper on the orientation of Egyptian temples, and Col. Plunkett read a paper, by Major Windgate, on the rise and wane of Mahdism in the Sudan.

Friday.—Mr. le Page Renouf (the President) read a paper on "Vowels in the Egyptian Alphabet." Count Raimio D'Hulst read Prof. Naville's paper on "A king of the 19th Dynasty."

In the afternoon Prof. Mahaffy gave an account of the Flinders Petrie papyri, containing fragments of Greek texts; and proof plates of Mr. Percy Newberry's forthcoming work, "Memoirs on Beni Hasan and El Bersheb," were shown and explained.

VII. AUSTRALASIA.

Wednesday morning.—The President read a paper on "Fijian Poetry," giving translations of legendary, dramatic, popular and amatory songs.
The next paper was on "The Languages of British New Guinea," by Mr. Sidney Ray. In this paper he compared the grammar and vocabularies of twenty-one languages of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. A resolution was proposed by Dr. E. B. Tylor urging the importance of further official research into the languages, religion, and customs of the tribes in the Possession.

Friday Morning.—The Rev. Dr. Mac Farlane read a paper on "New Guinea," describing from personal knowledge the country and the people. The Rev. J. E. Newell contributed a valuable paper on "The Chiefs' Language of Samoa," followed by an interesting discussion, in which Mr. Ray adduced for comparison chiefs' languages in the Loyalty and Caroline Islands.

VIII. Anthropological Section.

Tuesday morning.—A paper was read by Count Angelo de Gubernatis on "Le rôle du Mythe dans le Conte Populaire," which was followed by a discussion, in which the President, Prof. Darmesteter, Prof. Tchéraz, and Mr. Hagopian took part.

Prof. Tchéraz read a paper on "Armenian Mythology," in which he gave the results of his personal investigations among the people.

Wednesday morning.—The Section did not meet.

Thursday morning.—Prof. T. de Lacouperie read a paper, "Sur le Coco du roi de Yueh et l'arbre aux enfants," in which he sought to prove that the story of the cocoa-nut of the king of Yueh represented the primitive form of the legend found in Albruni and the Mahâbhârata of a tree upon which children or diminutive men grow like fruit. The paper was followed by a discussion.

Count Angelo de Gubernatis presented a paper by Signor Girolamo Donati, entitled "Una tavolletta augurale Indiana," in which the author identifies the god Maṅgala with Kârtikeyya.
Prof. Kovalevsky read a paper on "Iranian influences in the Caucasus," which was followed by a discussion, in which the President, Dr. Gäster, Prof. Tchéráz, and Count de Gubernatis took part.

Mr. St. Chad Boscawen spoke extempore on "Pictorial Systems of Writing as evidence of Early Civilization and Prehistoric Times."

A paper on "Anthropology in India," by the Hon. H. H. Risley, in the absence of the author, was read by the Secretary. Attention was called to the excellent work done in Anthropometry and Statistics under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the hope was expressed that the Congress might see their way to giving influential support to the study of Anthropology in India.

Friday morning.—Mr. William Crooke, Bengal Civil Service, read a paper describing the work already done in connection with ethnographical research in Northern India. The paper was followed by a discussion.

A proposal was submitted to the meeting by the President and carried unanimously:—

"That the Anthropological Section of the Oriental Congress desire to express their sense of the political as well as scientific importance of the anthropometric and descriptive information collected under the orders of the Government of Bengal, and note their satisfaction that the Government of the North-west Provinces and Oudh has taken steps to promote ethnographic studies within its jurisdiction, and trust that this line of research may receive throughout India the countenance and support of other local governments and administrations. Sufficient interest exists among Indian officials to enable the investigations in question to be carried on without the necessity of applying to Government for a subsidy."

A paper was read by Professor Leumann on "Rosaries in use amongst the Jains." The President exhibited specimens of Vaishnava and Shaiva rosaries, and a discussion
followed in which Mr. Pfoundes, Professor Kovalevsky, Mr. Crooke, and Mr. Tau Sein Ko took part.

A paper on "The Marital Relations of the Nicobar Islanders," in the absence of the author, Mr. E. H. Man, was read by the Secretary.

The following proposal was made by the President, and carried unanimously:

"That this Section desires to call the attention of the Congress to the importance of forming a collection of Oriental folk-lore on a systematic basis by the co-operation of Orientalists in each country."

IX. Geographical Section.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. H. Schlichter read "Some Notes on the African Discoveries of the Arabs in Antiquity." He contended that the ruins at Zimbabwe are not merely of pre-Mohammedan date, but that they could not possibly have been erected in the 600 years preceding the Mohammedan era.

Mr. C. W. Campbell (H.M.'s Consular Service in China) read a paper on the "Discovery of Korea," in which he brought together, it is believed for the first time, the early notices of that land.

Wednesday morning.—Dr. W. H. Flinders Petrie read an excellent sketch of the action of "Causes and Effects in Egyptian Geography."

Mr. J. Theodore Bent gave an account of the more recent discoveries among the ruins of Zimbabwe and its neighbourhood. Dr. Petrie made some remarks on his paper.

Mr. Haskett Smith read a careful summary of "Syrian Exploration since 1886," the date of Mr. Besant's "Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land." Mr. Guy le Strange commented on Mr. Smith's paper.

Thursday morning.—Prof. W. M. Ramsay read an admirable paper on "The Persistent Attachment of Religious
Institutions to Special Localities in Asia Minor." Sir H. Howorth took part in the discussion which followed.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth made some valuable suggestions for the "Future Exploration of Asia Minor." The abstract of a paper by Major Brown, R.E., on "Lake Mæris" was read, and was discussed by Mr. Cope Whitehouse.

This Section did not meet on Friday.

X. Archaic Greece.

Wednesday afternoon.—Mr. Gladstone's address. This was printed and copies distributed among members of the Congress.

Thursday morning.—Mr. T. S. Stuart Glennie spoke on the Oriental origins of Greek civilization, and Mr. Robert Brown made some observations on the same subject.

Friday morning.—Mr. Robert Brown, jun., discussed the astronomical statements of Aratos respecting the celestial equator, and showed their Euphratean origin.

Concluding Meeting.

Monday, September 12th.—The concluding meeting was held in the morning, the President, Prof. Max Müller, in the chair. A letter and telegram were read from H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, and congratulatory telegrams from H.M. the King of Sweden, H.I.H. the Archduke Rainer, and H.R.H. Duke Philip of Saxe Coburg. A number of resolutions from the various Sections were then read and carried by the meeting. It was decided to hold the Tenth International Congress at Geneva in 1894, and a set of regulations for the conduct and organization of future Congresses were agreed to. Votes of thanks to the Universities of London and learned Societies which had lent their rooms to the Congress, to the Indian Princes who had contributed to its funds, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the public bodies and private persons who
had entertained the members of the Congress, were passed. The Sheikh Mahomed Rashid recited an Arabic poem, the substance of which was interpreted in French by Mahomed Zéki Effendi. Professor Ascoli, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, moved, and Professor Drouin seconded, a vote of thanks to the President, who, in response, declared the Ninth Congress of Orientalists closed.

Thus ended one of the most successful Congresses that has been held. The greatest efforts will be made to bring out the complete transactions as soon as possible. Meanwhile we may look forward to the Tenth Congress at Geneva in 1894, and wish to it also every success.
CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE ON ANCIENT REMAINS OF TEMPLES ON THE BANNU FRONTIER. Communicated by Lala Hira Lal.

SIR,—Lala Hira Lal, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, has communicated to me the following details of some old Temples in an unfrequented part of the Panjab frontier. In Edwardsabad, or Bannu, a little below Attock, is the small town of Kālābāgh, on the very bank of the Indus. The river is here not more than 400 feet broad, as it is confined between high banks on both sides. Just opposite to Kālābāgh is the small village of Mārī, the path from the river bank leading to which winds round the base of a hillock about 200 feet high. The hillock is called by the villagers Arjan Nāngā, and upon mounting this the remains of two Temples are reached. The villagers state that, after the Kerwās had defeated the Pāndwās, the latter retired to this hill in order to spend their twelve years of banishment in seclusion. Their exile is supposed to have been passed on the spot marked by these Temples. A little higher up there are the remains of a third utterly ruined Temple, built of bricks of light porous clay, about one foot long, nine inches wide, and three inches thick. The villagers informed Hira Lal that the bricks of this ruin were made of leaves; and this statement induced him to break a few of the bricks. To his astonishment he found them all distinctly marked inside with the impressions of the leaves of trees. Several specimens of these broken bricks have been forwarded to me, and the veining of the laurel-like leaves is certainly very distinct upon them.
The presence of a petrifying spring at no great distance renders it probable that these bricks are made of clayey soil mixed with leaves, which has been under the influence of this spring of water. It seems, however, that no use is now made of this material in building. A large number of quartzose crystals are scattered over the hill and imbedded in the stones. These, it is asserted, are due to the curse of a Faqir, who turned into useless crystals all the precious gems of which the hill was originally composed. The two Temples first spoken of are believed by the villagers to be five thousand years old; and they are undoubtedly of great antiquity. Their fronts appear to have been repaired in modern times. Lala Hira Lal is, unfortunately, not an artist; but he has supplied rough sketches which show that these are remains of Buddhist Temples of the tall, or conical, kind; but whether of the straight or bulged species it is impossible to say. The Buddhistic character of these remains is made certain by the eight-leafed lotus ornaments, which Hira Lal represents as the characteristic carving of the Temples. It is worth notice that the villagers of the neighbourhood of this hill use small stone bottles for ink, etc., which closely resemble small stupas. They are eight-sided, just like ordinary Buddhistic pillars; and the zig-zag markings on each face also consist of eight points; while the edges of the faces are notched into eight divisions. Round the dome-like tops of these little stupas are sets of eight-pointed zig-zags, and there are also notches arranged in sets of eight. It is, at least, remarkable that obscure villagers should be traditionally manufacturing these little stone objects so suggestive of a Buddhistic origin, marked all over with the mystic number eight, in contiguity to the remains of old Buddhistic Temples.

Frederic Pincott.
NOTES OF THE QUARTER.
(July, August, September, 1892.)

I. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESellschaft.
   Band xxvi. Heft 1.
   Bühler (G.). Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aṣoka-Inschriften. (fortsetzung)
   Erman (Adolf.). Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen.
   Kohut (Dr. Alex.). Ist das Schauspiel im Talmud genannt, und unter welchem Namen?
   Nöldeke (Theo.). Bemerkungen zu Geiger’s Übersetzung des Pehlewibuches Jātkāri Zarērān.
   Leumann (Ernst.). Billige Jaina-Drücke.

2. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
   Vol. xv. No. 11.
   Bloomfield (Maurice). Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda.
   Easton (M. W.). The Divinities of the Gāthās.
   Hatfield (J. T.). The Āuçanasādabhūtāni: Text and Translation.
Jackson (A. V. W.). Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?

Oertel (Dr. Hanns.). Extracts from the Jāminīya-Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa parallel to passages of the Catapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and Chandogya-Upanishad.


II. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Surgeon-General Henry Walter BelIew, M.D., C.S.I., was the son of the late Major H. W. Bellew, of the Bengal Army, born at Nusserabad in India, on the 30th of August, 1834, and died at Farnham Royal, Buckinghamshire, on the 26th of July, 1892. His father was Assistant Quarter-Master General attached to the ill-fated army of Kabul, of which only one survivor, Dr. Bryden returned, to tell the tale of the disaster. He entered in 1852 as a medical student at St. George's Hospital, where he was soon distinguished as an intelligent and painstaking scholar, and was a favourite pupil of the late Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, Sergeant-Surgeon to the Queen.

After finishing his professional studies, and being in possession of his diplomas, Dr. Bellew went to the Crimea in 1854; he returned from the seat of war in 1855, and obtained his commission as Assistant-Surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service.

His first appointment in India was to do duty with the Guides, but he did not stay there long, having been ordered to join Major H. B. Lumsden on the famous Mission to Kandahar, of which he published his first important work under the title, "Journal of a Mission to Kandahar in 1857 and 1858," full of information, not merely from a scientific, but also from a political point of view, and as a study of the character of the warlike hill-tribes. During the two years of the Sepoy Mutiny Dr. Bellew was doing duty beyond the frontiers of India, and whilst his corps was winning laurels in the campaign, and particularly before
Delhi, he was unfortunately absent on quasi-political duty, a circumstance he always regretted, as it cut him off from all chances of actively distinguishing himself, and thus losing the honour and glory more or less attaching itself to those who had been through the mutiny. Dr. Bellew and his companions, the two Lumsdens, were during that critical time in the country of the Afghans, and entirely at their mercy; when the news of the perilous condition of the English Raj in Hindostan reached Kandahar, the son of Dost Mahomed Gholam Hyder, the governor, actually asked his father, as to whether the three Englishmen should be put to death? That such an event luckily did not take place, was greatly due to the young Doctor Sahib's fame as a kind and skilful practitioner, who, as such, had done good service to the Afghans themselves whilst in their midst.

The experience which Dr. Bellew gained in dealing with the frontier tribes, enabled him to render important services to Government during the Ambeyla campaign, for which he received a medal; subsequently, when Civil Surgeon of Peshawar, a wide field of usefulness opened out to him, and his name became a household word among the frontier tribes whose language he spoke, and with whose manners and feelings he thoroughly sympathized. Bellew's "General Report on the Yusufzais in 1864," a work of great interest on the topography, history, antiquities, tribal subdivisions, government, customs, climate, and productions of that country, and the publication of a "Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language" supply ample proofs, if any were needed, of his untiring activity and political insight as well as of his linguistic zeal.

In 1869, during the Durbar at Ambála, Lord Mayo employed Dr. Bellew as interpreter with the Ameer Shere Ali; this potentate never ceased to speak of him with expressions of respect and warm friendship. Nine years later, when Sir Lewis Pelly met the Afghan envoy in conference at Peshawar, the envoy is reported to have said to Dr. Bellew, "I reckon you as our friend, and I know the Ameer esteems you as such."
In 1871 Dr. Bellew accompanied Sir Richard Pollock on a political mission to Sistan, where they were joined by Sir Frederick Goldsmid’s mission from Bombay, and proceeded together to the Persian Capital; his valuable volume “From the Indus to the Tigris,” is the result of observations on that interesting journey. It contains also a sketch of a Grammar of the Brahui language, and other scientific matter.

In 1873 and 1874 he was selected to accompany Sir Douglas Forsyth’s embassy to Kashghar and Yarkand, whose report on the same was largely written by Bellew. The graphic description of the people they visited, and an account of the neighbouring countries, includes several references to the “Kunjut” country as well, which, under the name of “Hunza” is now under the British influence; this specially valuable information is comprised in Dr. Bellew’s work entitled “Kashmir and Kashghar.” The account of this expedition is worthy of the study of all who desire to obtain an insight into the history and position of Chinese Turkestan.

When fresh warlike clouds were again gathering around Afghanistan, Dr. Bellew’s well-known friendship with Shere Ali and his thorough knowledge of the frontier affairs, pointed him out to Lord Lytton as the most competent person for the post of chief political officer at Kabul in 1879. Illness unfortunately prevented Dr. Bellew from long holding the appointment; he was present at Shutter Gardan and all through the siege of Sherpur; he succumbed to the severe cold and hardships which brought on fever and dysentery, and was obliged to leave his post. Sir Lepel Griften took up the appointment, and the success and rewards which followed, would in all likelihood have fallen to Bellew’s share, had his physical strength been able to hold out longer. Bellew’s stay in Kabul, however, furnished him with material for another book, “The Races of Afghanistan,” published in 1880.

Dr. Bellew retired from the service in November, 1886, with the highest rank attainable by a medical officer; still
full of energy and love for work, although with a broken
down constitution, he loved to be busy with his favourite
pursuit; during his retirement he read several Papers
before the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was an old
member. To the last he was occupied with questions of
comparative philology in connection with his theory of the
relationship of the Greek and Pukhto languages.

Dr. Bellew was passionately fond of Oriental studies, for
which he had so many opportunities, and acquired languages
with great facility. His views on the history of those
languages were, it is true, condemned by critical scholars.
But the numerous works he wrote and the services he
rendered to ethnography, grammar, and lexicography,
deserve grateful acknowledgment. On medical subjects
several treatises appeared from his pen; his work on cholera
contains over 1000 pages; as Civil Surgeon of Peshawar
he did good work in the direction of sanitary supervision
and arrangements not only in his station but in his Province,
the Panjub, generally, where he was best known. During
his long cold-weather tours he visited, as Sanitary Com-
missioner, the small remote villages also; his usual custom
being, when in larger towns, to assemble the members of
the Municipalities, and to explain to them in a familiar
style, the advantages of vaccination, the necessity for using
pure water and practising general cleanliness. He published
in the Panjub a small treatise on vaccination, and notes
on cholera, which could easily be understood by the
people.

The medical establishment of India may well be proud
of Surgeon-General Bellew, as one of those illustrious brother
officers whose names will not be forgotten as long as that
service lasts. His was a simple, kind, straightforward, and
unostentatious character, a firm friend, beloved and esteemed
by all who knew him. He spent his life in devotion to
the public service, though it was hardly requited as it
deserved to be. The gallant and famous frontier officer, Sir
Charles MacGregor, was his intimate friend and companion
of many years; his sister became Mrs. Bellew, who, with
two daughters and a son, a Lieutenant in the 16th Lancers, are left behind.

The following is a list of his works:

1. Journal of a Mission to Kandahar.
2. Afghanistan and the Afghans.
3. From Indus to the Tigris.
4. Ethnography of Afghanistan.
5. History of Cholera.
7. Yusufzai.

In addition numerous pamphlets on political and medical subjects.

T. D.

III. Notes and News.

*Indian Ethnography.*—The following Resolution has been published by the Government of India:

*Naini Tal, the 28th June, 1892.*

**Read—**

Letter from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 3754 dated 20th October, 1891.


**Observations.—** In the letter from the Government of India, above quoted, the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was asked regarding the desirability of extending to these Provinces the scheme of ethnographical research which has for some time been prosecuted in Bengal under the supervision of Mr. H. H. Risley. The scheme, as described by Mr. Risley, contemplates the appointment of a “Provincial Director of Ethnographic Inquiries,” who should be unpaid, but who should be provided with a clerk to carry on correspondence and
with an allowance for stationery and other contingent charges. The Director by circulating lists of ethnographic questions under the authority of Government to District Officers and other correspondents, and by means of monographs to be drawn up by him or selected correspondents, would collect information regarding castes, customs and folk-lore, which information after collation and verification would be printed by Government in a convenient form and distributed to learned societies in Europe and elsewhere.

2. The Government of India observes that the present is an opportune time for such inquiries, as the material procured at the recent census regarding caste, race and tribe would form a basis for the proposed investigation. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees in the desirability of prosecuting the inquiry at the present time; and has consulted several officers in these Provinces who have, by independent research, acquired special knowledge on the various subjects connected with ethnography. Mr. W. Crooke, at present Magistrate and Collector of Mirzapur, has already published several works of recognized value, and has for many years been engaged in collecting materials for a work similar in scope and arrangement to that compiled by Mr. Risley for Bengal. Mr. E. J. Kitts, now Judge at Moradabad, has devoted much attention to the collection of anthropometric data. Mr. J. C. Nesfield, at present Director of Public Instruction, has, during his long service in these Provinces, collected valuable notes on tribes, customs and folk-lore; and has published in part the results of his inquiries. Mr. V. A. Smith by his historical inquiries is also in a position to render valuable aid in the investigation which it is now proposed to undertake.

3. Mr. W. Crooke has offered his services to Government as Honorary Director of Ethnographic Inquiries, and the Lieutenant-Governor accepts with thanks the offer of his services. There are in these Provinces no societies formed for scientific investigation of this kind, but there are societies which can, as correspondents, contribute very
valuable information, and which doubtless will assist. A special branch of inquiry is the measurement of living subjects with a view to ascertaining the physical characteristics of different tribes. Mr. E. J. Kitts will be asked to undertake the direction of this branch, and in consultation with the Director to make proposals for the systematic record of measurements and the utilisation of the data already in existence. Mr. Nesfield and Mr. Smith will be asked to give the Director the benefit of their advice, to aid him in drawing up lists of questions, and to cooperate in other ways pointed out by their knowledge and experience.

4. Mr. Crooke has asked for an allotment of Rs. 1,000 for establishment and contingencies, including any preliminary printing that may be necessary. It is understood that a further grant will be required if Mr. Kitts undertakes anthropometric inquiries. The Provincial Superintendent of Census will be able to provide copies of tables of castes and sub-castes in September, 1892; the figures for any special caste could be supplied at an earlier date. The results of the inquiries of the Census Department in connection with classification of castes and civil condition will be placed at the Director's disposal. District Officers will be asked to render such aid as lies in their power, and to place the Director in communication with gentlemen who take an interest in the subject, and who from their own observation and inquiry can supply answers to his questions.

5. The Lieutenant-Governor fully recognizes how vast is the field to be explored and how inadequate are the arrangements sketched above for its complete exploration. The officers on whose assistance Government relies have their ordinary duties to perform, which at no time are light. His Honor is, however, of opinion that the experiment should be tried, that an effort should be made to gather up the scattered information now in existence, and to encourage those possessed of special knowledge to communicate it.
6. The Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner, having ascertained that all the officers above named who are now in India are willing to aid Government in the manner indicated, is pleased to appoint Mr. W. Crooke to be "Provincial Director of Ethnographical Inquiries" and to place at his disposal a sum of Rs. 1,000.

The Semitic Inscriptions at Sinjerli.—M. Joseph Halévy, the well-known French Orientalist, was deputed by his colleagues of the Paris Institute to go to Berlin and report upon the Semitic inscriptions which have been recently placed in the museum of that city, having, as already stated, been discovered by the German Oriental Committee which has been prosecuting its excavations in the comparatively unexplored region forming the boundary between Asia Minor and Syria. This region is formed by the two chains of the Amanus Mountains, the valley between them being traversed by the river Pyramus, which flows into the sea to the north of Antioch. It was upon the slopes of the southern range of the Amanus, at a place called Sinjerli, that the Berlin committee discovered an ancient city, buried beneath a number of mounds, with a number of statues bearing cuneiform inscriptions, Hittite inscriptions, and two long Aramean inscriptions, dating from the eighth or ninth century B.C., and engraved in raised characters upon the robes of two Royal statues. M. Halévy, who has been able to copy the inscriptions, states that the two Kings upon whose statues they are engraved were rulers of the land of Yadi, and reigned at an interval of about a century from each other. The first statue is that of Panémou, the founder of the dynasty, and the inscription relates his being placed upon the throne, the chief events of his reign, and the protection of the gods, this inscription being forty lines in length. The second inscription, a photograph of which has been published in M. Philippe Berger's new edition of the "Histoire de l'Ecriture dans l'Antiquité," is, in the opinion of M. Halévy, that of a King who was a vassal of Tiglath-Pilezer, King of Assyria, and who relates in some detail the wars of his father with
the neighbouring tribes, his relations with the Assyrians, his defeats, and his victories, in which, as in those related upon the inscriptions of Mesa and of Byblos, the divinity plays the principal part. He then goes on to describe the history of his own reign, and terminates by invoking the protection of the gods. M. Hâlévy says that the language of these inscriptions is not Aramean, as was at first supposed, but a Phœnician dialect, very analogous to Hebrew, which was spoken by the people whom the Assyrians named Hattê—that is to say, Hittites or Hetheens. He adds that the current opinion as to their not being of Semitic race is quite erroneous, and that the hieroglyphics discovered in various parts of Asia Minor are of Anatolian and not of Syrian origin, the few texts of this kind found at Hamath and Aleppo being due to Anatolian conquerors, whose domination, however, was very temporary in character.

Marriage Customs in Ancient India.—Dr. Winternitz, now working in Oxford, has published an elaborate monograph in German on this important topic (Altindische Hochzeits-rituell, Vienna, Temsky). He sets out more fully than has hitherto been done the regulations on the matter preserved in the ancient sects, with especial reference throughout to the Āpastambiya Grihya Sūtra. And he adds a number of very striking analogies he has discovered between the ritual of ancient India and that in use in other Aryan countries. The whole work is conceived and carried out in a thorough and scholarly way, and we congratulate him on the success of the special study he has made.

Indian Fairy Tales.—Under this title Mr. Joseph Jacobs has published a collection of some five-and-twenty Indian stories drawn from all kinds of sources. They are beautifully printed and illustrated, and would be an ideal gift book for Anglo-Indian children. In an introduction and appendix, which the children would skip, there is a clear résumé of the history of Indian story telling in its influence on the West; and older readers will find the interest of the stories much enhanced by the insight they may here obtain into
what is perhaps the most entrancing story in the book, the "Story of the Indian Stories."

Indian Scholars.—The following letter closes the correspondence printed on pp. 426-428 of this volume:—

India Office, Whitehall, 5th August, 1892.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Wynn’s letter of the 10th June will have informed you that a copy of your letter of the 27th May last would be referred to the Viceroy.

A reply to this reference has now been received, and I am desired by Lord Cross to communicate to you the views of His Excellency as expressed therein.

In regard to natives of India who may have distinguished themselves by proficiency in Oriental languages, it will be remembered that the honorary titles of Mahámahopádhyáya and Sháms-úl-Ulama have been conferred since 1887; whilst the Order of the Indian Empire contains the names of a number of gentlemen who were appointed to it in recognition of their distinction in the same field; the policy of the State being to encourage Oriental scholars in their labours by the grant of honorary decorations.—

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Robert Cust, Esq.,

Theoph. Hastings.

Hon. Sec. of Royal Asiatic Society.

IV. Notices of Books.


A Practical Grammar of the Avesta Language, compared with Sanskrit, pp. 312. By Kavasji Edalji Kanga, of the Moolla Feeroz Madressa. (Bombay, 1891: Education Society’s Press.)

If we measured the advance of study by the increasing bulk of grammars, we should have to conclude that the study of the Avesta had been making gigantic strides
during the last thirty years. In 1862, when Haug published an outline of Avesta grammar in the first edition of his Essays, seventy octavo pages were considered sufficient for the purpose, and were certainly not more than an ordinary memory could retain. While Justi's grammar of forty-six quarto pages (about 115 octavo), published in 1864, though more comprehensive and methodical, at once passed the limits of memory and became merely a book of reference. Other grammars have followed, such as that of Spiegel in 1867, of de Harlez in 1878, of Geiger in 1879; and the latest Avesta grammars, now introduced to the reader, are already more than four times the extent of Haug's outline sketched thirty years ago, although the quantity of Avesta text, from which they are derived, is precisely the same as formerly.

The first part of Jackson's grammar treats of the phonology, inflection, and word-formation of the Avesta language, and is preceded by an introductory essay on the Avesta. The second part, which is already in the press, will treat of the syntax and metre. Throughout the work the correspondences and contrasts with Sanskrit are constantly pointed out, and the author endeavours to obviate some of the intricacies, arising from the completeness of the work, by printing such details as are either unimportant, or rarely wanted, in smaller type. He has also supplied excellent indexes, in addition to a detailed table of contents, by aid of which a careful student can readily find any detail he may require; and the more desultory reader will find some most useful "suggestions" on p. xxxix. Excepting single letters (when treating of the alphabet) and three short specimens of Avesta text, the whole of the Avesta words are given only in italic transliteration according to a system adopted by the author, and the Sanskrit words according to the usual system, as employed by Whitney, with two or three variations. That transliteration conduces to great saving of space is obvious to every one, and the system adopted by Jackson has been well considered and is not open to
greater objections than any older system. But he must expect to find it a vexation to printers to have to supply some eighteen varieties of rare or new type; and old scholars may perhaps find some difficulty in distinguishing between a few of the new letters, when they have to trust to their eyesight rather than their experience in reading. It is to be feared that every new system of transliteration is a fresh hindrance to the settlement of any universal system, as no system can become universal until it displaces all other systems, new as well as old; and this it can do only through previous acceptance by all parties, publishers as well as scholars. Regarding the main body of the work it is sufficient to say that it is practically exhaustive and thoroughly systematic, the declensions and conjugations are given in complete detail, and both the orthography and formation of words are fully considered.

Kavasji Edalji's grammar, completed seven months earlier, clearly shows the great progress made, during the last few years, by studious Parsis in the scientific examination of their sacred books. It is written in English, and the Avesta words are given in their original characters. The general order of the contents is much the same as in Jackson's grammar, and the book, which includes a chapter on syntax, is provided with a detailed table of contents, but no index. The author has evidently spent much labour on the collection and arrangement of his materials, and has fully succeeded in producing a thoroughly practical grammar, and one sufficiently scientific for Parsi students. It would, perhaps, be well if grammarians and students did not place too much reliance upon the minute details of Avesta orthography. Those who are aware how much and how often the MSS. vary, not only from each other, but also from themselves, in the spelling of words, will not lay much stress upon small variations, knowing, as they do, that much of the uniformity in our editions of the texts may depend upon the oldest MSS. being mostly of the same family.

E. W. West.
It is a pleasant task to call attention to a further instal-
ment of the publications of the Archæological Survey of
India, in the shape of Dr. E. Hultzsch's volume of Tanjore
Temple inscriptions, being Vol. II. Part 1 of his "South
Indian Inscriptions."
The Tanjore Temple has always been a subject of ex-
ceeding interest to students of South Indian history and
Tamil palæography, owing to the presence thereon, on
almost every outer wall, of the well-known band of deeply-
incised inscriptions in eleventh- and twelfth-century charac-
ters, which fills the space between the upper and lower
sculptures of the plinth. Several palæographists have
essayéd to publish portions of the text, and the late Dr.
Burnell gave a substantially accurate account of its contents
in more than one of his works, but it has remained for Dr.
Hultzsch to publish the whole in extenso, in a form admirable
in itself, and for the accuracy of which his own name is
sufficient guarantee.
While it was well known that the inscriptions embodied
a record of grants made to the temple by the powerful Chola
Sovereigns, Rāja Rāja, Rājendra, and others, Dr. Hultzsch's
research has brought to light a considerable number of new
historical facts, has explained many doubtful points, and has
in no inconsiderable measure enlarged our knowledge—
hitherto very scanty—of the general system of revenue and
taxation among the old Hindu Sovereigns.
This knowledge cannot fail to be of importance. Such is
the state of ignorance regarding the Government of India in
ancient times, even among the most educated persons, that it
has hitherto been impossible for an Englishman, save by
mere conjectures and inference, to reply satisfactorily to the
utterances of irresponsible agitators at so-called National
Congresses, or the relentless and lying slanders of the Native
Press. Every sensible man felt certain that he was not
exaggerating the case when he claimed for the British
Government that it was the mildest and kindest that had
ever existed in India, but there was no certain proof avail-
able, nothing that could be paraded before educated Hindus
as conclusively establishing the fact. Part of the necessary proof is now being presented to us by Dr. Hultzsch.

Most of these Congress gentlemen are filled with false ideas. They dream fond dreams of the country, having been formerly united under magnificent monarchs of stupendous power and dignity, the like of whom the world has never seen, who held the whole of India from the Hindu Kūsh to Ceylon in their imperial sway, and under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the arts and all the sciences in unparalleled splendour; and few are found to tell them that all this is a mere fabric of the imagination. When the truth becomes known to them it is certain that a great deal of the discontent undoubtedly at present existing will vanish from the land. It is built on false beliefs, but at present they are not known to be false—they are, on the contrary, passionately believed in, and therein lies the danger. For this state of things the Government is mainly to blame in that they did not, in bygone years, give more solid encouragement to the study of archeology and history. If the native student is kept in ignorance, the fault does not lie with him, but with his instructors; and by their parsimony in former days, by the convenient theory that all such studies are subjects for private persons, dilettanti, to work at and not for the State to encourage, by the fatuous argument sometimes raised that "we govern the living and not the dead," the Government is responsible for the curious state of things actually existing, namely, that after 100 years of sound British rule, the leaders of native thought positively believe that the condition of the people under the Hindu Sovereignties was more satisfactory than it is at the present day. It is well, therefore, that publications like the present should be encouraged by the State, in the best interests both of the country and itself.

The inscription on p. 115, for instance, shows us that there was an excessively intricate and minute system of Revenue Settlement and Survey, while no less than four-and-twenty various taxes sucked the life-blood out of the ryot and the trader. Not only had a trader to pay a general tax on his
trade, but he had to pay a separate tax for the luxury of possessing a set of scales and weights; not only had the owners of all animals to pay taxes on them, but owners of elephants and horses were in addition compelled to pay dues to the State for stalls for sheltering them. The whole of this is abolished under the present Government. The system lasted into our own time under the name of "moturpha." A ryot who dug a tank or well for irrigation had to pay a tax on it. Our Government has not only freed him from this, but rewards him for his energy by refraining from making any charge for the use of the water, and leaving him in the full enjoyment of his improvements.

It may be noted that another inscription, the last in the volume, mentions, besides all these, another harassing tax, the "Prime Minister’s Cess," which it may be believed was not small.

It has long been known that the great sovereigns, Rāja Rāja and Rājendra, raised the Chola kingdom to its highest pinnacle of grandeur. From being a petty kingdom, dividing with the realms of the Chūlukyas, the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyans, the Cheras, and others, the Southern Peninsula of India, the dominion of the Cholas at this period of its greatness extended over the whole of the territories of these states, now become tributary.

The inscriptions now published record, for the most part, gifts made to the Tanjore Temple by these powerful chiefs. The first was engraved by order of Rāja Rāja about the year A.D. 1049, the twenty-sixth of his reign, to commemorate gifts made by himself, his elder sister, his wives, and others. A later record was in his twenty-ninth year (A.D. 1052). Part of the gifts made between the twenty-third and twenty-ninth year were taken from the treasures seized from the conquered Chēras and Pāṇḍyas on the western side of the Peninsula. Other details of grants follow, proving that at one time the Temple must have possessed enormous wealth.

Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 give details of grants of village lands for the maintenance of the Temple made after Rāja
Rāja's twenty-ninth year, and Dr. Hultsch has very cleverly worked out the profoundly confusing system of land-measurement, and embodied it on page 66 into a table. A glance at this will enable any unprejudiced reader to comprehend how vastly superior and more simple our present system is to that of the days of Rāja Rāja.

In inscription No. 6 we have gifts made by Rāja Rāja's eldest sister Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Parāntāka II.; while Nos. 7 and 8 contain a list of her charities down to the third year of the King Rājendra (A.D. 1067). These consist mostly of a large number of precious stones, many apparently not of great intrinsic value if we may note the description given of them. In one place 109 rubies and other stones are mentioned together, "including such as had cavities, cuts, holes, white specks, flaws, and such as still adhered to the one." The priests who drew up the inscription clearly looked their gift-horse well in the face!

No. 9 is dated in the sixth year of Rājendra Chola (A.D. 1070), while the next ten were all inscribed about the year A.D. 1074. From them much is learned regarding the system of village assemblies, or Panchayats. In A.D. 1083, the nineteenth year of his reign, Rājendra Chola caused the twentieth inscription to be engraved, and in that he mentions a number of names of places conquered by him during the previous seven years. One victory was secured by an attack by sea. Dr. Hultsch considers it certain that no fresh conquests were made after Rājendra's nineteenth year.

The twenty-first and twenty-second inscriptions belong to the reign of Kōnērin-mai-Kondān, as his name must now be spelt; but it is very doubtful to what sovereign this title applies. He reigned for at least thirty-five years, and flourished subsequently to Rājendra.

The last in the book, No. 23, belongs to the reign of Tirumalai dēva, and is dated in the year A.D. 1455. The author considers it not improbable that Tirumalai dēva is identical with Timma—the founder of the second Vijayanagar dynasty, in proof of which he points to some of the fiscal terms being of Canarese origin.
The addition, in this volume of facsimile plates is very welcome, and altogether the publication is worthy of its accomplished and scholarly compiler. We can suggest only one improvement, but it is one which would greatly enhance the trouble and difficulty of publication. This is that the text should be transliterated into English characters, as well as given in the vernacular. At present the work is only epigraphically useful to those acquainted with the Tamil and Grantha characters. It would be rendered of far greater interest to scholars all over the world if they were enabled to determine the reading of the alphabet.

R. D.

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OF
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FOUNDED, March, 1823.

CORRECTED TO 1st JANUARY, 1892.

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