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(NOS. I TO IV.—1877: with thirteen plates.)

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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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CALCUTTA

ERRATA, &c.

IN

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, PART I,

FOR 1877.

Page 1, line 4, *for* five plates *read* six plates
" 7, l. 3 from below, *for* attempt *read* attempt to
" 62, l. 11, and p. 90, l. 6, *for* Ḥojr *read* Ḥajar
" 73, l. 22, *for* er-Rasîs *read* er-Resîs
" 83, note [84], line 1, *for* 'Abd-esh-Sha'bî *read* 'Abd esh-Sha'bî
" 90, in note to vv. 4 and 5, for *marâbîu-n-nujûm* read *marâbî'u-n-nujûm*
" 93, in note to v. 48, last line but one, for *imâmuhâ* read *amâmuhâ*
" 94, in note to vv. 60, 61, second paragraph, line 4, for *rajez* read *rejez*
" 95, in note to v. 71, for *el-Bediiy* (twice) read *el-Bedîy*
" 130, l. 8 from below, *for* ζωτιχός *read* ζωτικός
" 163, l. 13 from below, *for* præcipua *read* præcipue
" 244, l. 22, *for* p. 262 *read* pp. 266, 267
" 252, l. 7 from below, *for* (side) *read* (face)
" 255, l. 10 from below, for *sakla-* read *sagla-*
" 290, l. 6, *after* post-positions *add* and takes possessive affixes
" 291, l. 8, *after* (e) *insert:* The Future Participle itself is often used as a noun of the agent; *e. g. bil-gu* 'that which makes known,' 'a sign'; *àch-gu* 'an opener,' 'a key.'
" 293, l. 11, Add:—Of the two forms ending in *ku* and *'k* respectively (whether used substantively or adjectively) the former generally conveys an *active* meaning, and the latter a *passive; e. g. bil-gu* 'that which makes known', *bil-ik* 'that which is known,' 'knowledge'; *àch-gu* 'an opener', 'a key', *àch-gu* 'opened', 'open' (adj.).

Also add after note * :—*E. g. sàa'g* (adj.) 'cold', *sàa'g-luq* 'coldness'; from the verb *sàa-maq* 'to be cold.'
" 303, l. 10 from below, after *nari* insert—*or ? àri*
" 307, last line, *after* "then," *insert*—àri "moreover, again"
" 309, l. 8, *after* "singly," *insert*—"each"
" 333, l. 3, *for* his hundred desires *read* the face of desire
" 333, l. 22, *for* go forth *read* go up into the minaret
" 340, l. 3, Add:—He caused the Qoràn to be read through, and bestowed the merits of this on the souls of the martyrs.
" 340, l. 9, *for* defeated *read* conquered
" 342, l. 13, *for* the skirt of his robe *read* his stirrup

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1877.

Rough Notes on some Ancient Sculpturings on rocks in Kamáon, similar to those found on monoliths and rocks in Europe.—*By* H. Rivett-Carnac, C. S.

(With five plates.)

At the meeting of the Society held in Calcutta in February, 1870, the existence on the tumuli of Central India of "cup marks" similar to those found on the Stone Circles and Monoliths of Northern Europe was briefly noticed by me (*see* Proceedings of the Asiatic Society for February, 1870, p. 57). It may interest the Society to learn that, during an autumn holiday in the Kamáon hills, I have come across many other markings on stones and rocks closely resembling those described by the late Sir James Simpson in his 'Archaic Sculpturings'*, the work noticed at the meeting of the Society above referred to,—and that, on this occasion, the markings found have not been confined to cups and circles, but include rough sculpturings of a somewhat more defined type than those previously noticed.

2. At a point about 2½ miles south of Dwárá-Háṭh, and 12 miles north of the Military Station of Ránikhet in Kamáon, the bridle road leading from the plains through Naini Tál and Ránikhet to Baijnáth, and thence on to the celebrated shrine at Bidranáth, is carried through a narrow gorge, at the mouth of which is a temple sacred to Mahádeo, where the pilgrims who follow this route generally halt for a short time, and where from the position of the temple in the defile, the priest in charge

* Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, &c., on stones and rocks in Scotland, England, and other Countries. By Sir J. Simpson, Bart., D.C.L., Edinburgh, Edmonton and Douglas, 1867.

can conveniently levy contributions on all passers-by. The temple will not be found marked on the one-inch-to-the-mile map of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, but it is locally known by the name of Chandeshwar, and the above description will perhaps be sufficient to enable any who care to visit the spot to find its position without difficulty.

3. About two hundred yards south of the temple, towards the middle of the defile, and to the right hand of the traveller from Ránikhet to Dwárá-Háṭh, a rock partly covered with low brushwood rises at an angle of 45° to the height of some seventy feet above the stream. The rock has been much worn by the action of heat and damp, and to a passer-by would not at first sight appear to possess any interest, but when carefully examined in a good light, it will be found to be covered with "cup marks" and sculpturings, the principal forms of which have been figured in the accompanying rough sketches.

4. A reference to Sketches I to V in the accompanying plates will shew that in Europe, the "cup marks" or holes scooped out on the face of the rock, and noticed by me at the meeting of the Society above referred to, predominate. On the Chandeshwar Rock in a space measuring 14 feet in height by 12 in breadth, upwards of 200 such marks may be counted. They are of different sizes, varying from six inches to an inch and a half in diameter, and in depth from one inch to half an inch, and are generally arranged in perpendicular lines presenting many permutations in the number and size and arrangement of the cups. These exactly correspond with the "First Type" of the marks found in Europe described at page 2 of Sir J. Simpson's work above referred to, and figured in many of the plates with which his book is illustrated.

5. In the portion of the rock shewn in Plate II, commencing from left to right and taking the upper ledge, first comes a row of four small cups, then three rows of cups each 3½ inches in diameter, the first line containing nine, the second seven, and the third seven cups. Then follows a row of 15 cups somewhat smaller in diameter, the 11th and 15th (the last) of which are distinguished by an incised ring surrounding each cup, corresponding exactly with the "Second Type" figured at Plate I, and described in page 4, of Sir J. Simpson's work.

6. Then follow three lines containing respectively 17, 14, and 15 small "cups". The 13th and 17th (the last) cups of the first row are "ringed" and belong to the "second type". The last cups of the second and third line are distinguished by what Sir J. Simpson describes (page 5) as a "groove or gutter", leading from the cups downwards, and of which several specimens will be found figured in his work. The next group of three lines consists of 8, 7, and 6 small cups respectively, surrounded by three lines in the shape of a fork. Then follow 11 lines, first two lines

H. Rivett-Carnac, del. J. Schaumburg, lith.

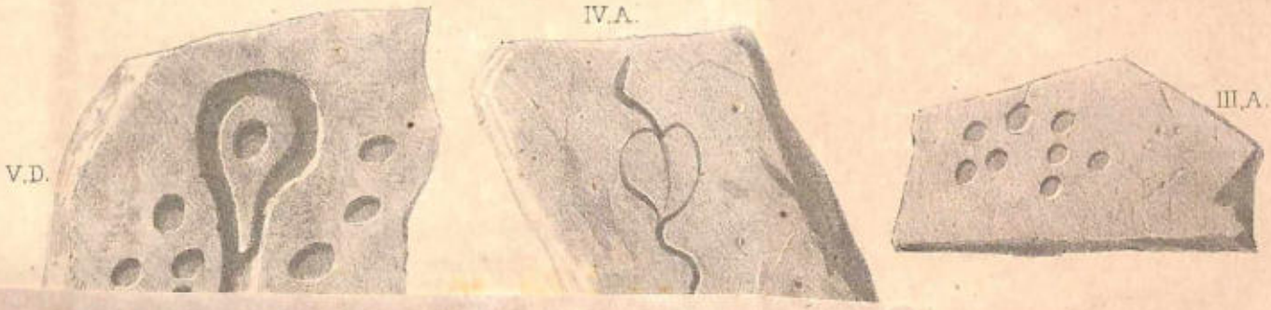
VIEW OF THE GORGE NEAR CHANDESHWAR, KAMAON,
WITH SOME OF THE CUP-MARKS.

H. Rivett-Carnac del. *J. Schaumburg Lith.*

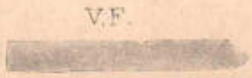
ANCIENT ROCK SCULPTURINGS IN KAMAON.

The rock is at an angle of about 45°. The large markings are a little more than 3 in. in diameter and ¾ in. in depth: but they are weatherworn and not so distinct as in the sketch.

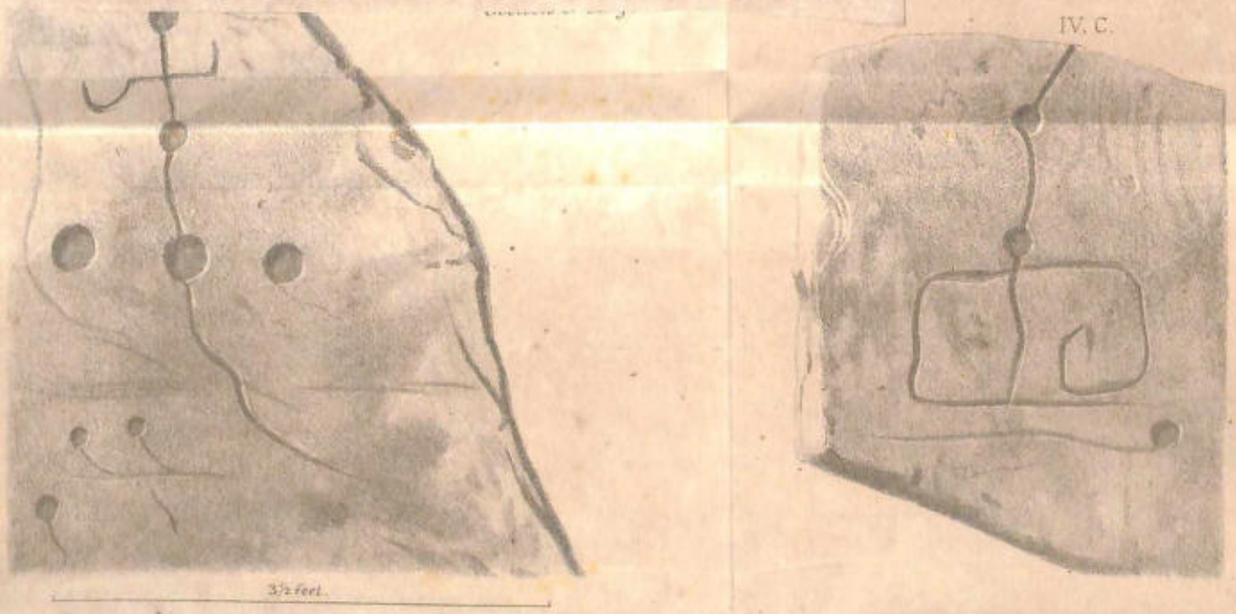
Mahádeos at Chandeshwar.



The cup marks, &c., shewn in sketches III A, IV A, IV B, IV C, on pl. iii, and in sketches III B and III C (wrongly marked III A) on pl. IV, are on the face of the rock, and not on separate slabs, as would appear from the sketches. H. R-C.



Section of V.A.B.C & D.



H. Raeth-Garnac del. *J. Schaumburg Lith.*

ANCIENT ROCK SCULPTURINGS IN KAMAON.

VII.

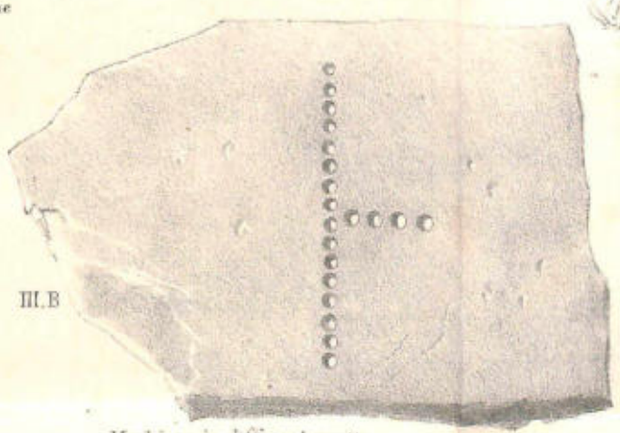
Monolith near Lodh Factory in the Sameshwar Valley.

VI.C.

Monolith Mahádeo, 5½ ft. above ground, on the Summit of Pandukoli.

VII.

Monolith near Lodh Factory in the Sameshwar Valley.

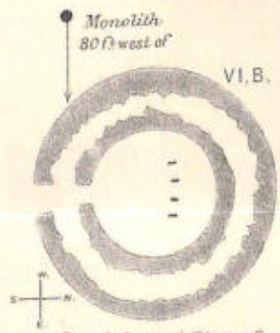


III.B

Markings in different portions on the face of the rock.

VI.A

Portion of a Monolith Mahádeo in the centre of the yard at Chandeshwar.

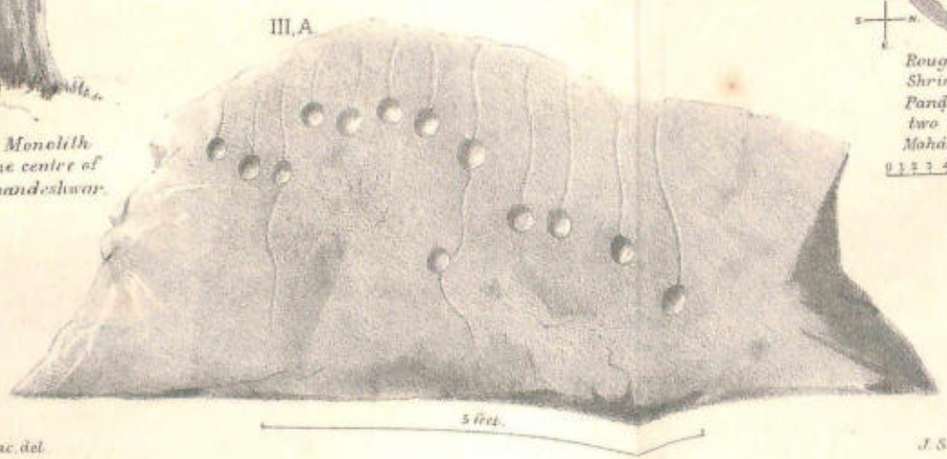


Monolith 80 ft west of

VI.B.

Rough Ground-Plan of Shrine on Summit of Pandukoli, consisting of two circles of stones. Mahádeos in the inner circle

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 feet 10 feet



III.A

5 feet.

H. Rivett-Carnac, del.

J. Schaumburg, Lith.

ANCIENT ROCK SCULPTURINGS IN KAMAON

containing respectively 6 and 5, then three lines of 6, 6, and 7, then another arrangement of three lines with 8, 10, and 11, and lastly yet another arrangement of three lines each of 8 cups. All these cups are small and similar in type to those already noticed.

7. On the lower ledge beneath the first arrangement of three lines of large cups, a further combination of three is noticed, a large cup, then a line of four, then three. These are weather-worn and somewhat indistinct, and may perhaps have been continuations of the upper line. To the left is yet another combination of three, two large cups, the upper one of the first line with a groove, the two next both grooved, and the lower groove joining the two cups, the third also grooved. Then follow two lines containing the one six, the other seven large cups.

8. Sketch III, on plates III and IV, shews cup marks on three separate portions of the rock, the first (A) to the left containing eight cups, one of which is grooved, the second (B) a straight row of sixteen cups, with a row of four running off at right angles in the centre. The last (C) is a curious arrangement of thirteen cups all with grooves or gutters, similar to those figured in Plates IX—XIV and XX of Sir J. Simpson's work.

9. The sculpturings shewn in Sketch IV of pl. III are of a somewhat more elaborate type. The first (A) has perhaps been intended for a cobra, or a leaf. The second (B) is curious from the combination of lines and large cup-marks, some of which are six inches in diameter, and in shape is not unlike the "Swastiká". The third (C) is of a somewhat similar type, and may be allowed to claim relationship to Fig. 15, Plate II, of Sir J. Simpson's work. The sizes of the markings are roughly noted on the sketches. I have neither the time nor the appliances at present to draw them to scale.

10. From the villagers, and from the old priest at the temple hard by, no information was to be obtained of the origin of these markings, beyond that "they were so old that the oldest man in the village had no "knowledge of who had made them, nor had they been made in the time "of their father's father, but they were most probably the work of the "giants or the goálás (herdsmen) in days gone by." Much information was perhaps hardly to be expected from the class of persons questioned, but the subject of their possible origin will be noticed more in detail in later paras. of these notes.

11. On visiting the temple sacred to Mahádeo at the entrance to the gorge, I could not help being struck by the peculiar construction of many of its shrines as bearing a marked resemblance to these rock markings. In addition to the principal shrine, placed within the temple itself, a massive little structure, built up of large stones, many of which would appear to have been taken from Buddhist ruins so plentiful in the neighbourhood of Dwárá-Háṭh, I counted 37 minor shrines within the walled enclosure by

which the temple is surrounded. These consist mostly of a rough pedestal formed of loose stones surmounted by a *Mahádeo* and *yoni*. The *yoni* in the largest of these shrines was a solid block of stone, cut to the well-known "jew's-harp" shape, the upright *Mahádeo* being slightly carved at the summit and base. Some half a dozen others were more or less solid and well made according to the conventional construction of these symbols. In one case the stone which did service for the *yoni*, was the cushion-shaped finial of some Buddhist temple, the *Mahádeo* being represented by a carved head with high raised cap broken off from some neighbouring ruin. The fragment had been inserted cap downwards in the square hole by which the cushion had been fixed on to the top of the original structure.

12. The remaining shrines were of a much poorer type. But this last class was to me much the most interesting, as suggesting a possible connection between the rock markings and *lingam* worship. Rough sketches of these types will be found in plate III, which accompanies this paper. The position and arrangement of these symbols and the veneration paid to them, some having been quite recently decked with small offerings of flowers, left no doubt that they equally with the larger and more solid shrines represented the *Mahádeo* and *yoni*. But whereas in the first noticed and better class, as will best be explained by the section E in plate III, the *Mahádeo* is represented by an upright stone, this other and poorer type is without the upright, and is apparently a conventional rendering, or sketch of these symbols, roughly cut on the stone, the inner circle representing the *Mahádeo*, the outer circle the *yoni*, the line or lines the gutter, by which the libations and offerings are drained off from this as well as from the more elaborate class of *Mahádeos*.

Of this poorer class, *i. e.* those without the upright, some 20 or 30 may be counted in the Chandeshwar enclosure, from the well-defined inner and outer circles shewn in Fig. A sketch IV of pl. III, to the very poorest class in Figs. B and C, sketch V, which is little more than a rough cup-mark surrounded by a circle and "gutter", cut on an easily worked slab, split off from some neighbouring rock. On one such slab I found cup-marks together with the symbols, but as the cups were in all probability on the slab before it was split off from the rock and made to do service on the top of the shrines, no particular significance can be claimed for this circumstance. To facilitate reference, in case no copy of Sir J. Simpson's work is at hand, the several types noticed in the Archaic sculpturings have been copied, and accompany this paper.

13. In the centre of the yard, is a monolith *Mahádeo* of 4½ feet in height above the ground, shewn in pl. IV, sketch VI, fig. A. It has no markings on it,—but together with all its surroundings seems very old. The priest in charge of the temple held that most of the shrines were very old, and accoun-

ted for their large number by saying that the yard was the burial-place of men of great sanctity, some of whom had been brought from great distances for interment there, and that Mahádeos of an elaborate or poor class were placed over the tombs according to the means of the deceased's friends. I have at this moment no means of verifying whether any particular class of Hindus are buried in the hills, or whether my informant intended to convey that ashes only were deposited beneath the shrines, but on this point there will be no difficulty in obtaining information.

14. A few days later I visited, in company with Mr. William Craw, the proprietor of the beautiful Dúnagiri estate, the summit of the Pandakoli (Col du Géant ?) mountain, which rises to a height of nearly 8,000 feet above the sea, to the north-east of the Dúnagiri Tea Factory. Here we found a small open place of worship, composed of two stone circles of the shape and dimensions shewn in pl. IV, Fig. B, sketch VI. The outer circle was of rough stones piled one on the other, with large stones at the entrance. The inner circle was partly of large stones about 3½ feet measuring above the ground, partly of smaller ones—very large stones not being available on the summit. The entrance was to the south. The inner circle was 8 feet, the outer 16 feet in diameter. In the centre of the inner circle were several *Mahádeos*, stones split off from the neighbouring rocks and roughly shaped. The shrine was open to the elements on all sides, save where it was partially sheltered by a wild guelder rose to the branches of which some rags had recently been attached as votive offerings by visitors to this place of pilgrimage. A small iron lamp, an old bell, and three small tridents, or '*trisuls*', (from the summit of the hill, by the way, a grand view of the three snow peaks of the Trisul mountain and of Nanda Devi may be obtained) completed the furniture of this rustic temple. No priest lives on the hill, which is too cold, jungly, and inaccessible for lengthened sojourn, but a fair is, I learn, held there in the spring, when many pilgrims, chiefly barren women, visit the shrine.

15. The construction of the temple, as shewn in pl. IV, sketch VI, fig. B., appears of some interest when considered in connection with the rock cuttings and shrines at Chandeshwar, some 15 miles distant. Here, as the sketch will shew, are two circles, complete save where the "gutter" forms the entrance. The *Mahádeos* are in the centre of the inner circle.

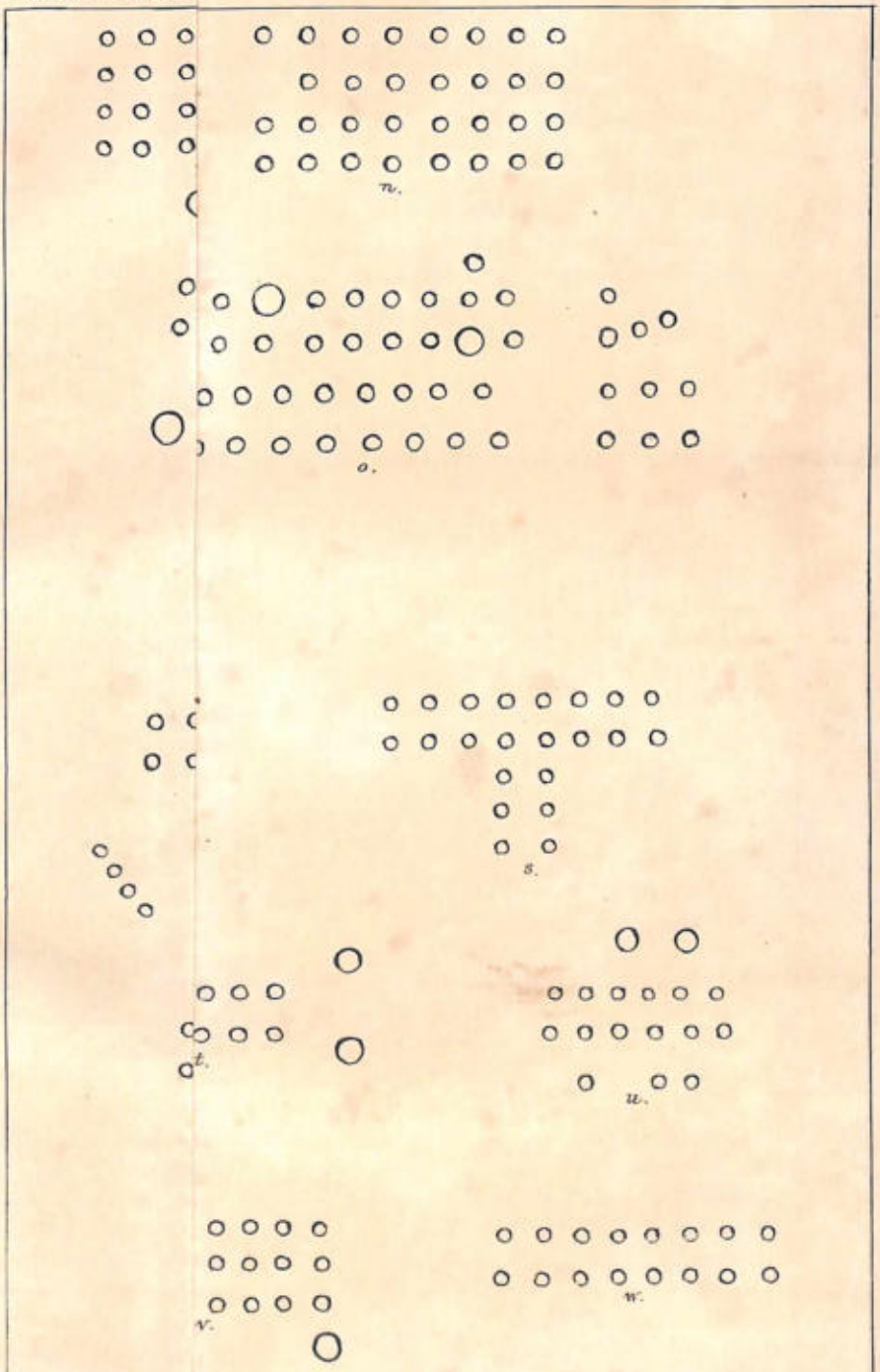
16. Another circumstance perhaps deserving of notice is the position of a monolith Mahádeo, 5½ feet above the ground, situated 8 feet south-west of the shrine, a second monolith of almost the same size was 80 feet due west of the first. If I remember right, the shape of the temple is the same, or nearly the same, as that of Stonehenge, and Avebury, and the outer monolith is in the same position to the Pandakoli shrine, as the "*Friar's Heel*" is to Stonehenge.

17. Local tradition ascribes the construction of the temple to the Pándús from whom the hill takes its name. In the small lake, visible from the summit, and about 6 miles north-west the Pándús are supposed in days gone by to have washed their garments, whilst the hill top, with its, for the Himálayas, broad expanse of grassy level, was the drying ground for the Pándú linen. Mr. Craw, who with his gun and dogs has visited most of these little known recesses of the Himálayas, has kindly promised to keep a look out for similar remains during his sporting excursions.

18. Subsequently, on the march between Dúnagiri and Sameshwar, I came across some more monoliths, on the right hand side of the road, close to the Lodh Tea Factory. They are apparently the remains of what once was a considerable structure. In shape the monoliths exactly resemble the Chandeshwar Mahádeo. But on the one is carved a circle intended perhaps for the moon; on the other, what looks like a sun. If I mistake not, there is supposed to be some connection between sun and moon worship and the worship of the *Mahádeo* and the *yoni*, the sun taking the place of the *Mahádeo*, the moon of the *yoni*.

19. Some three miles further on, on the right hand side of the road just above a little village distinguishable by its Deodár trees, and a small temple belonging to the Bidranáth Mahant, I halted for a short time to examine a mass of boulders lying round a mound, which from a distance bore some resemblance to the tumuli common in Central and Southern India. On its summit was a shrine about two feet high of peculiar construction, consisting of a sort of box, like a Kistvaen, formed of four slabs of stone imbedded in the earth, a fifth and movable slab forming the top, or cover. Within, sheltered from the weather by these slabs, was a small stone Mahádeo, or *ling*, daubed with red paint, and a small iron lamp. Outside the Kistvaen was a second and smaller stone *Mahádeo*, and on it, apparently taking the place of the red paint, a cup mark.

20. A further examination of the site indicated the existence round the mound of an outer and inner circle of stones, the larger of about 30 feet in diameter. The mound was in the midst of irrigated, and well cared for rice fields, and the boulders, lying about in disorder, had apparently been disturbed to make way for the plough in the absence of a Kamáon "Sir J. Lubbock's Act" for the preservation of ancient remains. But the circular shape of the mound and of the arrangement of the boulders surrounding it, some of which were too heavy to be displaced, was still traceable. One of the boulders, a huge mass measuring 7 feet in height by 13 feet in length by 9 feet in breadth, which could successfully defy most attempts at displacement, had five rows of cup marks still traceable on it, whilst other rows much weather-worn could with some difficulty be made out. About half a mile further on, I again found cup-marks on a somewhat smaller group of boulders, among the rice fields.



H. Rivett Carnac, di

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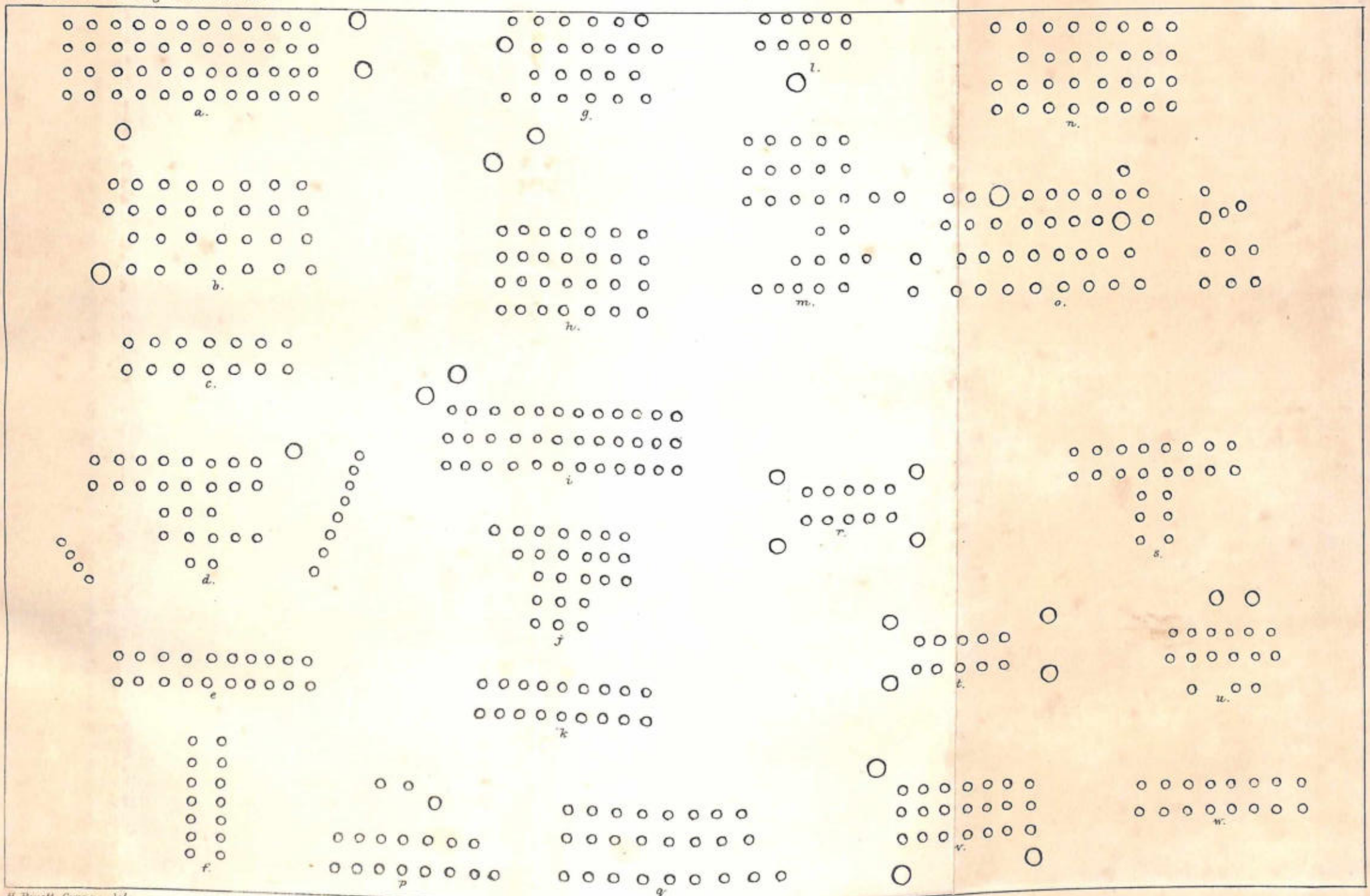

H. Ravett Carnac, del.

ROUGH SKETCHES SHEWING THE PERMUTATIONS OF 'CUP-MARKS' ON MONOLITHS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

a, b, Jounpapani Barrow No. I, Stone 1; c, d, e, f, Do., Barrow II; g, h, Do., Barrow III; i, j, k, Do., Barrow IV; l, m, n, o, Do., Barrow VII; p, q, Hignah, Barrow I & II; r to w, Solitary Stones at distance from Barrow.

21. The villagers' view of the matter was, as usual, that the marks were those of the giants, and that the little shrine at the top of the hill was the burial-place of a holy man, the same as the Chandeshwar account. The Kistvaen was evidently modern. But this fact would not affect the view that the original tumulus was of old date. It may often be noticed how later comers adopt the sites chosen by their predecessors for places of worship or sepulture. Of this Dwárá-Háṭh is an example, whilst perhaps one of the most striking instances may be seen in the Chandá District at Narkandá, not far from the confluence of the Waingangá and the Godávarí. Here a ridge of rocks running across the stream forms a natural anicut, ensuring a fine and constant reach of deep water during even the hottest and driest months. On the left bank of the stream are groups of temples of some half a dozen distinct types, from the Cyclopean class, massive blocks of stone without ornament, and evidently of a very early date, up to the recent florid additions of the Rájás of Nágpúr. And a case came under my own notice some years back, in which a fakír was buried in the middle of one of the largest of the stone circles of the Higna group, near the city of Nágpúr, a tumulus certainly several hundreds of years old. The first comers chose good sites and built and buried there. Later on, the remains of temples or tombs suggested the eligibility of those sites, and the later comers borrowed not only the idea of the position, but building materials also from the ruins.

22. In the above remarks I have tried to confine myself to what I saw and heard on the spot, and have as far as possible avoided mixing up therewith speculations on the origin and significance of the remains. I am generally content to do this, and to leave the analysis of what I may collect and what may appear of interest, to those, who, from the appliances and information at their disposal, are able to subject such enquiries to reliable tests, and to extract from my rough jottings any grains of the true ore which may be therein contained. And on the present occasion, having only one or two books of reference with me, (my baggage being necessarily restricted during a march among the Himálayas to what can be carried on the backs of a limited number of men) it may be especially undesirable to advance what may appear to be very crude theories regarding the significance of these markings. I am nevertheless tempted to add to my notes a few remarks and suggestions, more in the hope of evoking some discussion from those who are better informed than myself, and who, with the library of the Asiatic Society ready at hand, can supply omissions or correct any misapprehensions into which I have fallen, than with any intention of appearing to attempt dogmatise on a subject on which I cannot, of course, claim to write with any sort of authority.

23. In the first place I would desire to notice, with reference to the

markings described in paras. 3 to 10 of these notes, (for this paper has been divided into paragraphs, in order to facilitate reference to the several points mentioned) that since I had the pleasure to bring to the notice of the Society the existence of markings on the stone circles of Central India similar to the Archaic sculpturings on similar circles in Europe, that the subject has been advanced a stage by the discovery, not only of the single type of "cup marks", but of two or three other distinct types, nearly exactly resembling those treated of, and figured by, the late Sir J. Simpson in his work already alluded to.

24. In addition to the "cup-marks" of which so many examples are to be found at Chandeshwar and in the Sameshwar valley, we have now the second type, *i. e.* the cup mark enclosed in a circle—also the types given at Figs. 14 and 15 of Plate II, and in other plates, of Sir J. Simpson's work. A comparison of the accompanying sketches, which, although rough, are sufficiently accurate, with the plates in Sir J. Simpson's volume, will, I believe, leave little doubt of an extraordinary resemblance between the markings found on similar classes of remains in Northumberland, and in many parts of Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, Norway, Denmark, &c.

Extracts from Sir J. Simpson's descriptions of these markings and tracings of some of the plates accompany this paper, in case the work should not be immediately available.

25. Sir J. Simpson holds that these markings in Europe are not of natural formation, and an examination of these series of lines and holes in Kamáon will lead to the same conclusion, and leave little doubt that the same view holds good in India also. The distinct rows in which the cups are arranged, the shapes other than that of "holes" assumed, indicate design and suggest that the sculpturings are artificial, not natural. Sir J. Simpson meets the view that those in Europe are of recent formation and have been made perhaps by the shepherd boys on which to play a sort of game of draughts, by shewing that the cup-marks are more often on the sides of boulders, or on the face of rocks, where no such game could be played; and the same remark holds good for the Central Indian and Kamáon cup-marks. And, after all, even admitting that this view correctly accounts for the cup-marks, it would not dispose of the origin of the other rough sculpturings.

26. Moreover the people of the neighbourhood have no tradition of the origin of the remains or of the markings on them save that they are the work of the giants, or the goálás, which in their minds means the far past. No one there has any knowledge of the markings being of recent construction.

27. And here attention may be called to the circumstance that the idea of such remains being the work of the "goálás", or herdmen, is identical in Kamáon and in Central India, also many hundreds of miles south. In Central India tradition points to the existence of a Goálá dynasty, a

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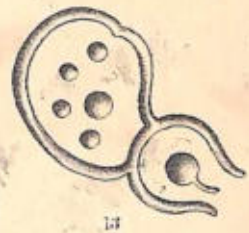

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S. Sedgfield, Lith. Calcutta.

EUROPE

S. Sedgfield, Lith. Calcutta.

CUP AND RING CUTTINGS ON STONES AND ROCKS IN EUROPE.

Nos. 1 to 7 Common Types of Cup and Ring Cuttings
Nos. 8 to 22 Chief Deviations from the General Types.

race of nomads, "Shepherd Kings", who held the country before the advent of Aryan civilisation, and here among the Himálayas, the same idea seems to prevail, and to the same people is attributed the construction of similar Cyclopean works. All this would seem to indicate that the markings are not of modern origin.

28. Then as to the significance, if any, of these markings. First as to the cup-marks. They are generally arranged in rows, large and small. Sometimes a row is composed entirely of large and small marks. Often the large and small holes are found in juxta-position. The combinations and permutations are numerous. This would seem to suggest that the markings have some significance, and are not so arranged for ornament only. In a brief paper written for the late Earl of Mayo, shortly before his death, on the cup-markings found in Central India, and which I believe it was Lord Mayo's intention to communicate to the Royal Irish Academy, by which Society the subject of cup markings on similar remains in Ireland had been discussed, it was suggested by me that these markings might possibly represent a primitive form of writing. The Agham writing consists of combinations of long and short strokes cut on sandstone. On sandstone it would be easier to cut lines with the grain, so to speak, of the stone. To attempt to make a cup mark would be to risk splitting the slab. On the other hand to cut a line on hard trap would be difficult, whereas to work an iron instrument round and round so as to make a "cup-mark", would be comparatively easy. It was also pointed out that the American invention by which a record of the message sent by the Electric Telegraph is made by the instrument itself, the most primitive style of marking, or writing on the paper was necessarily adopted. And the letters in the Morse Code are consequently composed of numerous combinations of long and short strokes. In Army signalling, which I saw recently carried on here from the hill tops by men of the 19th (Princess of Wales's Own) Regiment stationed at Ránikhet, the same simple system is adopted to represent letters by long and short wavings of a flag. By night a lamp is used, long and short flashes taking the place of the long and short wavings of the flag. It is then perhaps not impossible that the many permutations of large and small cup markings may have some such sort of significance having been adopted as a primitive style of record many hundreds of years back by a people who had not advanced very far in civilisation. I have not had time during my recent march in Kamáon to collect many specimens of such permutations, and have been obliged to content myself with the knowledge of the existence of such markings in many parts of the province, leaving any further investigations for some future pleasant holiday. But the permutations at Chandeshwar, as the annexed sketch will shew, are numerous enough for the sake of the argument, if

indeed it has any force at all. And the accompanying rough sketch VIII, (Pl. IV) of some of the Central Indian markings, shewing many permutations, will assist still further to explain my views, such as they are on the subject.

29. Next as to the possible further significance of some of the markings. If the remarks in para. 12 *et seq.* and the rough sketches annexed have in any way helped to explain my views, then it will be seen that a resemblance exists between the Chandeshwar rock and European markings, and the shrines in the temple at the mouth of the Chandeshwar gorge. That many of the shrines are of recent construction is evident. It will hardly be contested that the last of types 2, 4, and 5 of Plate I, of Sir J. Simpson's book, bear a striking resemblance to the *Mahádeo* and *yoni* marks on the Chandeshwar shrines. The centre mark would appear to do duty for the *lings*, the circle for the *yoni*—and the "gutter" is the depression to be found on most stone *yonis*, by means of which the votive libations are drained off from the symbols. And here it may be noticed that in Mahádeo worship, the offering of flowers, and the pouring of a libation, generally of Ganges water, over the symbols is, so far as I have seen, very general. Those who have visited Benares will remember the little spoons resembling somewhat our Apostle's spoons, some of them beautifully chased, with a figure or cobra at the upper end of the handle, used by pilgrims and worshippers at that city in sprinkling the holy water over the Mahádeos there. In Kamáon little niches are to be noticed in Mahádeo temples with stone receptacles for holy water, not unlike what are seen in churches abroad. And the temple at Baijnáth boasts of a large, well-carved figure, holding a bowl, which the priest informed me held Ganges water, and from which pilgrims sprinkle the Mahádeo placed close by.

30. Then again in connection with the monolith Mahádeos found at Chandeshwar, Pandukoli, and Lodh, mentioned in para. 13 *et seq.*, it may be worth noticing that circles, and what I will call the "conventional symbols" of the *Mahádeo* and *yoni*, are found on exactly similar monoliths in Europe; take for instance Figs. 2 and 3 of Plate XVII of Sir J. Simpson's work.

31. In India these monoliths are found in the centre and in proximity to shrines bearing these markings. Sometimes a circle is found cut on them, and again the shape of the place of worship at Pandukoli with its double circle of stones, in the centre of the inner of which are the Mahádeos, is as nearly as possible exactly that of these conventional markings.

32. If I am not mistaken, this too is the shape of Stonehenge, and other remains in Europe in the vicinity of which monoliths similar to Indian Mahádeos and bearing incisions similar to the "conventional symbols" are found. It seems then hardly improbable that the ruins in

Europe are the remains of that primitive form of worship which is known to have extended at one time over a great portion of the globe, and which still exists all over India, and that these markings are the rude records of a nomadic race which at an early epoch of the world's history left the Central Asian nursery, and travelling in different directions have left their traces, in Europe as in India, of tumuli and rock sculpturings, generally to be found in hill countries, and inaccessible spots whither at a later period they were forced to retreat before the advance of a more civilised and a more powerful race. The one being what are generally known by the somewhat vague term of Scythians or Shepherd kings, the other the Aryans, descended from the same parent stock, and who later were forced by the necessities of increasing numbers to emigrate from the common Central Asian home, and to explore and conquer the rich countries far to the West and South. Baron Bonstetten's Map of the localities in which archaic remains are found (Plate XXXIII of Sir J. Simpson's work) supports this view. Kistvaens, barrows, cup-marks, rock sculpturings, all more or less of the same type, abound in all the corners of the European Continent indicating that the people who constructed them, were driven thither by a wave of invasion surging from some central point. And so also in India, these remains are found, not in the plains and open country, but in the forests, among the fastnesses of the hills, in the gorges of the Himálayas and Nílgiris, on the Highlands of Central India in that Cul-de-sac of the Nágpúr country, which was long protected by its natural rampart of the Sátpuras with their "abattis" of dense forest, from the effects of Northern Invasion.

33. I am aware that the view of these markings having reference to *lingam* worship is not now advanced for the first time. The subject is alluded to at page 93 of Sir J. Simpson's work but only to be summarily dismissed with the following brief remark :

"Two archæological friends of mine, dignitaries in the Episcopal "Church, have separately formed the idea that the lapidary cups and circles "are emblems of old female Lingam worship, a supposition which appears "to me to be totally without any anatomical or other foundation, and one "altogether opposed by all we know of the specific class of symbols used in "that worship, either in ancient or modern times."

I am sanguine, however, that if the late Sir J. Simpson had seen the sketches of what I have called the "conventional symbols" on the shrines at Chandeshwar, and had been able to compare them with some of the types figured in his work, he might have been inclined to modify the opinion above extracted. The treatment of these symbols is purely conventional, they bear no anatomical resemblance to anything, they are unlike many of the large well known and acknowledged representations of the *Mahádeo* and

yoni. Still they nevertheless represent the same idea. And here it may be noticed that the same argument of anatomical non-resemblance might be advanced in regard to the well known representations, common throughout India, of the meaning of which to the initiated there is no doubt at all. To the uninitiated, however, the shapes convey nothing, and I have known cases of Europeans who have been many years in the country who were quite unsuspicious of what "that jew's-harp idol", as they called it, was intended to represent. As the old priest at Chandeshwar said, "Those who can afford it, put up a big *Mahádeo;* those who can't, put up these slabs." And so also with us. The rich relations or friends of the Christian may put up over his grave a solid richly-carved stone cross. The grave of a poor man, if marked at all, has over it perhaps two pieces of wood nailed together in shape of a cross, or a cross roughly cut on a piece of stone. The Christian Church is built in the form of a cross. In Pandukoli and many other spots, the Mahádeo temples are built in the shape of the conventional symbols of that faith. And inasmuch as the symbols of the *Mahádeo* and *yoni* can be more conveniently indicated on stone or on paper by what may be called a ground plan than by a section, the form shewn in pl. III, Fig. A, Sketch V, was apparently first adopted, and this degenerated into the rough conventional treatment of the cup-mark and circle so common on monoliths in many parts of Europe.

33. In the view that these markings are nothing but a conventional rendering of the *Mahádeo* and *yoni*, I am further confirmed by what has recently been brought to my remembrance, of the manner in which an Amín, or native Surveyor, will indicate a Mahádeo temple on his plotting. I remember that the sign used to mark the position of such temples by the Amíns in the Field Survey of the Chandá Revenue Settlement, in which district I was Settlement Officer some few years ago, and where this form of worship is very common, almost exactly resembled the sketch in Figs. B and C, plate III, sketch V. It is not unlike the form of the Vestal Lamp. Indeed on the summit of a hill near Ránikhet, on the top of a pile of stones which did duty for a Mahádeo shrine, I found a small slab, bearing an almost exact resemblance to the well known form of the classic lamp. In the hole into which oil is poured, a small upright *Mahádeo* is placed.

34. Perhaps enough has now been said regarding the possible significance of these markings to ensure some discussion and to elicit an expression of opinion from those who are better qualified than I can claim to be to speak with authority on the subject. I at least hope that some of the Members of the Society may be able to put me right where my information is incorrect or imperfect. Hereafter, with the help of some references and notes which I have in my library in the plains, I shall hope to be able to endeavour to trace these barrows and rocks, together with their markings,

from Madras, through Central India, and the Himálayas, and thus on through Central Asia to the Crimea and South Eastern Europe. From thence there will be but little difficulty in completing the chain, through the Continent of Europe, to our own Islands. And if this is done, then there would seem to exist a sufficiently distinct tracing of the routes adopted by the tribe, one section of which went West, the other South, in their search for fresh climes and pastures new, at a period of which there is but faint historical record, save on the rough stones and temples with their markings of a type which are common to both Europe and India.

35. Before concluding these rough, and necessarily imperfect, notes, I must add two extracts, which I have found since I began to write, amongst my limited baggage, and both of which seem to bear directly on the subjects above noticed.

At para. 17, the local tradition which attributes the construction of the circles on the summit of the Pandukoli hill to the Pándús has been noticed. Here is an exactly similar tradition regarding an almost exactly similar class of remains near Salem in the Madras Presidency, many hundreds of miles to the south of the Himálayas.

"In a paper on Tumuli in the Salem District the Rev. Maurice Phil-
"lips, of the London Missionary Society, arrives at the conclusion that the
"tumuli were the burial-places of the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of
"the South, who are now represented by the Dravidians, and who, like the
"pre-Aryan inhabitants of the North, are proved by their language to have
"belonged to the same branch of the human family as the Turanians; that
"their ancient customs and religion disappeared before the combined influence
"of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, precisely in the same way as the
"ancient customs of the Teutons, Celts, Latins, and Slavs disappeared in
"Europe before the influence of Christianity, or the ancient customs of the
"Scythians of Central Asia disappeared before the influence of Muhamma-
"danism. If this theory be correct, no tumuli in the plains of India are later
"than the thirteenth century A. D. and on the Neilgherry Hills, probably
"none are later than the fifteenth or sixteenth century A. D. The natives
"know nothing about the tumuli, and according to Dr. Caldwell there is no
"tradition respecting them either in Sanskrit literature or in that of the
"Dravidian languages. The Tamil people call them Pandu-Kuris, Kuri
"means a pit or grave, and Pandu denotes anything connected with the
"Pándús, or Pándava brothers, to whom all over India ancient mysterious
"structures are generally attributed. To call anything a work of the Pán-
"dús is equivalent to terming it 'Cyclopean' in Greece, a work of 'Picts' in
"Scotland, or 'a work of Nimrod' in Asiatic Turkey."

36. And the following extract from an article in the *Madras Times* of the 7th February, 1876, bears equally on the subject.

"The village of Jala is about fourteen miles from Bangalor situated at the base of a large isolated rocky hill; upon the summit of which is a little grassy dell, stretching out in front of a cave, that has been converted into a small picturesque temple. It is but a small village, the temple is curiously built against the side of a low rocky hill, a cave forming the sanctum. It possesses no architectural beauty, and is interesting only from the fact that the priest in charge, a wild looking fanatic, apparently about sixty years of age, has never left its precincts, for more than forty years, nor has he allowed the lights in the holy place to go out for that period! The whole neighbourhood is thickly covered with cromlechs; near the village there are at least one hundred plainly to be seen. These cromlechs are surrounded by circles of stones, some of them with concentric circles three and four deep. One very remarkable in appearance has four circles of large stones round it, and is called by the natives "Pandavara Gudi" or the temple of the Pandus, who are popularly supposed to have been the descendants of the Pandavas, the five sons of the Raja Pandu.....The smaller cromlechs are designated "Pandasiara Mane" or the houses of the Pandus. This is supposed to be the first instance, where the natives popularly imagine a structure of this kind to have been the temple of a by-gone if not of a mythical race.....Many of these curious structures have a triple circle, some a double, and a few single circles of stones round them, but in diameter they are nearly equal, the outer circle varying from thirty-seven to forty feet."

37. I extract also from page 185, 5th Series VI, September 2nd, 1876 of "*Notes and Queries*", a note shewing that the custom of hanging shreds of rags on trees as votive offerings, still exists in Ireland, that country of stone circles. The sacred tree at the Pandukoli temple or stone circle was, as noticed at paragraph 14, similarly decked at the time of our visit, and the custom is, as is well known, common throughout India.

"*Anatolian Folk-lore.*—The custom of hanging shreds of rags on trees as votive offerings still obtains in Ireland. I remember as a child to have been surreptitiously taken by an Irish nurse to St. John's Well, Aghada, County Cork, on the vigil of the Saint's day, to be cured of whooping cough by drinking three times of the water of the holy well. I shall never forget the strange spectacle of men and women "paying rounds", creeping on their knees in voluntary devotion or in obedience to enjoined penance so many times round the well, which was protected by a grey stone hood, and had a few white-thorn trees growing near it, on the spines of which fluttered innumerable shreds of frieze and vary-coloured rags, the votive offerings of devotees and patients."

The proceedings at the Pandukoli Fair might be described in almost similar words.

P. S. Since the above paper was written, I had the pleasure of meeting, at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, Mr. Campbell of Islay, now on a visit to this country, who has taken much interest in the subject of the Scotch Rock-markings. To him I shewed copies of the rough sketches, and explained briefly the views noticed in this paper. Mr. Campbell has since visited Ayodhyá, and has been good enough to send me a note on his enquiries there, from which the following is an extract:

"January 8th, 1877. Benares.

"Having seen sketches and notes on rock Sculptures in India which closely resemble unexplained rock carvings in Scotland; and having myself found one of the Scotch forms cut on a boulder in Kángṛá, I was set on the right scent by Mr. Rivett-Carnac at Delhi. Being at Ayodhyá with a Hindu who speaks good English, I got a faḳír and drew on the sand of the Gogra the figure . I asked what that meant. The faḳír at once answered, "Mahadéo". I then drew and got the same answer. At Delhi, my old acquaintance Mr. Shaw told me that these two signs are chalked on stones in Kángṛá by people marching in marriage processions. The meaning given to these two symbols now in India is familiarly known to the people. Many other Scotch signs may probably find an explanation here. One in particular I take to be the Trisul. I brought a number of Scotch signs with me. I have got a number of marks from natives who still use them."

Mr. Whitley Stokes, too, knowing the interest taken by me in the subject, has been good enough to send me a copy of the Journal of Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland for July, 1875, containing Mr. W. F. Wakeman's paper on Rock-markings in the County of Fermanagh.

The sketches and description of these Irish rock markings correspond almost exactly with the Kamáon markings noticed in this paper.

The Kaimúr Range.—By CHANDRAŚEKHARA BÁNURJI, *Deputy Magistrate, Bongong.*

General features.—The Kaimúr Range is a spur of the double-ridged Vindhya. It is the more easterly of the three so called Table-lands of Central India, each of which has for its floor the three great varieties of the gray, the red, and the yellowish sandstones. It shoots out from the District of Mírzápúr in the "inhospitable regions" of which the goddess Baran has selected one of her mountain abodes under the name of Vindhyaváshiní. From this region the range stretches eastwards in a lofty plateau, forming a belt of upwards of 130 miles, with an average breadth of 35. The mighty Sona, pent up on both banks by high ridges, flows along the foot of this Table-land until touching almost the base of the northern arm under the summit of Rohtás, takes then a turn, and cuts a north-easterly course through the open plains of South Bihár. The mountain chain, however, bends northward sending out smaller spurs, until reaching Sahasrám, it may be said to terminate with the dome of the Chandan Sayyid mount. From this point the chain relapses gradually into the plain, re-appearing once only fourteen miles off in two small blue knolls at Nokhá.

Although occupying a vast extent of country whose breadth across the plateau exceeds at places forty miles, hardly any of its peaks attains the height of 2,200 feet.* Its small elevation reminds one of the curse of Vindhya to which the Hindu mythological accounts often allude. "Vindhya, "having prostrated before his spiritual guide Agra Sila, still remains in that "posture by the command of the holy personage. This humiliation is the "punishment for his presumption in emulating the lofty heights of the "Himálaya and the Meru". According to this legend Vindhya has one foot at Chanár, the true name of that fortress being "Charanádri," and another at Gayá. The vulgar inconsistently suppose that the head of the prostrate mountain is near the Temple of Vindhyaváshiní.

The ancient name of the country along which this chain extends was Kaira Des, from the Daitya of that name known to tradition as its earliest king. The range was probably known as the Kairo Máli, corrupted to Kaimúr. The Puráṇas and the natives however still call it the Vindhya Máli, whose summit are crowned with the shrines of the goddess Barani under different names, Vindhyaváshiní being the foremost and more widely known than the rest. Vindhyaváshiní was the offspring of Yasodá, being supposed to be the same child which was made over by Vasudeva to Rájá Kañśa† the

* Colebrooke's journey to Nágpur.

† 'For Herod will seek the young child to destroy him.' *St. Matthew*, Chap. II. The similarity of the story was pointed out by Sir William Jones.

merciless tyrant of Mathurá. Mahárája Kañśa attempted to kill this child by dashing her against a stone. The girl, who was the manifestation of Śaktí, or the creative energy of the Deity, gave the slip, hovered over Kañśa in the form of a kite, warned him of his future fate at the hands of the youth who was being reared at Gokula, and steered her aerial flight until she perched on the peak near which her shrine now stands, four miles south of Mírzápur. The entire range of the Vindhya Máli is dedicated to the shrines of Baraṇí, and is itself considered a mass of sacred matter, which the hill-men adore as *Dharti* or the earth-god. The spirit of the great goddess guards the heights of the chain and its ghâṭs, fences its steep sides, and protects the hill-men from falls and surprises, from wild animals and wilder demons. If the votaries of Vishṇu, of Sákya and of the Sun had struggled to establish their respective cults on the right bank of the Son, the left has been held undisputedly and solely by the worshippers of Śaktí. In Gayá we have the shrines of Buddha, Vishṇu and Suryanáráyaṇa predominant in different quarters of the district. On the opposite bank we have fanes of the several manifestations of Umá alone. Vindhyeśvarí, Bhavání, Tripurá, Múndeśvarí and Táráchandí are perched on the summits of the Kaimúr Range. The goddess undoubtedly exercises great sway on these heights. Owing to her influence it is thought that demons in the shape of painful diseases kill few of the hill-men. Fewer still fall a prey to the wild animals. Peace reigns throughout the length and breadth of the Chero and Kharwár hamlets. Few crimes are perpetrated, although fewer, we suspect, are reported, and one Police head-constable accordingly, with two assistants posted on the tableland, has been sufficient for a number of years to keep British prestige alive over this extensive range.

The great peculiarity in the formation of the range is its steepness. The flat tablelands on its top are supported by precipitous sides which rise suddenly from fields where there is hardly a stone to impede the plough. About a third of these heights near the base is generally covered with a slope of rubbish which it must have taken ages to wash down. The tall crests of many a forest tree crown these slopes. But immediately above these, the sides are mere layers of primitive rocks, barren and black at places, high rocky walls standing in bold prominence against the blue sky. In others the walls bend into glens and recesses where a little dip between two summits serves as the channel for whirling cataracts. The spots below these cataracts are generally sacred pools which retain water throughout the year, and enable many important streams to flow down to the plains. "After* a clear drop of two to six hundred feet, the water splashes into a deep tarn scooped out by its continual falling, on leaving which it runs through a channel several miles in length, and obstructed

* Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Vol. VII, p. 20.

throughout its course with huge masses of rock fallen from above. From each side of the stream rise the undercliffs of the escarpment, covered with tangled jungle and debris, and crowned by vertical precipices which cut off all access to the plateau above, save by one or two narrow paths known only to the wood-cutter or the charcoal-burners, by whom alone the gorge is ever visited."

Geological features.—The escarpment of the Kaimúr Range which faces the Son for more than 200 miles between Rohtásgarh and Bilharí is nearly a straight line for the entire length, without any indentation, except the curve at Bijayagarh. The northern escarpment, however, from Sahasrám westward is deeply indented by intricate and ramifying gorges. The spurs which shoot out from the main range on the northern face seldom lie detached. They either project like bastions, or run in belts to join ultimately the chain itself, although there are some breaks between the ramparts to serve as passes to the wild glens embosomed by them.

At places the chain runs in double lines, branching off and extending for miles in two parallel high upright walls, enclosing a narrow strip of land between their feet, and displaying only a short strip of the sky over their summits. These long labyrinthine glens are cut by the beds of some mountain streams, with trees along their banks, and transparent pools along their stony beds.

The stone of the hills is chiefly composed of sandstones of different hues, varying from gray to red, either in the grains or the veins. It is to this sandstone that the mountains owe their grand appearance, displaying the most stupendous precipices. In his geological account of Sháhábád, Major Sherwill observes—"The vast precipices exhibited in this sandstone admirably display the horizontal formation of the mass; one of the precipices at the foot of Rohtás, I found by measurement to be 1,300 feet, a sheer mass of stone without a bush or tree on its surface; it is situated close to an over-hanging mass of building known as the Hajám's palace, a few minutes walk from the gateway leading up from Rájghát. The echo at this spot, which is a complete amphitheatre of precipices, is very distinct and grand, giving seven distinct responses to several syllables; the report of a gun reverberates like thunder; the sandstone at this spot is of a dark red, an overhanging rock at this spot enabling a person to look over and to fully contemplate this fearful abyss."

Next to the sandstone is the limestone. From the fact of its appearing in many places, though far apart, separated even for many miles, Major Sherwill was inclined to think that "it penetrates in unbroken stratum under the sandstone." Mixed with the limestone is chalk, called by the natives *kharí mattí*, "which is unctuous to the touch", "has a shiny appearance, but soils the fingers."

Hornstone, which may ordinarily be mistaken for chlorite, is found in many layers along the face of the precipice at the Tuttula Kund, four miles west of Tilauthú. I am informed that this stone is also met with at Jadunáthpur on the southern edge of the range; and four miles west of the *kho* or recess, a hill of the same mineral projects into the Son and causes rapids. The black crests on the limestones, or bands of shales near Bijayagaṛh, led to the belief that coal existed in the Kaimúr range. The report originated, so far back as 1837, with a Mr. Hyland, and Mr. Osborne of the Opium Department was deputed to investigate. But Mr. Osborne's, as well as later, investigations have shown that the similarity of the shales with coal ends unfortunately in the appearance, as they are perfectly incombustible and mere argilacious matter.

The sacred cave of Gupta is an opening in a calcareous hill where the flags are thin and white, approaching in appearance to unpolished slates of marble.

Gneiss and Quartz are remarkably absent in the Kaimúr Range, although they occur in the North West, in the Vindhyas, and the ridges south of the Son.

From what has been written above, it may easily be imagined that the stones of the Kaimúr Range consist of two principal layers. The upper terrace is the so-called Kaimúr sandstone. The lower the limestone with bands of 'pencil'-coloured shales at places which were mistaken for coal. Major Sherwill estimated the thickness of the sandstone layer at Rohtás at 1,300 feet, but towards the west, the escarpments are reduced to 6 or 700 feet. The thickness of the shales at Durgávatí and Bijayagaṛh varies from 200 to 150 feet. They are quite black and brittle.

"The stratigraphy of the hills", observes Mr. Mallet, "is very simple on the whole, the various bands being spread horizontally over wide areas, and it is only in a few special regions of disturbance that the geology is at all complicated. Taken generally, the upper Vindhyas are made up of several thick masses of sandstone with alternatives of shale which in lithological character frequently preserve a remarkable uniformity over immense areas."

The southern edge of the range appears to be higher from the fact that almost all the rivers that take their rise on the plateau flow towards the north, none going towards the south to the Son. The two more important of these streams are the Durgávatí and the Karamnásá.

The Karamnásá, notwithstanding its seemingly crystal water, is a detested stream. In a country where almost every stream is a good nymph of the valley, and melts and flows either to fertilize its banks or to purify sinners, the Karamnásá forms an exception. Its water is unholy, and a dip into it is sufficient to destroy the virtues of the simple savage and

those of the holy saint. The common story about it is, that in the illustrious race of the sun, there lived a king by the name of Trinsankhu, who, among other horrid sins, was guilty of incest and of the murder of a Bráhman. To wash away the taint it was necessary to collect the waters of all the sacred pools and streams in the world. From the holy bath thus formed, the prince having been washed, the defiled waters flowed into a river, and formed the Karamnásá. Religious Hindus must carefully avoid the slightest touch of the waters. Beneath this superstition, there is probably a simple warning against its use on hygienic grounds only.

The Durgávatí takes its rise in the Kaderkhó, a valley of exceeding beauty, "dark, deep, and cold." Descending from the tablelands, it winds on, some six miles north, to the Sugiákhó, which strikes off to the west, and stretches some ten miles between steep walls of rock. The valley is there contracted into a few hundred feet, through which the stream cuts its course into the open country. After a very winding flow it meets the Karamnásá along with other tributaries, the entire volume of water falling on the northern slope of the range being thus ultimately drained through the channel of the Karamnásá only to the Ganges.

The Son, although it takes its rise in a more distant country, drains the southern slope, and is both a source of beauty and strength to the tract lying between it and the hill range. It is also considered a sacred stream. Mr. Wheeler gives a tradition which assigns the easterly course of the Son to disappointed love with the Narmadá. The story which is locally current here is, however, different. According to it, the Son was originally confined within the sacred pool of Amarakaṇṭak. On the banks of this pool stood the hermitage of Jamadagni, the father of Paraśuráma. Near at hand a rustic once drove his plough to which he attached a calf and its dam. The calf resented this cruelty by driving its horns into the chest of the ploughman, who died on the spot. This taint of sin turned black the white skin of the calf; on going into the pool, however, the calf was purified and regained its original colour. Paraśuráma observed this, and considered that the pure waters of the pool should be sent out for the good of humanity. He cleft the side of the spring with one stroke of his *parasu* or axe, and thus made the infant Son stream away. The left bank of the Son, which at present includes the district of Gayá, was called the Kíṭa Des.* There were few

* In confirmation of this name, the following text may be cited:

কীটকেষু গয়া পুণ্যং ; নদী পুণ্যং পুনঃপুনঃ

চ্যবনস্যাশ্রমঃপুণ্যঃ পুণ্যং রাজগৃহং বনং ॥

The modern name of the পুনঃপুনঃ is the Pun-pun. Deokuli in the Arwal Pargannah was the hermitage of Chavana Muni, where an annual fair is still held. Rájagriha in Bihár is too well known to require notice.

sacred spots in this country. But the Kaira Des* which extended along the left bank of the river, was generally considered sacred, and therefore the region of the Kaimúr Range proper.

Productions. The timbers of the hills are on the whole poor. Where properly taken care of by the zemindars, such as in the glen of Koendi, the sál or sakná grows to a respectable size and serves for beams. But generally the tree is stunted. It is difficult, however, to say whether the poverty is owing to reckless and continual cuttings, or to the sterility of the soil itself. Both causes have been at work from time immemorial. Nevertheless the ásan *(Terminalia alata tomentosa)*, the piál *(Buchanania latifolia)*, the wild jáman, the mohná, the keond, and the arjuna grow luxuriant in the lower valleys, while the profuse scarlet flowers of the *Butea frondosa* along the slopes of the outer hills impress one with the propriety of the name of Palásas given by the ancients to the country now included in the Division of Bihár. The hills supply bamboos, and other wood which suffice for the buildings of the natives, and are taken down a great way off down the Son during the freshes.

Lac-dye is extracted from the small branches of various trees, such as the kusum and the pípal. The white silk cocoon, which is larger than elsewhere, grows on many plants, principally on the ásan tree *(Terminalia alata)*. Of other forest produce may be mentioned bees'-wax, the haritaki *(myrabalan)* large and small; the baherá *(Terminalia Belerica)* used both for dye and medicine, the amla or amlaki used for pickles, a kind of *Mimosa* used as medicine in cases of diarrhœa. The catechu, cherange, a sort of small almond which is greatly relished by the Hindústání, the bagai a sort of grass extensively used for ropes, answering to the sarmangu of Bengal, the kaneri, and chitti complete the list.

The kaneri is a sort of yam resembling in appearance garlic with a slight rosy tinge; a size is made of it for dressing new-woven cloth, and the natives say that it is exported to countries beyond India.

* In opposition to a common belief among certain European scholars, Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, in his great work on Orissa, urges that "the policy of the Bráhmans was not to excite an *odium theologicum*, but to enlist the sympathy of the people in behalf of their creed, by advancing half way and agreeing to a compromise." As one instance to illustrate this theory, we may say that the belief that the left bank of the Son on which Buddha Gayá stands is more sacred than the right one, was adopted by the Bráhmans from the Buddhists. The following anecdote will show what we mean: "The death of Rájá Maddan, the Balwand Ruler of the Kharwárs, was approaching. It was considered unlucky to die on the southern bank of the Son, and he was consequently removed to the northern bank where he remained awaiting his death".—*Sherring's Aboriginal Tribes.*

The chitti is a sort of hemp extracted from the stalk of a wild plant of that name whose culture cannot be too much recommended. Both in gloss and silkiness it is superior to jute or any other flax that we know of in the country. The "sal-gind" which Dr. Buchanan translated into olibanum, but by which we suspect the oil extracted from the juice of the sál tree was meant, is not at present expressed, probably owing to the gradual decay of that noble tree on the hills.

Honey is yielded by two species of bees; partly by the regular honey-bee,-but mostly by the black bhringa. The latter makes its hive in the cracks and crevices of steep cliffs, beyond the reach of all animals and the havoc of man. These cliffs are generally inaccessible from the foot. But the hill-men of the Masáhar tribe, whose trade it is to dig out roots and herbs for medicines and collect honey, approach them by a dangerous device. Rope cradles are hung on trees standing on the crest of precipices. The Masáhar covers himself with a blanket, holds a torch in his hands, and waves it to and fro along the side of the steep rock hundreds of feet above the glens. Every time that his cradle comes near to the hive, he puts in his flaming torch as best he can, and thus succeeds in killing and scaring away the honey-makers. When the bees appear to have left the hive completely his demoniac rocking ceases, his cradle stops near the mouth of the crevice, he extracts the honey and takes the hive, which is broken for wax. The unholy trade continues every fortnight from the night of the new moon in the month of November to June when the largest yield is expected, June being the best season for the collection.

Of the mineral wealth of the hills the most important is Iron. There are six furnaces within the limits of the advanced outpost on the plateau, where the ore is roasted to the extent of 200 maunds per annum. The metal, such as we saw, is spotted red, and supplies the materials for all instruments of husbandry to the forest races; small quantities are also brought down to the plains where it sells at about 5 Rs. the maund. The smelting of the ore is carried on entirely by the Sahárá clan of the Khamár tribe.

At present the entire value of the Iron smelted per annum is estimated at 1000 Rs. only,—200 maunds at 5 Rs. With capital and enterprise, we have no doubt, the mineral wealth of the hills could be greatly developed. Sulphate of Iron is extracted in different parts of the hills.

As has been observed above, calcareous stone abounds in every part of the Range. There are two hills on the eastern slope near Akbarpúr, which are entirely composed of limestone in different stages of formation. Some do not yet, but others melt into beautiful white lime. On the southern and eastern slopes, the quarries are close to the Son, while the Sárá, a small stream which flows straight on to the Durgávatí, has a respectable channel near the quarries of Masáí, and affords, during the rains, a facility of

transport to the Railway Station at Chánsá; but it is little used at present.

In the days of Dr. Buchanan there was a large mine of alum and Sulphate of Iron at the Kairyá Ghát near Rohtás, but I do not know if it is worked now. In developing the resources of the hills, British enterprise was here, as elsewhere, the great pioneer. The mine was first worked by the energy of a gentleman whom the natives, when Dr. Buchanan visited the place about the year 1808, remembered as Mr. Phojel. But with the death of the latter, the mines fell into neglect, and no one has since been attracted to the secluded valley.

The sandstone of the hills is peculiarly hard, and admits of good polish. The quarries are abundant—ashlers, paving stones, pillars, and other materials for building purposes are hewn out everywhere along the slopes. Cups, plates, mill-stones are also cut, and even the potter's wheels in these parts are made of slender slabs of sandstone. Out of the bluish block of hornstone, images of idols are modelled and sent to Banáras and Gairik: red ochre is also taken to several towns. Regarding the quality of the sandstone Mr. Mallet observed that "it is fine-grained and homogeneous, yellowish and grayish-white in colour, occurring in beds several feet thick, and perfectly free for long distances from any kind of jointing or fissures, so that very large blocks may be excavated. Some stone finds its way even as far as Calcutta, being in use by the undertakers for tomb-stones, floorings, &c. The stone of the Jumna bridge was obtained from quarries some miles up the river. The cities of Benares, Mirzapur and Allahabad, besides others of less note, draw their supplies of building stone exclusively from the Caimures."*

The red variety is, for architectural purposes, much inferior to the white. The irregularity of its colouring greatly mars the effect, as will be remembered by any one who has visited the Táj, where the frequent juxta-position of red and partially white blocks of sandstone and the streaked and blotched appearance of others forms a most unsightly blemish to the gateway and other outer buildings of that noble and almost faultless mausoleum.

The yellowish white sandstone is a splendid material, capable of being cut into immense blocks. Many noble buildings, extending from the palace at Bharatpur to the cupolas of Rohtásgarh, attest the durability of the Vindhyan stone.

The crops and food grains grown on the tableland are those raised everywhere in Bihár. Millet and maize are reaped in October. Wheat, barley and gram grow on the mountain top. Rice of good flavour is gathered in winter. But the cultivation of either cotton, poppy, or sugarcane is never attempted. In several places the plains immediately adjoining the

* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VII, page 116.

foot of the hills are sown with indigo, but the out-turn has not yet been encouraging; the yield, according to our calculation, hardly exceeding 13 chattaks of the blue dye per bigah.

The dairy produce of the hill-men consist mostly of ghí or clarified butter. After the early rains, as soon as the hills put on their green verdure, the entire stock of cows and buffaloes, counting more than 25000 herds, are taken up to the plateau to graze. The *charahas* or cowherds, some 5000 men, follow the cattle.

Extempore villages crop up on every side. The tableland presents a busy scene, while cattle-theft commences to disturb the owners. During this season the cows are milked, and ghí to the extent of at least 10,000 maunds is prepared, which at 13 Rs the maund represent the value at Rs. 130,000 per annum. When the milking season is over and the grass begins to dry, the stream of movement turns towards the plains and the temporary huts are abandoned.

Birds.—Of birds of prey the *tila*, the kite, and the smaller hawks breed on the hills, but the larger female *zerra* with which the gentlemen in these parts yet indulge in sport, like the Barons of the Middle Ages, comes from the northern countries. The larger and smaller quail, *i. e.* both the *titir* and the *baṭer*, are the only birds which are pursued by these hawks. The *bageri* is snared only by the fowlers. Peacocks and partridges also abound in several parts of the forest, and the *bogolu* or the heron is pursued for its feathers. We meet the yellow wren (Halud guri), the musical shámá like the nightingale, and the *munia* or Amedabats in the bushes, while other birds hardly larger than the little finger delight to come down to the gardens to pick up the honey, or steal a little drink from the sides of the wells or bathing-places.

Of "the favourites of the Hindu poets" the cuckoo or *kokila* raises its rich voice occasionally, and we hear one even now, as we write these lines, to tune its sweet gamuts—

> "In gladsome hours of blushing spring,
> Mid fragrant spring and bees on wing,
> The cuckoo young doth pass his days."

Of the Indian gracile, the pied starling or *go-sálik* and the *sári* can be had by hundreds. But the real hill maina "of fine glossy plumage with permanent yellow mantle" and with varied pleasing note, which breed profusely in the hills of Orissa and Kaunjhar, is not to be found in the Kaimúr Range.

The parrot (ṭiyá) also abounds in these hills, but whether it is the Alexandrian parrot which the great conqueror took to Europe we cannot determine. It is a nice talking bird, and a story is current about one of these hill-parrots which awaked the owner of a house when a bullock was being stolen.

The *panduka*, or the dove of different sorts and hues, from the plain ash-coloured to the spotted brown, frequents almost every bush both at the foot and the top of the hills.

Aquatic birds are not to be found towards the northern slopes, owing to the heat and the want of watering-places, but in winter the *chakrabák*, or the golden Bráhmani geese, may be seen in pairs cutting through the silent waters of the Son.

The sportsman may have his game any time in these forests. In the Mírzápur district, we learn, peacocks and partridges abound. Black antelopes range the open country, and the white-footed deer shelter in the deep woods. Further to the east, the Nilgái, the gour, the bear, the hyena, and the leopard infest the country; while there are glens here and there known as the homes of the royal tiger. The mungoose, porcupine, and hare also inhabit the bushes and slopes. The ring-horned deer, however, which roam by dozens, if not hundreds, in certain tracts in the Gayá district, are missed in the woods of the Kaimúr Range. The family of the monkey also, which Dr. Buchanan found to be numerous, has become scarce. The lion, the rhinoceros, and the wild elephant, which the Emperor Bábar saw close to his camp at the edge of the Chanár hills, have altogether disappeared.

Ethnology. The forests of the Kaimúr Range, hemmed in by the hills on the one side and the broad Son on the other, have in the historic period given shelter to different tribes of aborigines. The memoirs of the adjacent districts record that they receded before the wave of the Aryan migration to the shelter of the slopes and forests of the Kaimúr Range. Yet different tribes followed one another into these secluded summits, struggled, or blended with each other according to exigencies, until the "iron heel" of the Rájpút settler stamped out their political life. These tribes are the Bhars, Suriyás, Cherús, Binds, and Kharwárs, who, according to the current tradition, extended their dominions on both sides of the Ganges to the province of Audh. The Cheran Parganah and the Cheran Island on the Ganges in the Sáran district are still traced as the original settlement of the Cherús; and, although suffering humiliation from defeat in battle and from deception in the game of treachery, their scattered villages and the debris of their forts must still be the subject of interesting study to the antiquarian and the ethnologist.

At times these aborigines had their revenge. Whenever the neighbouring Aryan ruler proved weak, these barbarians repeated history, came down upon him, ravaged his land, and ruled his country. Sometimes the policy of conciliation resulted in social blending. Intermarriage between the daughters of the Kharwár chief and a Chandel Rájpút prince is mentioned in the annals of Bundelkhand. The present Rájá of Palámau, although claiming to be a Kshatriya, is suspected to have a mixed origin.

On the whole, however, the aborigines have been consigned to the lowest depths. They live on the hills as wood-cutters and herdsmen, and, when appearing in our courts, they do so as cattle-lifters only. Unintentional as it may be, their abject condition has escaped attention; unknown to the philanthropist and unthought of by the legislator, they live the life of the animals which surround them. It is high time that something should be done for these poor people, when the triumph of peace and of peaceful industry is being extended to the remotest corners of the country.

Wave after wave as the tide of migration touched the foot of these hills, its peaks were turned into strongholds for military defence. In the remains of the forts, on the summits of the Kaimúr Range, we see the ruins of greatness of different races. In Pampápur, some miles south of Mirzápur, the ruins of an extensive strong fort mark the rise of the Bhar Ráj; on the northern slope Raghubirgaṛh and Simalgaṛh, defended by the main-range on one side and a spur which runs as a belt round them on all other sides, yet keep alive the same name. The family of Bhars, who yet own the zamíndáris round the latter forts, make every attempt to mix with, and to be known as, Purihár Rájpúts. The Rájpúts would, however, recognise them only as the descendants of the old Ráj Bhars. The Suriyás have also some forts in and near Bhubná, the principal one being Sirámpur. The koṭ, or castle, of Rámgar, although now occupied by Rájkumárs, is said to have been originally built by the Cherús who held sway at Chyápur. But the forts which the Aryan Rájpúts subsequently erected there, have become more famous. On the west, Bijaigaṛh stands at the elevation of 2,017 feet, and on the east Rohtás at 1,485 feet. We have already described Fort Rohtás.* Bijaigaṛh was raised by the Gharwár Rájpúts, the descendants of Mahárāj Jaya Chand of Kanauj, when the Muhammadan conquest drove them to the eastern country in search of new homes. It stands on a high cliff, and gives name to a parganah around it. "The rock on which the fortress stands is so steep," that it appeared "impregnable" when Mr. E. T. Colebrooke visited it in 1798. It was, however, besieged and reduced by Col. Popham when Cheyt Singh took refuge in it, and was restored to its old chieftain, from one of whose race the Rájás of Banáras had snatched it. Shergaṛh is the last of the forts which was destined to be the great citadel of the Indian Empire, had fortune favoured the ambitious scheme of its vigorous founder. It was built by Sher Khán close to his native place, about twelve miles from the Grand Trunk Road, south of Jahánábád, "amidst the most magnificent scenes, and adjacent to one of the richest plains in the world." Its ramparts and bastions and battlements present a more imposing show to the places below than fort Rohtás, whose works from the height of the rock are not visible from the plain. The ascent to the

* See Mukarji's Magazine for 1875.

principal *galí* is much grander than any of the approaches to Rohtás, and when seen from the north side has an appearance resembling, as observed by an European traveller, "the Castle of Durham."

Antiquities. The peak of Mungesvara, which rises to the height of 1,936 feet, has no fortress on it, but for years it was held by two Chian robbers, named Norá and Korá, who infested the Son valley, and, armed with bows and arrows, committed many daring robberies and murders. Their arrest could not be effected, as after each of their crimes, they ascended the stiff cliffs of Mungesvara, and were harboured by the rude villagers on the summits. "They were afterwards captured by the villagers, and were brought in tied on string beds*."

The northern slope of the range has been the seat of many Rájpút chiefs, who, avoiding the open country in front, made the mountain range the back-ground of their koṭs or castles. The ramification of these Rájpút chiefs extends from Chyápur to Sawár, and the fortresses they raised, with the high ridge and forest on one side and deep trenches on the other, plainly show that they came and held the country by military force. As the foremost spot to be taken in the line of march from the North-West, Chyápur appears to have been the field where each successive conqueror had to unsheath his sword. In the race of ascendancy it was here that the Rájpút and the Pathán appear to have first met in battle, and the remains of a fort and very large tanks and scattered tombs and shooting minárs of the Afghán period, clearly point out that the importance of the place did not lie in tradition alone. At present, however, Chyápur is a decayed and decaying place, and the splendid dome and minárs† which "obtrude to the sky", and which in magnificence can be compared to the tomb of Sher Sháh alone, threaten to tumble down at no distant time. There is one religious institution, however, which has survived the storms of ages, and which continues to keep up a permanent interest in Chyápur. It is the shrine of Harsha Brahma. If Harsha Brahma had a tongue to speak, we could hear from him the story of centuries. But his votaries, who have sanctified him from a Bráhman to a god, assign a comparatively recent date, Sambat 1485, for his deification. He occupies a fane within the precincts of a very ancient fort whose walls have crumbled down, whose trenches have filled up, and whose ample gateway is the only high edifice of stone and brick which is still standing. But the massive stone walls of this gate are surmounted by an arch of small bricks, whose foils continued through its ceilings, and raise a suspicion that the fort must have been once taken and

* Dr. Oldham.

† This is the octagonal tomb of Ikhtiyár Khán, son-in-law of the emperor Sher Sháh, situated on the banks of a small stream and overshadowed by a huge ridge of the hill.

held by a Moslem. The history of Harsha Brahma is, however, enveloped in a myth. Harsha Brahma is said to have been the high priest of Rájá Sálibáhan, a Rájpút chief of the country. Falling out with the Rájá, the Bráhman was deprived of his lands, and he waged a little war in which he invited the Emperor of Delhi to assist him. Whether the curse of the Bráhman or the valour of the Pathán was the cause, we will not undertake to determine, but the Rájá's power was exterminated and Harsha Brahma rose triumphant. Dying soon after, he was sanctified,* and his shrine stands on a raised terrace with no other shelter but the branches of an old pípal tree, and continues to draw crowds of daily pilgrims from distant places. His name is greatly dreaded, and no oath in the country, even within the sacred limits of Banáras, would be more solemn than one taken by the name of Harsh Bábá.†

A couple of days' leisure enabled us to pay a visit to some of the noted shrines on these hills, which we shall now attempt to describe in the words of our journal which we hurriedly jotted down at the time.

Past the town of Sahasrám we came to a country which towards the west was covered with a dense forest of palm trees, whose tall trunks and elegant crests stood in bold relief on the twilight heaven—silent like so many sentinels by the huge ramparts which projected from the neighbouring hills. The south and the east were blockaded by a barren belt; a solitary palm-crest on the top of the ridge standing up prominently as a flag-staff; while the view was bounded on our left by a huge pyramid, on whose top the white tomb of Chandan Sayyid caught the eye as a relic of art amidst everything that was nature's own. Our tent had been sent up the Koṭá ghát, and we thought we would have early rest. But scarcely had we gone a mile when a man came down from our pioneer, to tell us not to attempt the pass. We were advised to go to Tilauthú, where, we were told, a competent guide could be had. We were thus compelled to change our program at a moment's notice. Tilauthú lay eleven miles off, and changing our cart for an elephant, on we went at a sluggish pace until we reached the pass of Tárá Chandí. Tárá Chandí lies at a short distance only from Sa-

* This story of Harsha Brahma, taken from a poem in Hindí, called Brahma-Muktávali, by Isvari Datt Pandit, serves as one of many instances to refute the overbold assertion of Buckle that "the tendency of Asiatic civilization was to widen the distance between men and their deities", and that "hero worship or deification of mortals could form no part of the ancient Indian Religion". Vol. I, pp. 142-146.

† Chyápur, during the Mughul period, was attached to Rohtás as one of the domains of the keeper of that Fort. Subsequently it was held as the zamíndárí of the Rájás of Bhagahanpur, one of whom in a fit of desperation killed the názir or court officer of the Sháhábád collectorate, who was sent to serve a process on him. The zamíndárí was, about the year 1790, confiscated for the offence.

hasrám, and presents the only opening to cross the chain. There is a small pool on the right side of the pass which retains water over gigantic layers of stone. On the left there is a shrine of Tárá Chandí, an image covered all over except the face, which is plated with silver. The pass is rough, and we went up and down over a wild country until we came to a deep stream, the banks of which were covered with bushes, affording splendid shelter to game. Two miles further on from Tárá Chandí, we came across the stone quarries which have supplied material for accomplishing that giant's work, the anicut across the Son, a dozen miles off. A light railway runs up to the foot of these hills, and although rail and labour had been at work for years and the gigantic Son has been dammed by a stone wall thirty to forty feet wide and near three miles long, how little, how very little, of the corner of the hill has suffered by continual cutting! How rich indeed is the stock of nature! From the quarries we turned to the south, and proceeded along the base of the chain, which appeared higher the more we advanced towards the south. At places where the summits rose high, we were deceived many a time by the prominent walls of stone which from their erect, slender, and rounded layers presented the appearance of some crumbling bastion or ruined fort. Forts they are indeed, and may be so to those who know how to use them, reared not by man, but by nature! From these heights towards the Son, the country is an even plain, well wooded with the bar, pípal, mahuá, and the mangoe, and cleared at places for the wheat, barley, and, thanks to European energy, the blue dye or indigo. The road we took to Tilauthú appeared well-frequented. Traders and carts, equestrians and pedestrians, bullocks and tats, trotted up and down towards Árah and Palámau, and it will surely be a good thing to improve the condition of this ancient route. Such as it is, dusty and rough, we followed it up until we found ourselves in a nice shady plain, where the neat turrets of a well-finished Maṭh were the most pleasant object for the eye to rest upon. The turrets rose from amidst a mangoe tope on the one, and a well cared-for orchard on the other side. Four temples of the Banáras type reared their spires in the four corners of a square court, and one over a gateway towards the north, enclosed by straight plain walls. In the centre of the court stands a huge and higher temple with attached turrets round the main spire. Below the turret, the temple is surrounded by a square veranda projecting from the main building, and resting on elegant pillars and arches of slate. This is a peculiar type of temple structure, which is much adopted by the Jains in this district, and adds both to the strength and beauty of the buildings. The pillars are short with twelve flutes on each, and are overlapped both at base and the capital with ornamental neatly cut foliage. The ceilings are made of broad stone slabs of a length of about 12 feet each.

We halted at this temple for refreshment. The fare offered was poor enough, but the priest was good-natured, and, to humour us, recited a verse to the effect—

"That there was no harm for the Eastern people (Bengali) to take fish.

"There was no harm for the people of the Deccan to marry their daughters to nephews.

"There was no harm for the Western people to drink water from leather bags.

"And there was no harm for the people of the north to eat buffalo meat." This authority, however, came an hour too late. To collect information as to the best way of getting up to the hill, to visit the shrine, and to get at the inscriptions of which we had heard, but which nobody could precisely tell us where to find, were matters of anxiety. An old policeman, born and employed in the neighbourhood, at last offered to show us both the shrine and the "letters" around it.

It was the shrine of Tuttalá Bhaváni. Tuttalá Bhaváni lay five miles off, and as soon as we could be ready, we trudged on wearily along a sandy road stretching to the south-west. Amidst everything that was wild we were delighted to observe the broad clearings in the jungle, decked with the crops of the season—oats, wheat, barley, and the handsome poppy, and to contrast the bleakness of the hills with the result of human energy, which has turned the wilderness into fields of lovely green. Past this plain we found ourselves near the shrine. With the sun in front and a bed of innumerable stones scattered under our feet, we walked on wearily until the bluish haziness faded away, and we got a full view of the glen. It is a most secluded and wild spot, formed by the receding curves of two stupendous ridges, narrowing in from the north-west and south-east: their steep arms have raised a barrier which casts a gloomy shade, and makes it twilight long before the setting sun goes to his western bed. The summits of the two ridges slope down nearer 200 feet before they join. But from where they join to the foot of the glen, some 400 feet in height, the rock is one upright wall of sandstone. The edge of this wall has been washed for unknown ages by a waterfall which, during the rains, dashes down in a huge torrent. The surging of the cataract has of course dug a huge tarn below, which is deep, and retains limpid water all round the year.

"A lofty precipice in front,
A silent tarn below."

During the autumnal months when the sky is serene, the hills stand in their rich mantle of deep blue and green, and the sun shines clear over head, this water-fall appears like a blazing column investing the chain with a splendour which the eye could never be tired of gazing. We gazed upon it but once at a distance across the Son, and ever since, we had been anxious to know what the place was like. The water, which spills out into the pool

during the freshes, flows forth in abundance through the adjacent country. The sound and fury of the cataract keep the people in the plains sufficiently awake. The fall of a stone or boulder over night when washed down from the hill to the pool, fills the heart of the timid peasant with awe. The waters at times flood and spoil their crops, but beyond these sad effects to how little good use are they brought? With comparatively little effort on the part of man, could not the dry vale be turned into a luxuriant lake, to serve as feeder to irrigation canals? But as the case with her history, so it is with her physical resources: in India nature and man work in silence in their accustomed courses of evil, without awakening a thought or making "the pulse beat one stroke more or less." The outside world is indifferent. To subjugate nature to the uses of civilised life, is a task which we have never been taught to accomplish, and while a waterfall only 150 feet in height on the opposite side of the globe has taught the Indian youth to talk with wonder of the falls of Niagara, this grand water leap of Tuttalá, nearer our homes, from at the least twice that height at the period of the rains, passes unknown, unmarked by the geologist, unnoticed alike by the engineer and the painter of natural scenes. The historian, who loves to dive into the depths of antiquity, never dreams to see what this spot is like.

But to the scene and the shrine. The shrine stands on the precipitous wall between the edge of the projecting cataract above and the gulf below. From the opposite bank of the pool the shrine appeared like a red spot on the breast of the precipice. To climb up to it was a hopeless task, we thought. But winding round the eastern bank of the pool we saw stones sufficiently broad to permit us to ascend or rather scramble up. So up we went, on all fours at times, leaving boots aside, until we found ourselves more than 125 feet above the water's edge of the pool below, and over 300 feet beneath the cataract, and face to face with the goddess Bhaváni. The niche of the idol is a curve in the rock, sloping below and projecting about a foot and a half above. From this projection the hill rises 500 feet straight up, forming on each arm a stupendous curve of a high rocky wall, from the top of which the fleeting clouds seem hardly a stone's throw apart. It was awful to behold the projecting precipice above threatening to hurl and sweep one down to the gulf beneath. From this recess there is but one opening which displayed the country towards the north-east.

The shrine is hardly in keeping with the grandeur of the scenery around. It speaks well of the poetical temperament of the Hindu; a better site could hardly have been selected to excite religious feelings, or to hold an annual fair. The idol is small and poor. It is an image in stone of the great Bhaváni, hardly two feet in height. The eight-handed goddess stands armed in her usual triumphant posture over a

lion under one foot and the fallen and cleft Mahisásura under the other. The stone out of which the image has been cut is rough sandstone. Placed as it was in a secluded spot, it did not, however, escape the ravage of the intolerant Moslem. The story of Kásim Khán, the Kálápahár of these hills, who broke the face and broke as many arms as he could, and threw the idol down the rock, is still told in mournful language. Great satisfaction is, however, derived from the fact that ruin has already seized the ruthless family of this faithless Pathán, and not a soul is breathing now to commemorate his name.

Above the slab of the idol, which is cut in half-relief, there is an image of Náráyaṇa, engraved or incised in the rock itself. On both sides of these images there are inscriptions cut in a character which differs from the Devanágarí of the present day, and their language is a corrupt Sanskrit, which is scarcely intelligible. These inscriptions bear the date 1224, Samvat, = 1171, A. D. The records are consequently 706 years old. The rock and the inscriptions have a lamp black colour, probably from the smoke of the fires which are lighted at times for *homas* and sacrifices. The inscriptions are, however, legible.

The first commemorates the reign of "Náyaka Srí Pratápa Dhabala. The youthful, long-armed Pratápa, protector of the people, of handsome countenance, bright as a garland of innumerable suns, the great Lokapál (supporter of men), lovely as Cupid, owning strongholds of three and nine apartments or gates, a worthy son of the Solar Race, who acquired his kingdom on Sunday the 4th day of the waxing moon of the month of Jaishṭhya in the year of Samvat, 1224; who was mighty, honoured by the strong, a disciple of Kártikeya (given to war), a source of pleasure to his chaste queens. The Prince was the son of a wreath-bedecked and learned king, who was always acknowledged even by the chief of the Devas (Indra) before his envoys."

नायकश्रीप्रतापधवलदेव समवत् १२२४।

नायकश्रीप्रतापधवलस्राता कुलरत्नः कुमारस्य श्रावणु श्रीशेमन्ती ॥ तिस्रश्च नवदुर्गः ॥ लक्षादित्यः पद्मादित्यश्च ॥ समयज्येष्ठसुदि ४ रवौ स राजा जगा ॥ १ ॥

वेदितुदमानवेदितवर्कमावेत्ति श्राली वादिचुकी वेषकर्ची ॥ नायकसुपुत्रवर्कस्य ग्रहः ॥ वीरवताः ॥ श्राह सवलः ॥ स्वामि कार्तिकेयः सतान्यद्वादयः ॥ कायस्य श्रीकुसुमस्य द्वारस्य पुत्रः जजवत, विद्यायत उक्त श्रीदवराजप्रतिहारायेतिनतः ॥

It was dark before we could get copies of the inscriptions and leave the glen. Hardly had we left the range, when deep darkness overtook us. On our arrival at the temple we found our men and traps had been thrown out of the building. The obstinate priest, we were told, would not allow us to stop inside during the night. This was no satisfactory news to be told after a long day's fatiguing ramble. We went inside. Sweet words

we found would be vain. So we resorted to a stronger argument. The math was instituted for charitable purposes. We were guests whom the priest was by duty bound to shelter. Neglect on his part, we observed, would be a serious dereliction of duty, and he would see to his cost that another man would soon succeed, if he further continued to argue. This had the desired effect. A change came over the spirit of the priest, and he was all humility and charity again.

We rose early, or rather mistook the moonlit night for dawn, and went on looking on the silent hills and the twinkling stars until the faint dawn broke in. We felt the incense of the morning refreshing and inciting us to repeat—

> "Will not man awake and springing from his bed of sloth enjoy this cool,
> This fragrant hour, to meditation due and sacred song?"

But our meditation was rather roughly disturbed as we turned round and spied a huge black brute passing in front of us. "Is this a boar?" Our stout companion of a chaukídár said, "A bhál only". But before I turned again, Master Bruin was far away, and we regret we did not see more of his bearish majesty. A few minutes trotting up and down brought us back to the rough pass of Tárá Chandí.

The sun was just up, and we enquired of a nymph dressed in ochre-coloured clothes, and who appeared to be the keeper of the shrine, if there was any writing on the rocks. She went into an adjacent cave and pointed it out to us. The cave was still dark, and we had to obtain a lamp from the priestess. The cave faces the south, and is at the extremity of the ridge which breaks in at the Pass. This is the only Pass which affords any thoroughfare to the country which lies east of the range. The country is well defended by nature. It is a cart-shaped tract, having the hills on the north and west, and the broad Son on the east. This secluded country, whose breadth varies from two to twelve miles, appears from the inscriptions to have been the principality of a Rájpút chief, who was also the lord of the strongholds on the hills, before the Moslem banner was hoisted on them. The name of this chief was Prataáp Dhaval Ail, of the order or gotra of Parsá Rájpúts. He was a great worshipper of *Sakti*, and, having founded the shrines of Bhaváni in the glen of "Tuttalá" and of Tripurá at the waterfall, built up a third for Tárá Chandí at the only pass through which his dominions could be approached from Sahasrám and the open country. The cave which adjoins the shrine, is enfaced with a masonry wall, in which there is one door. A veranda fronts this wall, and rests on a row of slender stone pillars overlooking the pass. The cave has therefore one artificial and three natural sides, although the side walls are partly made up of masonry, to make the room rectangular. In the rear wall or rock, there is a

huge block, apparently engaged to the rock. It is more than two yards long and a foot and a half broad. Placed under a roof and surrounded by walls, it is rendered secure from the beatings of the weather, and therefore from decay. A long inscription has been cut on this block, which is completely legible. It is dated Samvat 1226, or 1173 A.D., and was carved under the auspices of a mónarch immediately before the approach of the Crescent. The inscription consists of two parts. The first has two slokas in praise of the goddess of the shrine, and runs, if we are rightly informed, in the *Upendravajra* metre. The second part has three couplets and a half in the *Srag-dharú* metre, and recites the praise of the "stout and hard-hearted monarch Mahárájá Pratápa Dhavala Ail," who was lord over rájás, owned a country and a fort, whose dominions extended 684 square miles on each side as ascertained by actual measurement by the hand. The Mahárájá was a Kshatriya of the Parsá gotra. He had the surname of Ail, and was of the same noble race as Rohitáśva, whom tradition assigns to have been the founder of Fort Ruhidás or Rohtás, and the first Aryan settler on the Son. He reigned in the same country as far back as 35 centuries. Was Pratáp Dhaval Ail, of whose existence, race, and name we have a tangible proof in the shrines and inscriptions, a descendant of Rohitáśva, to whose age the researches of History have yet hardly descended? It is difficult to doubt this. "For among the noble houses of the nations of the earth there is none that can boast of a longer pedigree, or of a more splendid history, than the Rájpúts of India."*

We next visited the Mundeśvarí hill, on the summit of which there are the remains of a very ancient shrine. The hill is situated about six miles to the south-west of Bhubun. At the foot of the hill, an annual fair is held on the night of the 9th of Baisákh, when streams of pilgrims with flaming torches wind up the slope. From a distance the Mundeśvarí hill looks like a blue-pointed pyramid with the slight outline of a spreading tree on the summit. The tree grows on the ruined tower of a temple, the sides of which only are now standing. The approach to the temple lies through the eastern face of the mount. The ascent is easy; stage by stage as you ascend, the hill is observed to consist of three or four successive spires. Between the foot of each spire and the one immediately under it, there are even plains, which were once the sites of masonry buildings. The ruins of these are spread along the eastern slope with some huge images of gods. The chief of these is a big image of Gaṇeśa, richly ornamented. There is another image lying flat on the rock. The head is broken and is missing, but it has a coat with

* According to Mr. Sherring, (p. 143) Rohtás on the Son was founded by the Kachwâha or Kushwâhu tribe of Rájpúts, who trace their origin to Ráma through his son Kush. Mahárájá Nala, Mahárájá Mán Siñha, and the present Mahárájá of Jaypur, are the present illustrious descendants of this race.

skirts hanging down to within two inches of the knee, a pair of boots or buskins, a girdle, and a sword-belt hanging towards the left.

The chief interest of the place is, however, centered in the temple on the highest point of the hill. The spire of the temple has fallen, and its sides are partly buried in debris. But its cornice is visible, and it is supported on a frieze, consisting of a nice range of tiger-heads. The fierce eyes of these faces rather ill-assort with the moustaches twisted up to a point over stretched and slender lips which give them altogether a grotesque appearance. The front paws are also visible, contracted to the point of a start.

All the doors of the temple, except the northern one, have been blocked up by the debris of the fallen porch. The square at this door is nicely carved, and entering through it we come to the shrine. The shrine is an octagonal spire, supported in the middle by four pillars with the same number of sides. The roof above consists of big stone slabs. Within the four pillars there is a standing block representing the phallus or Siva, but it has the peculiarity of having four faces carved on its four sides, looking towards the four doors of the temple. The temple itself appears square outside, but the walls have been thickened to an octagon inside. The eastern recess of this thick wall is occupied by a handsome equestrian statue of the goddess Mundaleśvarí. She rides triumphant on a buffalo, in the attitude of a man, and holds fast with her left hand one of its horns, to restrain the brute. Her ornaments are rich—richer is her hair, which is turned up in the shape of a nice chignon. Altogether the sculptor has succeeded in imparting to her face a vigour which is not usually observed in figures in old Hindu temples. Indeed, the great peculiarity of the images on the Mundeśvarí hill is the elongated oval cut of the face, which contrasts with the square flats of the Orissan artists.

There are different slabs on the slopes in which inscriptions may be found. The letters are peculiar, neither resembling the Devanágari, nor the Páli. But the most remarkable among them is to be found on a tongue of the hill, appropriately known to the natives as the *Jibh Devi.* Westward from the summit, the descent to this tongue lies over precipitous boulders, the crevices having thorny plants and poor grass. Going down the hill we came to this projecting rock, the so-called Jibh Devi, about 16 feet broad, protruding like a tongue about 30 feet from the hill. There is a broad crack at the point of projection over which one has to leap. It overhangs a wild country, bounded on all sides with wilder hills, and overlooking the plains some 300 to 350 feet deep. Over this narrow slice there are devices of plants and leaves. Inscriptions run across these plants, and they may well deserve the patience of the antiquarian. The letters are, however, so few and detached, that the information

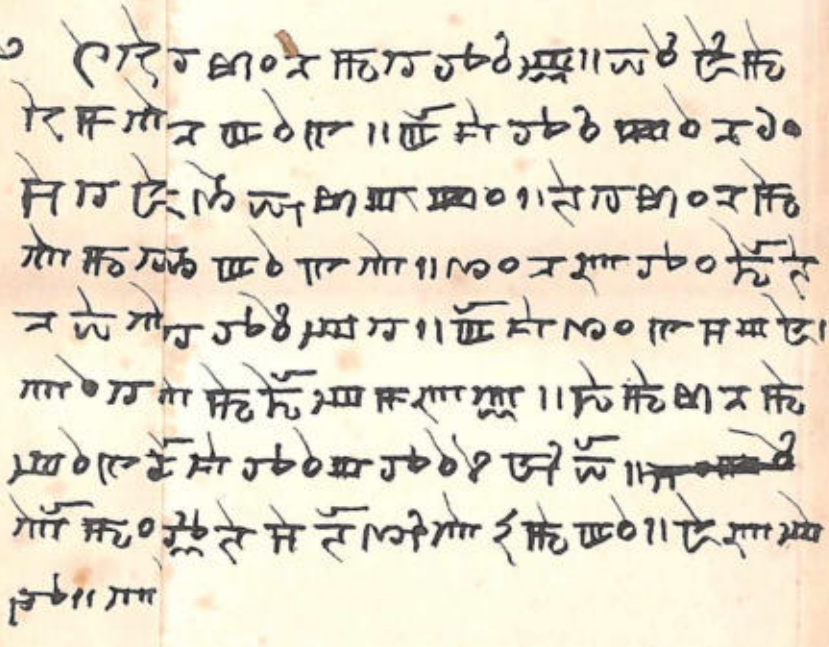
they are likely to give, may ultimately turn out to be of little use. There is no doubt, however, that the pointed letters, some of which resemble the V and E of the English alphabet, must belong to a very ancient age, and it would be interesting to trace the people who engraved them. The letters are big and deeply cut.

Tradition attributes the rocks on the Mundeśvari hill to a Daitya, by the name of Munda. He was the brother of Chanda, the chief who founded Chyápur. They belonged to a race of Pre-Aryans, who must have latterly blended their own worship of the phallus with that of the Śaktí. The remains of their forts and stone buildings incontestably point out that the Daityas, who at times established sovereign sway over the Aryans, were not mere savages. Hated and dreaded as their names may appear, they were certainly powerful princes who represented a more advanced state of civilization than history has yet been ready to assign them. The history of these primitive races, detested by the names of Dákas, Daityas, Dasyus, the raw-eaters and the "Black race", remains yet to be written, and in the relics of their ruined forts, temples, pillars, scattered along the plains and hills of Sháhábád and the valleys along the Ganges, some material may be gathered to show that they were not entirely men of that degraded condition in which their antagonists have invariably depicted them. Mr. Thomason's remarks regarding the Bhar tribe equally apply to the other aborigines of the district: "They were a powerful and industrious people, as is evident by the large works they have left behind them."

Note on the old Manipuri Character.—By G. H. Damant, C. S., *Officiating Political Agent, Manipur.*

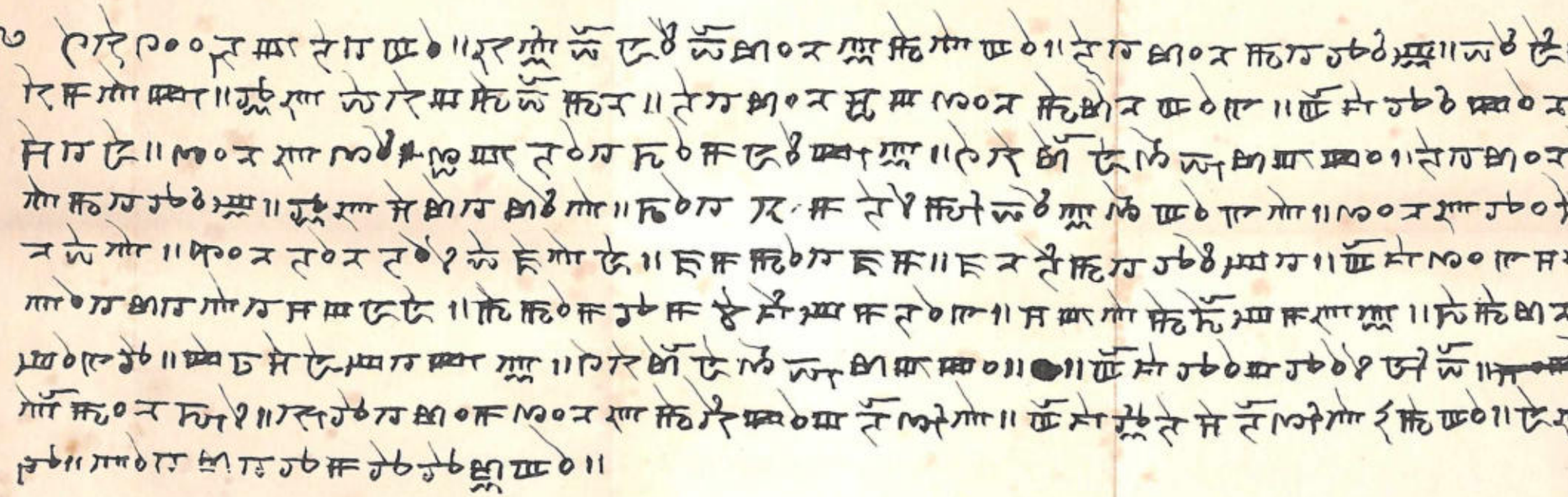
(With two plates.)

There can be but little doubt that this alphabet is a form of the Devanágari, and it was in all probability introduced from Bengal along with Hinduism by some wandering sanyásí in the reign of Charairongba, who flourished about 1700 A. D.; at least there is no evidence to show that a knowledge of writing existed among the Manipuris at any earlier date. The earliest MS. I can find, purports to have been composed in the reign of Charairongba, and there are no mural inscriptions of old date in the country. The alphabet is singularly ill-adapted to the Manipuri language, and in point of fact, we find in the MSS. that the letters *g, gh, chh, j, jh*, all the gutturals, *ñ d, dh, b, bh, ç*, and *sh* are seldom, if ever, used except in words of Bengali origin, *k, t, p*, and *ch* being used for *g, d, b*, and *j* respectively, while



hàyàhu tubi thàyàng màthaumal || laerel chungsel
màràu àpà moetengnu || tubi chàràerongpa ||
khoemu sallàng maetongae || auwá selchangnà ||
poerae a || kouchà nàngai kipu || hàyàrauna
saithir và || awà tunglàchâ lausingpa animâ a o ||
nàping

SPECIMEN OF MANIPURI WRITING.



TRANSLITERATION.

hàyàhee liklàeao ॥ ipungathau nongthaurel pumàbàa o॥ laerel maetengnu ॥ thongnàng màyàmpàki ॥ tubi thàyàng màthaumal ॥ laerel chungsel màràiaol ॥ auwatengkol 10 chàenà ॥ selbi songsuk lockhom nongkipu ॥ hayarauna saithirakke ॥ làerel màpà maetengnu ॥ tubi chàràerongpa ॥ khoemym làeming thongpu saiaolpa ॥ selbi tekhau lànthàbà ॥ hwiel lolloithà phàbànà ॥ phammoe pham ॥ phallàng maetongae ॥ auwá selchangnà ॥ poerae pàechangnanà ॥ màmom tampà wàngnam lol ॥ chakpà màkhou gnampipu ॥ khàmàral mangolda ॥ kouchà nàngaikipu ॥ hàyàrauna saithirakke ॥o॥ auwatengtoi ningthau # paumelkhiye ॥ itàerem selbi màyàngkong lausingpà ॥ awà tunglàchâ lausingpa animâ a o॥ nàpingàtu ॥ poerai tamtà tàrua o॥

w, a letter which distinctly exists in the Manipuri language, is unrepresented in the alphabet. Compound letters are seldom used or required.

The most important MS. is called the "Tákhelgnamba", and contains an account of the wars between Pamhaiba, *alias* Garib-Namaz, [Gharíb-nawáz] king of Manipur and the Rájá of Tiparah. The copy in my possession contains 45 leaves written on both sides.

The next in importance is the "Samsokgnamba", which is a history of the war between Charairongba and his son Pamhaiba of Manipur and the kings of Burma and Sumjok. It contains 36 leaves.

The "Lânglol," a short MS. of ten leaves only, is a treatise on morals, intermixed with proverbs and maxims, and would probably be interesting as throwing light on the customs of the Manipuris before their conversion to Hinduism. The only other MSS. of which I have been able to obtain information, are the "Meiyánggnamba", an account of the wars between Manipur and Kachár, and the "Salkau", a treatise on cattle and the respect to be shown them. Of these two latter I have not been able to obtain copies. The above seem to comprise the whole literature of Manipur; but it is just possible that further search may reveal one or two other works. The MSS. are all written on a coarse, but very durable, kind of paper, with pens made of bamboo; paper blackened with charcoal on which they write with a soapstone pencil is also used. The character has now been almost entirely superseded by Bengali, and indeed but few of the Manipuris can read it. A national chronicle is, however, still kept in the old character by the guild of priests, 'maibees' as they are called, in which every event of importance occurring in the country is regularly recorded.

The language of the MSS. is most difficult, being quite unintelligible to an ordinary Manipuri, while those who can understand it are very few in number. It is, however, interesting as being the oldest form we possess of the Manipuri and cognate dialects. In a practically unwritten language like this, for the very few writings which exist could never have affected the mass of the people, considerable variations in dialect must inevitably take place in the course of a very few years; but in the present instance the difference between the written and spoken language is so great, that it can hardly be accounted for in this way. Tradition has it, and it seems most probable, that the Manipuris are a conglomeration of several distinct tribes, and it may well be that these MSS. are written in the dialect of one of them, whichever may have been predominant at the time, but this is a question which can only be satisfactorily settled after careful enquiry.

I subjoin a copy of the complete Manipuri alphabet, and a facsimile with transliteration and translation of the first page of the "Samsokgnamba." The translation is little more than tentative, as the meaning of many phrases is obscure and doubtful, the Manipuris themselves differing very much as to their meaning.

Translation.

Hail O King, hail lord of heaven, hail *snake** king, slayer of kings, O mighty king, snake king at whose voice the people flee, who has performed the works of a king, who has conquered ten camps of Burmese, with body and soul I will sing of *Selbi*,† *Samsok*‡ and the villages conquered last month. Hail to *his*§ father, king Charairongba, who changed the names of the gods, who warred in Selbi and *Tekhau*,‖ who subdued in war the *Lolloitha*,¶ who ascended the throne in the sight of all the people, *who was related to the Burmese*** and brought the *Poerai*†† into connection with them. I will tell how his daughter Chakpa Makhau Gnambi the *lady*‡‡ of royal family was given in marriage. Tongtoi, the king of Burma, gave order, Go my servants, you Mayangkong of Selbi the wise, and you Tunglacha of Burma the mighty, go both of you to Poerai.

* The word 'lairel' is still used to signify a snake. It probably refers to Pakungba, the tutelary deity of the kings of Manipur, which is said to appear in that form, small if pleased, and of great size if angry.

† Kubbo.

‡ Sumjok.

§ This refers to Pamhaiba, *alias* Garíb Nawáz, the son of Charairongba, who died at the commencement of the war.

‖ Asám.

¶ Said to be a tribe of Nágás, but I cannot identify them.

** *i. e.* by giving his daughter Chakpa Makhau Gnambi in marriage to the king of Burma.

†† The people of Manipur.

‡‡ The word I have translated "lady" is "Tampa", it is a title applied to females of royal descent.

Are Kálidása's Heroes monogamists?—*By* G. A. Grierson, C. S., *Rangpur.*

I was much interested by an article by Prannáth Paṇḍit in the last number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society on the "morals of Kálidása."

With reference to one head of his subject, "Polygamy," I venture to differ from him. He says (page 357), "It is noteworthy that it (polygamy) is never prominently brought forward in the poems, except in the case of the wives of *Daśa-ratha*." And again, further on, "The greatest of our poet's heroes are either monogamists, or may be taken to be so for all the purposes of his epic narrative."

Has he not with regard to the poems forgotten *Dilípa*, one of the very noblest characters in the Raghuvaṇsá, who is especially declared to have had a numerous (I. 32) *antaḥ-pura-varga* or *zenána*. Moreover, though it is then said that he considered these wives of no value in comparison to *Sudakshiṇá*, *Dilípa* is at the same time distinctly said to have considered not only her, but also *Lakshmí* as his wife, and hence to have been at least a professed bigamist. Of course it may be urged that calling *Lakshmí* his wife was a mere figure of speech, but still the fact shows that according to *Kálidása*, his model *Dilípa* did not consider polygamy an objectionable practice.

Again *Agni-varṇa* in the nineteenth book, who, though not a reputable character, was undoubtedly one of *Kálidása's* heroes, can hardly be called a monogamist.

With regard to *Kálidása's* play-heroes, one, at least, *viz.*, *Purúravas*, cannot be taken as a monogamist, "for all purposes of the epic narrative," or of the dramatic narrative either.

In the second Act of *Vikramávaśi*, *Nipuṇiká* makes him out offending his Queen by imagining her to be *Urvaśí*, and calling her by her (*Urvaśí's*) name यन्निमित्तं पुनर्भर्तात्कण्ठितस्तस्याः स्त्रिया नाम्ना अर्चा देव्याज्ञप्ता ॥ This surely is hardly the act of a strict monogamist, especially as subsequently *Purúravas* marries *Urvaśí* in the lifetime of his Queen.

The only other Dramatic Hero of *Kálidása* with whom I am acquainted,—*Dushyanta*, though undoubtedly possessed of an "affinity" for *Śakuntalá*, as every right-minded hero should have for the heroine, used to appear surrounded by Yavan women, with bows in their hands and wearing garlands of flowers.* I know that the commentators say that these women were simply arm-bearers, but on this occasion there was no reason

* वाणासनहस्ताभिर्यवनीभिर्वनपुष्पमाल्य धारिणीभिः परिवृतः, near the commencement of the 2nd Act of the *Śakuntalá*.

for their bearing arms, and even if there was, such a profession does not explain their carrying garlands at the same time.

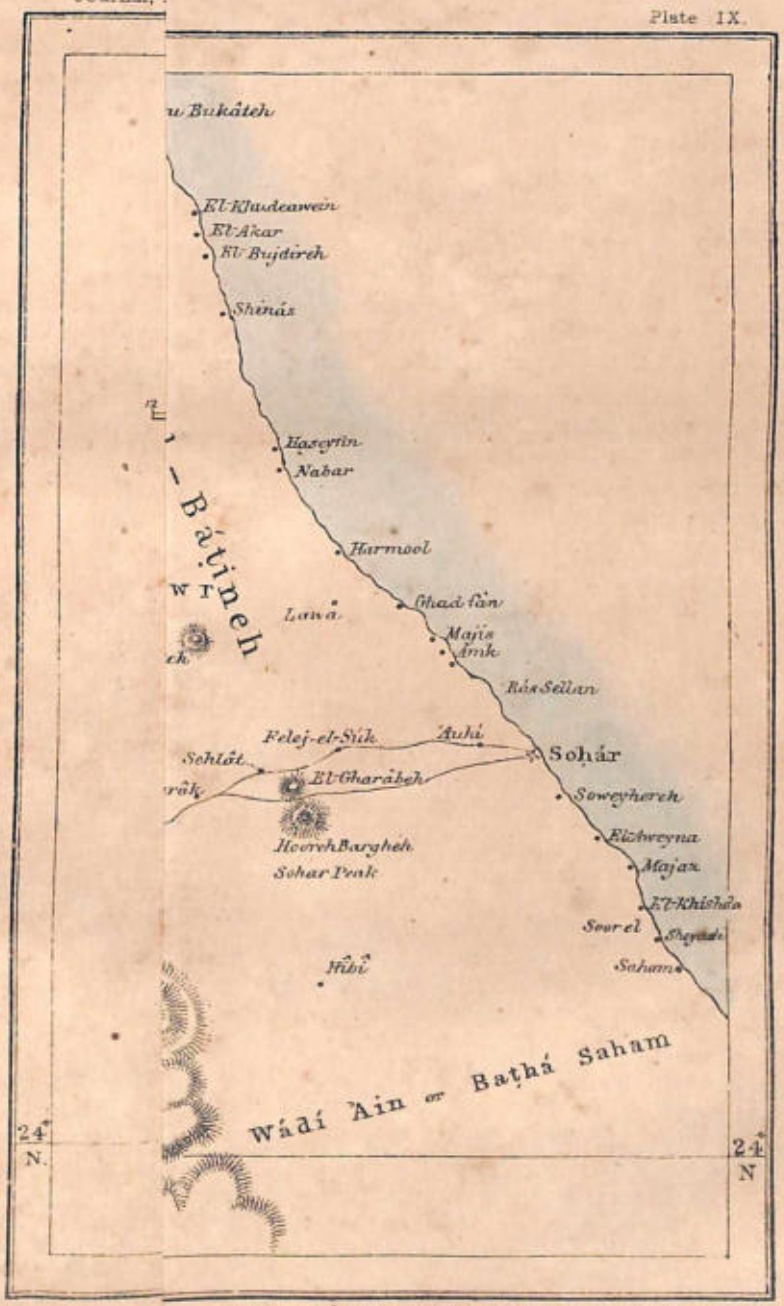
As this passage is, however, liable to discussion. I now quote another in the same act (the second), which occurs just before the 43rd verse (M. W.'s Edition). The *Vidúshaka* says to the king, speaking of his longing for *Sakuntalá*, "Just as a man who is sated with dates may desire the tamarind, so your highness, slighting the jewels of women in your *Zenána*, has fixed his desires upon *Sakuntalá*".*

There is one more play by a *Kálidása*, which is by some ascribed to the author of the *Sakuntalá*—the *Málavikágnimitra*. The hero in this piece is certainly not a monogamist, in fact *Agnimitra* is represented as being "very much married" indeed. He has a first Queen *Dhárini*, and then a second Queen *Irávatí*, who is the chief villain of the piece. Not only are these both prominent characters, but the king, not satisfied with only two, finishes the play by marrying *Málavikú*, which is the conclusion to which the whole course of events of the piece has been tending.

It thus appears that it can hardly be considered an accurate statement of facts that "the greatest of" *Kálidasa's* "heroes are either monogamists or may be taken to be so for all purposes of his epic narrative." *Dilípa* was a polygamist, about *Raghu* we know nothing, and the only great heroes of *Raghu's* line, who bear out the above remarks, so far as we can tell, were *Aja* and *Ráma*.

Every one of the dramatic heroes is a polygamist, and the subject of marriage, so far as it relates to one or to a plurality of wives, is not mentioned either in the *Ritu-Saṇhára*, the *Megha-dúta*, or the *Kumára-Sambhava*.

* तथांतःपुरस्त्रीरत्नपरिभाविनो भवत इयमभ्यर्थना



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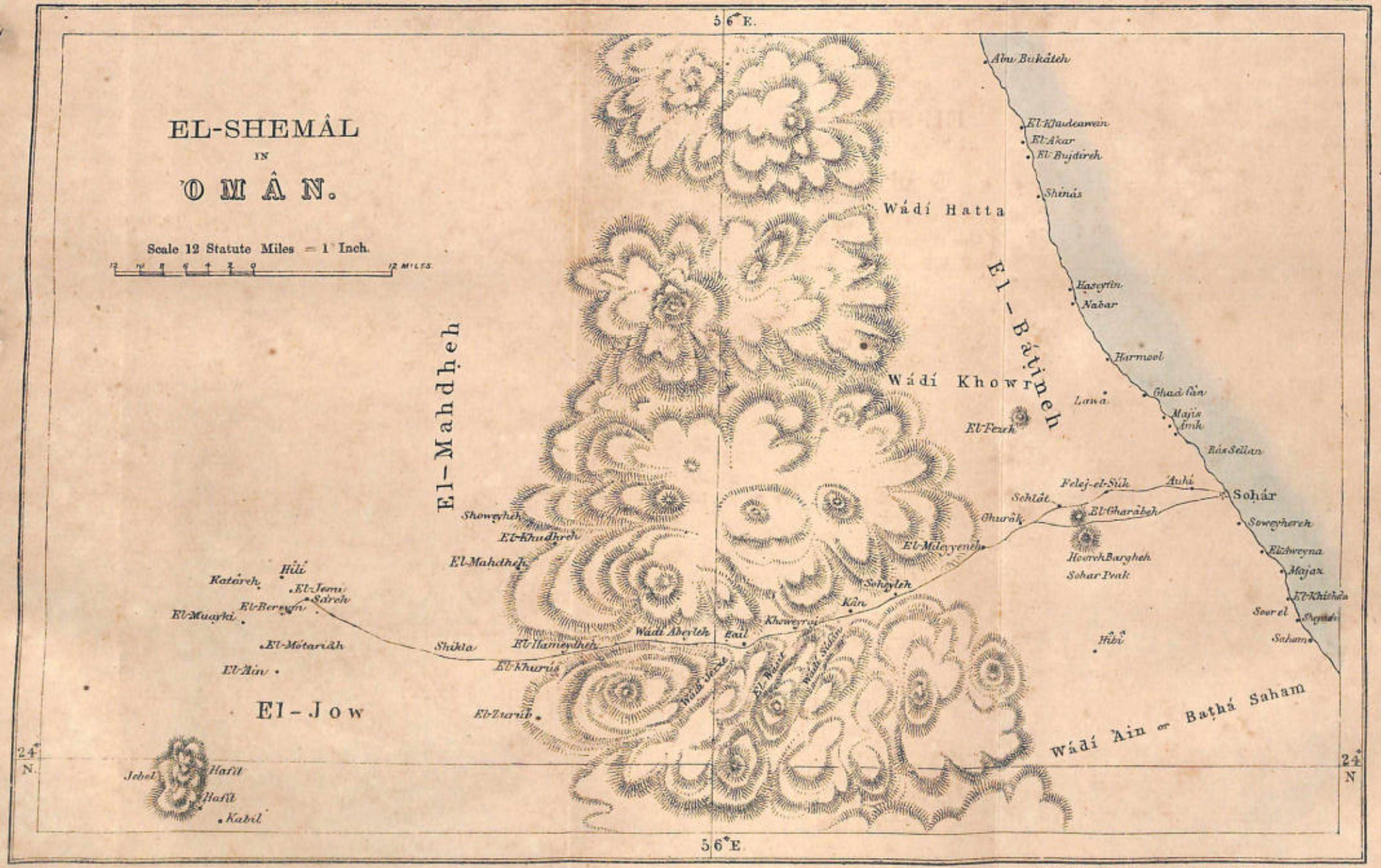

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On the Route between Soḥár and el-Bereymí in 'Omán, with a note on the Zatt, or gipsies in Arabia.—By Lieutenant-Colonel S. B. Miles.

(With a map.)

Having arrived at Soḥár (صحار) on the 16th November, 1875, and visited the Governor Seyyid Bedr-bin-Seif Al Bú-Sa'ídí, I requested him to be good enough to arrange for my visit to el-Bereymí, and Sheikh Ráshid-bin-Ḥamd, with whom I was personally acquainted, and who is a man of considerable influence in el-Dháhireh (الظاهرة), having been at one time Governor of el-Bereymí, was selected to accompany me. I could, however, only promise myself a hasty visit, as my arrangement with Captain Clayton, Her Majesty's Ship *Rifleman*, who had kindly given me a passage, was to meet again at Soḥár on the 22nd. The Sheikh's preparations as regards camels, &c., were not completed until the next morning at 10 A. M., when we started with nine matchlocks of the Na'ím and Moḳábil tribes, and reached about thirty miles by nightfall, encamping for the night at Sahílah, (سهيله) a village in the Wádí Jezze (وادي الجزى) belonging to the el-Kunúd. The road, after leaving the belt of palm groves and cultivation outside Soḥár, ran N. W. for an hour to 'Auḥí, (عوحى) a little patch of date groves and gardens irrigated by a *felej*, and then turned west over a stony, gradually rising plain, covered with thin acacia jungle and underwood towards the hills. The Wádí Jezze, which we came to soon after, is here neither broad nor deep, being but a few inches lower than the plain, and barely distinguishable from it, showing that no great torrent ever rushes down it, but that after rainfall, which in 'Omán is rarely heavy, the water that is not absorbed by cultivation is sucked in by the porous soil on the way. Another hour brings us to the site of an ancient ruined town, attested by heaps of fragments of black rock lying in squares and ovals, which mark the foundations of houses, and by parts of ruined walls and towers on adjoining hillocks, covering altogether a considerable extent of ground. From the appearance of the foundations, the houses must have been on a small scale and of rude construction. No vestige of any edifice of architectural pretensions remains. At the present day the locality is uninhabited, and a place of more dreary and complete desolation I have rarely seen. My companions could not tell me the name of the site, their only traditional knowledge was that it belonged to the Persians in the time of ignorance, and that it was destroyed by God on account of the refusal of the inhabitants to embrace the blessed truths of Islám.

A little further is a dried up *felej* leading from the hills, called Felej-el-Súḳ, (فلج السوق), and also ascribed to the Persians. At 2½ P. M., we

came in sight of Sehlát (سهالات), a village picturesquely situated on the top of a hill, and having at a distance a somewhat imposing appearance, though a closer view dispelled the illusion. It belongs to the Beni Gheith (بنى غيث), a petty Ḥinawí tribe, subordinate however to the Na'ím. Here we rested for a short time while the camels were fed. The next village we come to an hour later is Mileyyeneh, (المليينه) and our road henceforth lies in the bed of Wádí Jezze as far as Ḥail, (حيل) for we have now reached the foot of the hill range and commence a more steep and winding ascent. Just below Mileyyeneh, where the Wádí narrows considerably, is an arched aqueduct, of solid masonry that supplies a village, called el-Ghoráḳ (الغراق), belonging to the Beni Gheith. I could learn nothing precise about this aqueduct, which is evidently of very ancient construction, from the Sheikh, the tradition as usual being limited to the fact of its having been constructed by the Káfirs before Islám. Here we were overtaken by a heavy thunder-storm, which soon drenched us through and made the rocky path too slippery for the camels to venture out of a walk; the sight, however, was very grand from the picturesque scenery around us; the dark blue hills of the back ground, streaked by deepest black ravines and gorges, and with ridge upon ridge of lower hills in front being lighted up here and there by the rays of the sun, now near setting, glancing through a rent in the dark heavy masses of clouds above us and showing a strange contrast of light and shade. It was some time after dark when we reached the groves of the little village of Sahíleh, (سهيله) and here the Arabs having lost the path and nearly brought us to grief among the water channels and low walls of the plantations, we were fain to wait for a villager to light us with a torch to our camping ground. This place belongs to the el-Kunúd, and has two small towers for defence. The next day, starting soon after sunrise, we pushed on more rapidly and reached el-Bereymí at 7½ P. M. Travelling at first in a south-westerly direction, we pass after an hour an affluent on the right bank, called Wádí el-Súfán, (وادي السوفان) up which is a village of the same name, and then the Wádí Jezze, here forming a loop, we cross the 'Aḳabat Ḳumáshí (عقبه قماشي) to join it again. A few miles further S. S. W. brings us to Burj el-Shikeyrí, (برج الشكيري) just beyond which lies the village of Kán, (كان) memorable for a conflict between the Wahhábís and the Ḥadhramí troops of Seyyid Sa'íd-bin-Sulṭán some sixty years ago, in which the latter were signally defeated with great loss, and which paved the way for the onward progress of these fanatics to Shinás (شناص), where they again destroyed His Highness' forces. A cemetery of the slain in the bed of the Wádí near Kán attests the severity of the contest there. The tower of Shikeyrí is on a peak some 200 feet high on the right bank, and is joined to another tower below by a stone wall. It was built for the special purpose of barring the progress of the

Wahhábís. After another hour and a half we pass Wádí Wásiṭ, up which lies a town of that name. Sheikh Ráshid was very anxious I should visit this place, as the Sheikh Suleimán-bin-Sa'íd el-Shámisí was a great friend of his and a man of some importance. It lay, however, too much out of the road, and time was of consequence. The next place we reached was el-Khoweyrej, (الخويرج) a village of the same clan as Wásiṭ, the Showámis, (شوامس) a sub-division of the Na'ím, and having the protection of a fortlet and two towers. The cultivation here was extensive and very refreshing to the eye in contrast to the drear and arid rocks around. The fields were neatly arranged in terraces on the right bank, advantage being taken ingeniously of every availabble spot of ground capable of production. They were well kept and evidently received much attention, irrigation being carried on by means of channels leading from the copious stream above. Contiguous to this is Ḥail, another large village, the two forming the most considerable settlement I met with between Bereymí and Soḥár. Ḥail has several towers, and on the opposite bank is el-Rabí, (الربي) a pinnacle rock about 200 feet high, on which is perched a tower surrounded by a low wall now crumbling away. The work is ascribed to the Persians, and the position is well chosen for the purpose for which it is said to have been constructed, namely, to serve as an outpost to protect the maritime plain from the inroads of the Bedouins. This outpost not improbably marks the limit of the grasp of the Persians in the age immediately preceding the introduction of Islám, when they are related to have held the sea-coast of 'Omán, the Arabs maintaining themselves in the highlands and interior. Two petty clans of the Na'ím, the Rashídat and Ḥadídat occupy Ḥail, and are at enmity with their neighbours the Showámis of Khoweyrej and Wásiṭ. As may readily be imagined, quarrels among such very close neighbours are very bitter, and they are said to ripen every four or five years into a free fight, which is not terminated without bloodshed. In such cases the people of Ḥail have the advantage of being able to cut off the water-supply of those below by damming up the stream, which is a very effective punishment, and is generally instrumental in bringing hostilities to a speedy termination. At Ḥail the Wádí Jezze is joined by its confluent, Wádí el-'Abeyleh, (العبيلة) up which the road now leads. The course of Wádí Jezze above the junction is short, and lies W. S. W. towards Ḳábil and Seneyneh (سنينة). A few miles up it is a steep pass, marking, as my Sheikh informed me, the boundary of el-Dháhireh. We rested a little while at Ḥail, and then continued our route, soon reaching more open and level ground with woody ravines and scattered herbage. The highest point of this pass is called el-Nejd, where the aneroids showed an elevation of 1,860 feet, the peaks of the range on each side rising above us 1,000 feet or more. On descending the other side, we reached after an hour the Wádí 'Ain, which runs like all other water-

courses on the southern side of the range in a south-westerly direction until its waters are absorbed by the thirsty desert. We now continue W. N. W. over an unbroken plain sparsely studded with acacias direct on to Bereymí. On our right lies el-Maḥdhah, (المحضة) the habitation of the Benί Ka'b tribe, while to the S.W. the lofty isolated range of Jebel Hafít, (جبل حفيت) looming some 20 miles away, alone breaks the level expanse before us, and we stand on the border of that inhospitable sea of sand and waste that stretches without break or interruption for nearly 800 miles across the peninsula, and forms the greatest sand desert of Asia. The Bedouins of our party having remained behind at a watering place we had passed, we found we had been jogging on for some miles without them, and the Sheikh professed some apprehension lest we should encounter any of the 'Awámir Bedouins, who, he said, were constantly prowling about. It is customary in 'Omán, when moving from one part to another, to take a man or two as Khafír, or protector, from each of the more important tribes through whose country one has to pass. This applies not only to strangers, but also to any Arab passing through the territory of another tribe with whom his own are not in "saff" or league, when it is of course unnecessary. Sheikh Ráshid had not been able to procure an 'Amirí at Soḥár before starting, and hence his anxiety. We had another thunder-storm this evening, but not much rain. On arrival at Bereymí, I went to the house of Selím-bin-Moḥammed, whose father, the Chief Sheikh of the Na'ím tribe, resides at Dhank (ضنك). Our arrival was the signal for a general assembly of visitors, whom I soon tired of, and I therefore beat a retreat to another house outside, which was cleared for my reception.

Early the next morning, I set out to visit the fort, which at present is in the hands of Sheikh Ḥamd. I saw his house on the way, and as he was laid up with a dislocated shoulder from a fall off a camel, he sent to invite me in to take coffee. The house consists of two lofty rooms separated by an arch and with no furniture, but a carpet or two and an array of coffee pots; two or three damsels bundled out as I entered, but the fowls and goats that seemed to make up the complement of inmates, being less bashful, remained. The walls of the courtyard are loop-holed for musketry, and a rusty iron gun lies half-buried in the ground inside. It took some little time to get coffee ready for the assembly that had crowded into the house and filled both sides of the room, but when it was over, I took leave and continued my way to the fort. On reaching the gate, I received a salute of three guns, which put the ordnance *hors de combat* by dismounting them from their rickety carriages, and thus prevented any further expenditure of powder. I was then taken over the fort, and the objects of interest generally were pointed out to me with great readiness and evident pleasure by the Sheikh's nephew and his people. I was gratified by their civility, and

spent some time in looking over the place, the strength and importance of which in their eyes are by no means undervalued. The plain in which el-Bereymí stands being so level, the view from the upper towers is extensive and interesting, embracing as it does the whole of el-Jow, and enabling one to get a tolerably clear notion at a glance of the topography of the settlement. To the S. W., at a little distance off, lies Sedeyrí's house, erected many years ago by that Wahhábí Chief for his own residence. It was solidly built of stone, but was destroyed by Seyyid 'Azán in 1870, who disapproved of seeing so strong a fortified house so near the fort, and who required the stones of which it was built to repair and strengthen the latter. After leaving the fort, I spent some time in walking through the section of the settlement more particularly known as el-Bereymí. The dates had nearly all been gathered, and the fields were being just freshly sown for the spring harvest, except a few late fields of jowárí, and the fruit season was over, so I did not see the place to full advantage, but the fields were neat and regular, and the orchards well cared for. Indeed, great attention is paid to horticulture throughout 'Omán, and at all the centres of population the 'Bostáns' are the great objects of interest. The houses in these settlements are seldom grouped together, but are scattered among the date groves; they are principally of mat and date leaf construction, and form perhaps the least obtrusive part of the landscape. A good proportion of the few mud houses was dilapidated and untenanted, and gave a general air of unsubstantiality to the place. The verdant appearance of this oasis, however, in which the tall and handsome foliage of the date is the predominant feature, is most attractive and refreshing to the eye of the traveller, and soon makes him oblivious of the drear and arid waste he has traversed to reach it, while the luxuriant vegetation, the sight and sound of running water, the almost entire absence of unproductive trees and plants, convey an impression of prosperity which is by no means borne out in reality. During the day several of the Sheikhs came to visit me at Sa'reh, (صعرة) and as they were communicative, I was glad of the conversation. Among those who came was Sheikh 'Alí-bin-Seif of the Beni Ka'b, who lives at el-Maḥdhah; he was loquacious and lively, and was very solicitous I should visit his tribe and settlement, but it was unfortunately not convenient to do so, and I was compelled to accept his invitation for another time. He told me he had been to el-Riádh, having been taken captive by the Wahhábis in his youth and carried thither in irons. He believed they were 24 days on the road from el-Bereymí to el-Ḥasa, as they travelled slowly, and there was plenty of water on the way. Not having had time to visit any of the Beni Yás settlements in the morning, a messenger arrived from them inviting me to do so, but I was obliged to decline, as it was already time for me to be taking my departure. At the suggestion of Sheikh Ráshid, I re-

quested Sheikh Selím to furnish us with an escort to the limits of el-Jow, but as he proposed to accompany me himself the first stage, I accepted his company with pleasure. It was not without strong remonstrances and pressing invitations to stay a day or two longer that we were permitted to make a start, but we succeeded in doing so about 3 P. M., and in presence of an admiring crowd of boys and Bedouins, we left el-Bereymí at a brisk trot by the same road that we had come; the Bedoos shouting and singing and racing their camels at full speed in high spirits and evident delight at being on the road again, and already oblivious of the fact that half an hour before they had been sulky and disgusted at being told to collect the camels for the journey. After some miles a peak to our left, named Ḳaṭar, (قطر) was pointed out to me as having on the top the remains of a Persian settlement with trees, dwellings, &c., and said to have beea occupied by them after their repulse at el-Bereymí. We passed Khaṭmet el-Shikla, (خطمه شكله) a small village at 12 miles, and soon after observing a low reddish coloured hill some distance off very conspicuous among the other dark rocks, I told a man to bring me a specimen. Nearly the whole party started off, and returned with sufficient stones to fill a portmanteau. It was a red compact nummulitic limestone, and was the only block of the kind I noticed on the journey. It was just dark when we reached el-Khurús, (الخروس) a deep cleft in the rocky bed of the Wádí 'Ain, which holds a perennial supply of rain water. The Arabs were anxious to push on to Ḥail, another 15 miles or so in the dark, but I objected; wood and water were sufficiently abundant, and we soon had a good fire under way and suppers cooking. I noticed the men obtained fire from a spark by rolling the tinder into a ball with dry Arabs grass and swinging it round until it burst into flame. The dew to-night was very heavy, and my blanket was drenched by morning. The elevation of el-Khurús is 1,630.

20th.—Before starting I took leave of Sheikh Selím-bin-Moḥammed, whose protection was no longer required, giving him a suitable present, and I may mention as an instance of the entire want of shamefacedness in the Arab in begging, that he came up to me quietly, after he had received his *douceur* from my *factotum*, to whisper a request for two dollars more. I insinuated he had already received what I thought was proper for him, on which he said, "Well, give me one, only one more dollar, and I will be satisfied." This man's father is Chief of one of the largest tribes in 'Omán, and he himself a man of much influence and consideration. We reached the Nejd two hours after leaving el-Khurús. The ground here, which for some extent is comparatively level, is well wooded with acacias, rhamnus, &c., and green with low brushwood and grass. It is visited in the season by the Na'im and Ka'b Arabs for pasturing their camels and goats. The mountain range we were crossing is, except in the valleys and water-courses,

where the *detritus* from the hills forms a little soil, remarkably arid and sterile, and is everywhere from Jebel Akhdhar to Ruús el-Jebál entirely unclothed with verdure, presenting one of the bleakest ranges it is possible to imagine. The large valleys contain a good deal of herbaceous, but very little ligneous vegetation. Among the trees and plants in the Wádí Jezze and in the plain beyond the range were noticed the rhamnus, screwpine, *samar* or acacia vera, acacia Arabia, two oleanders, calotropis G., castor-oil, and colocynth gourd, two or three euphorbias, the wild lavender, a rush much used for making mats called *rasad;* the *maranneh*, (مرنّه) the narcotic plant noticed by Palgrave; the rose-scented *shirkeh*, and much coarse grass in tufts.

At Ḥail, which we reached in three hours from el-Khurús, and which is perhaps 35 or 40 miles from Bereymí, we halted for a short time for breakfast and to feed the camels, which were beginning to show symptoms of fatigue, for since the commencement of the journey we had been keeping up a jog-trot of from five to seven miles an hour, whenever the road rendered it at all practicable. Our dromedaries were all pretty good, and were as sleek and well-shaped in appearance as they were swift and easy in going. 'Omán camels are acknowledged the best in the world. The Sherif of Mecca rides none other, and last year he received a present of six from Seyyid Turkí, which were sent by sea to Jedda. They fetch from $100 to 150, if very superior, but the ordinary ones run from $30 upwards. Depth of chest is considered one of their chief points. The Bedouins of 'Omán sometimes take their camels from el-Bereymí across Arabia to Nejd and el-Hejáz for sale. In 'Omán, Arabs ride behind the hump, the saddle being very small with a felt and sheepskin over it. The camel's nose is not pierced, but a headstall with a chain nose-band and a thick camel hair rope forms the bridle. In Yemen, they sit in front of the hump, resting the feet on the neck of the animal, the saddle having a high pommel to give support. On leaving Ḥail, we entered the political boundary of Soḥár, and proceeded down the Wádí Jezze by the side of running water, flowing at intervals as far as Mileyyeneh; owing to the alternate porosity and rockiness of the bed, the stream rushes along at one place for some distance, then suddenly disappears to re-appear again as suddenly further on. Kán and Shikeyrí, Sahílah and Mileyyeneh, are successively passed and left behind, until at nightfall we reached our halting place not far from Sehlát, where the road branched off to Jebel Gharábeh, a spot I was anxious to visit. During our march to-day we had been joined by two Sheikhs of the Na'ím tribe, who were taking two horses for sale to Soḥár. One of these, a chestnut mare, was a very easty, well-formed, and pretty animal, and from the price put on her the Sheikhs seemed to have a very exalted idea of her value. We passed on the road several small parties of donkeys and camels laden with

dried and salt-fish going up to el-Bereymí, where the consumption of these articles is very considerable. The elevation of this place was found to be 850. The road we have been travelling lies almost entirely along the smooth sandy bed of the Wádís or torrents, and presents no difficulties of any kind to communication. For the first 30 miles or so from Soḥár the road winds up Wádí Jezze, and for 10 miles more its confluent Wádí 'Abíleh. We then cross the ridge of the chain, here very low and not exceeding 1,900 feet, while the peaks on each side reach about 3,000. On descending the other side, we find ourselves on the plain of el-Jow, which borders on the great desert. Though heavy in places, the road is quite practicable for guns, and I remember no place that would be likely to cause artillery more than an hour's detention. The mountain range that has been crossed is part of the chain leading from Rás Mosandim (راس مسندم) to Jebel Akhdhar, and divides the provinces of el-Dháhireh and el-Bátineh. The hilly district between these two provinces is styled el-Ḥajar (الحجر) by the Arabs, but there is no general name for the range that connects Jebel Akhdhar with Ruús el-Jebál. The water-sheds towards Ruús el-Jebál lie east and west, while lower down towards Jebel Akhdhar, they lie N. E. and S. W. Running water was met with by me only in Wádí Jezze from Ḥail to Sehlát, and then never more than a few inches deep, but there is no scarcity of water anywhere. The inhabited spots are irrigated both by canals drawn from the stream, and by wells. The rocks met with were mostly sedimentary, the principal being a very dark limestone and an argillaceous slate, the latter lying in great angles. The bed of Wádí Jezze is cut through a breccia containing fragments of granite, green limestone, quartz, and a beautifully variegated sandstone, and the breccia or conglomerate is penetrated in some places by masses of slate or shale. The range is very peaked and sharp ridged, and here and there the strata were in waves, appearing as if the rock had been at some period subjected to pressure. Throughout the whole route, the aspect of the country is extremely barren and sterile, and, as might be expected, is unable to sustain much animal life. The only wild animals, I noticed, were a few ravine deer and foxes, and birds were everywhere extremely rare. On starting the following morning, we proceeded down the bank of Wádí el-'Aweyneh (وادى العوينه) of the el-Moḳábil, who occupy chiefly the upper part, where it is well wooded, and where running water is abundant. In an hour and a half we reached Jebel Gharábeh, (جبل غرابه) where, as I had already learnt from Sheikh Ráshid, who had been regaling me throughout the journey with the traditionary lore of 'Omán, were situated the ruins of the citadel of 'Omán, the pristine name of Soḥár, at one time the capital of the whole country. I determined here to take the opportunity of exploring these interesting and ancient ruins, which are probably not paralleled in 'Omán, and accordingly made a short halt for the

purpose. The hill is not high, perhaps 250 or 300 feet, but it is very steep and inaccessible, and there being no semblance of a road, I was glad to accept the assistance of the Bedouins, who are as agile as cats and clamber about the most difficult places with ease. Around the summit, which is irregular, are traceable the ruins of these fortifications extending perhaps for half a mile. The wall still stands in places, from two to six feet high, and it is possible to trace the outline of part of the buildings at the highest point, though the greater part are an undistinguishable heap of ruins. Along the line of fortification at intervals were small circular towers, several of which are still conspicuous. The thickness of the walls was uniformly about three feet, and they are constructed entirely of rough fragments of the rock of which the upper part of the hill is composed, *viz.*, a white oolitic limestone, cemented with clay, and I could detect only three places in which mortar had been used at all. These were an arch in the wall, the curbstones in the path that led down the hill and the water cisterns. One of these cisterns, of which there are two, is quite at the summit, and is in shape an oblong, constructed of round pebbles cemented and plastered with mortar. The other is oval-shaped and of similar construction. It is lower down the hill. Both these tanks are small and shallow, and in such good condition, that, if cleaned out, they might still be serviceable. There are no signs of wells having been sunk that I could see; indeed, the quality of the rock precludes the idea of such an experiment. Somewhat below the highest point is a low arch in in the wall, built of selected stones cemented together, and was not improbably that of the gateway, as it is just over the road. There is one other arch in a tower still lower down, but it is made with long slabs placed together uncemented. Only a few yards of the roadway are traceable near the top, the rest is entirely obliterated, but it probably wound round the greater part of the hill. It was very narrow, and is faced at the edge with curbstones. It was at the extreme summit where the outline is best preserved, that the residence of the Chief or Governor probably stood, but to judge from the heap of stones *in situ*, the building was apparently of no great extent; perhaps a small stone house for the Chief and rude shelter for the garrison were all that was needed. From its position and strength, however, the importance of the castle is sufficiently apparent, and it was doubtless considered quite impregnable in those days of slings and bows, while it of course commanded the whole plain of Soḥár from hence to the sea.

According to the tradition of the Arabs, as related to me by Sheikh Ráshid and confirmed by Seyyid Turkí and others, the castle at Jebel Gharábeh, as well as the city of 'Omán, were founded by Julandá-bin-Karkar, (جلندا بن كركر) under whom the city covered a great part of the maritime plain lying between Jebel Gharábeh and the sea; but there is no doubt that

both the ruins of el-Gharábeh and the city are much anterior to the time of the Julandaites. Another legend related to me was of the daughter of Julandá, whose hand became diseased and withered, while the physicians were unable to apply any remedy. She remained thus for a long time, and at last decided to try the benefit of the sea air and bathing, after experiencing which for a short time she entirely recovered. The above tradition, it may be remarked, deriving the Julandaites from the 'Amálekite Beni Karkar is opposed to the more generally received account, according to which they descend from the el-Azd of 'Omán. The 'Amáleḳa properly derive from the Ishmaelite or Nejdean stock, as does also Soḥár, the brother of Tasm and Jadis and the Eponymus of the ancient town. The Julandaites were a powerful dynasty in 'Omán, and for some time previous to the second advent of the Persians before Islám held dominion over el-Baḥrein and the whole of the Persian Gulf. According to Ross' Annals of 'Omán, the Persians at the time of the introduction of Islám had possession of the sea-coast of 'Omán, while the Arabs had the interior. Moḥammed sent messengers to the two sons of Julandá, who then ruled in 'Omán, and these messengers alighted at Damsetjerd near Soḥár, a fortified place built by the Persians. Julandá's sons, 'Abd and Jeifar, and the Arabs agreed to accept Islám, but the Persians, refusing, were attacked in Damsetjerd by Jeifar and compelled to quit 'Omán. This Damsetjerd I am inclined to identify with the ruins at Feleǰ el-Súḳ described above, and this is indicated, I think, both by their position and the Arab tradition attaching to the spot. The extreme antiquity of Soḥár as one of the principal emporiums of 'Omán is shown by its identification with the ancient city of 'Omán, the capital of the country, which depends not alone on Arab tradition and authority, but is accepted by European writers, who see in Soḥár the Omana or Omna of Pliny and Ptolemy.

The exact period, however, at which the town changed its name is a question more difficult of solution, and regarding which history and tradition afford no clue. The ancient history of Soḥár is very obscure, as, though frequent references to it may be found in all ages, no good description or account of it exists that I am aware of. A short notice, however, by Ibn Mojáwir is worth quoting. He says:—"Soḥár had 12,000 houses, and every *nákhodá* dwelt in a separate house, and the people used to draw their drinking water from the aqueduct. Some one told me there were 192 steel-yards for the weighing of merchandize between vendors and purchasers. The town was built of bricks, mortar, and teak-wood, and it became ruined, and the *jinn* haunted the castles around. Abú Bekr el-Bisrí informed me that the country belonged first to the kings of Kermán of the Seljúḳ dynasty, then it was ruled by the el-Ghozz, and afterwards it became deserted and was destroyed by the Arabs." Some cultivated spots

are still to be seen near Jebel Gharábeh, but the only outward and visible sign of its former greatness remaining is the aqueduct Felej el-Mo'taridh (فلج المعترض).

This work, which is of good stone masonry, leads along the surface of the ground, with a gentle declivity from the Wádi Jezze in the vicinity of Húreh Bargheh, (حورة برغه) or Soḥár Peak as we call it, to the shore, a distance in a straight line of 14 or 15 miles, and is still distinctly traceable for the greater part of the way, disappearing at the outskirts of the present town. I noticed by the side of it more than one small cistern of exactly the same pattern and construction as those on Jebel Gharábeh. The modern town of Soḥár has for some years been in a gradually declining state. It has been described in the bright pages of Palgrave, but has still further decayed since his visit. In Soḥár proper, which lies between Rás Sellán (راس صلان) and the village of Soweyḥereh, (سويحره), the population is now only about 4000, including 400 Persians, a dozen Jews, who have been gradually decreasing in numbers year by year, and half-a-dozen banians; the bulk of the inhabitants here as also along the coast from Soḥár to Majis being of Persian and Belúch descent. The citadel, in which the Governor Seyyid Bedr resides, is a lofty, square, plain building, with a strong entrance and well defended by a moat; next to Soḥár Peak it is the most conspicuous object seen from seawards. From the roof an excellent view is obtained of the surrounding country, and a lovely landscape it is, the sea-shore being fringed with a belt of stately palm gardens and cultivation about three miles broad, while behind, the plain rises gradually, until broken up by the lower spurs of the lofty, dark, serrated range in the back-ground. In the second story of this house is the tomb of Seyyid Thoweyní-bin-Seyyid, but the room in which it stands has been bricked up since my last visit. It is remarkable that of the number believed to have been associated directly or indirectly with Seyyid Selím in his parricidal act, some nine persons, only two are alive, the rest having all, with one exception, met violent deaths. The town wall is very dilapidated, especially the front towards the sea, and is now fast crumbling down, and there are no towers or bastions to it, but the moat is still kept clear on the land side. The circuit of the wall is about a mile, but a very small extent of the area inside is covered with houses, the rest of the ground being bare or occupied with date and other fruit trees. The market contains about forty shops, and is good and well filled, the fish market particularly; the fisheries on the Bátinah coast being abundant almost to a miracle. The custom duties are 5 per cent., and the farm this year has been sold to a Persian for $175 per month; but this is no gauge for the amount of imports, as foreign goods are obtained from Muscat, where they have already paid duty, and are consequently free from assessment here. Trade is said to be decreasing annually, and to be transferring itself to

Shargah, which is almost as easy of access to the principal customers as Soḥár, the Arabs of el-Dháhireh and el-Jow, and where goods are cheaper, being imported thither direct from Bombay, and thus saving Muscat dues and re-shipment. Soḥár has no harbour, nor even the slightest shelter for native craft, and is dependent entirely on its position in being able to tap the trade of Upper el-Dháhireh and el-Jow for existence, and should this source of prosperity be in part drawn off by rival ports, it must sink in time to the level of other towns in the Báṭinah. El-Jow, in which el-Bereymí lies, is the smallest of the six provinces of 'Omán, and is situate between el-Dháhireh and the Shemál. It is bounded on the south by Jebel Ḥafít, on the east by Khatmet el-Shikla and el-Maḥdheh, on the north by el-Shemál, and to the west by the desert. El-Jow is inhabited by several tribes, both Ghafirí and Ḥinawí; the former having been in the ascendant since the accession of Seyyid Turkí. The most powerful and the predominant Ghafirí tribe at present is the Na'ím, which is divided into two distinct and about equal sections, each having numerous subdivisions, and numbers on the whole some 20,000 souls. They occupy el-Bereymí Proper and Su'areh, (صعرة) and their possession of the fort enables them to overawe the whole of the settlement. Since the time of Seyyid 'Azán, they have been practically uninterfered with by the Muscat Government, but of course own allegiance to the present Sulṭán. The Na'ím are at feud with the Beni Yás, who occupy part of el-Bereymí, and their hostility is interrupted only by occasional truces; collisions frequently occurring between them. Of the two sections of the Na'ím one inhabits more particularly el-Jow and Bereymí, the other el-Dháhireh. They are of the more orthodox or Sunní persuasion, unlike the generality of 'Ománis who are Ibádhiya. The Chief Sheikh of the tribe is Moḥammed-bin-'Alí-bin-Ḥamúd, who lives at Dhank, his representative at el-Bereymí being his son Selím. The principal Ḥinawí tribe at el-Bereymí is the Beni Yás, who formerly gained so much notoriety by their piratical exploits. The Chief of this tribe is Sheikh Zaid-bin-Khalífah, a man of strong character, and perhaps the sole individual in these parts possessing any real personal power and authority. He resides at Abúthabí, and there are four smaller Sheikhs subordinate to him residing at el-Bereymí. This tribe takes the lead on the Ḥinawí side in all dissensions between the Ḥinawís and Ghafirís at el-Bereymí, and during Seyyid 'Azán's reign held the predominant position here. The Beni Yás occupy the villages of Jemí, Ḳaṭáreh, Heylí, (هيلي القطارة الجيمي) and the Wádí Mes'údí (وادى المسعودى) at el-Bereymí, and are said to have formerly out-numbered the Na'ím, but this state of affairs has become reversed of late. The Ghafirí tribe next in importance to the Na'ím, is the Beni Ka'b, which numbers some 15,000 souls, and occupies the district of el-Maḥdheh, which includes the mountain range and val-

leys between Wádí el-Jezze and Wádí Hatta. There are about 20 villages in this district, the principal of which is el-Maḥdheh, where the Sheikh 'Alí-bin-Seif resides. They are all irrigated by conduits drawn from the hills, and as the soil is the same, Maḥdheh produces the same kinds and quality of grains and fruits as el-Bereymí. There is no direct pass through the range from el-Maḥdheh to Soḥár between Hatta and el-Jezze. Other Gháfirí tribes are the Benú Kattab (بني كتب) and el-Darámikeh (الدرامكه); and Ḥinawí tribes are the Dhowáhir, (الظواهر) which occupies el-'Ain, el-Dáúdí, el-Kharais, el-Mareyjib, Sa'neh and Mo'taridh, (الخريس الداودي العين المعترض سعنه لمربجب), and rank next in power to the Benú Yás and the 'Awámir. This last is a very large nomadic tribe, widely scattered over 'Omán, but occupying chiefly the desert outskirts from Kooria Mooria Bay to the Sabkha, (صبخه) and roaming about with their flocks and herds in a state of semi-savagedom. The 'Awámir are genuine Bedouins, and no wilder or more predatory race exists, I believe, in Arabia. One of their clans, the 'Affár, (عفار) are popularly supposed to feed upon the bodies of animals that have died naturally, but this is denied by the tribe who, however, admit that they are not unfrequently reduced to devouring their skin clothing. A large portion of this tribe has settled down, particularly in the province of 'Omán, where they occupy a district of twelve villages called the 'Buldán el-'Awámir' and follow agricultural pursuits. The wandering 'Awámir do not even respect the members of other clans of their own tribe unless they are acquainted with them, but plunder indiscriminately all they meet. In August 1874, a party of this tribe arrived at Muscat from the neighbourhood of Wádí Rekot in Kooria Mooria Bay to assist His Highness Seyyid Turkí in an expedition he was engaged on, and returned afterwards, as they had come, by land. They professed to have no difficulty in making their way over the great desert.

El-Bereymí is the appellation usually applied to a collection of seven villages or settlements, of which the one, specially bearing that name, is the largest and most important. The others are Su'areh to the N., Jemí, Ḳaṭáreh and Heylí to the N. W., and 'Ain and Mo'taridh to the S. E.; and the population of the whole may be estimated at 12,000 to 15,000. From the outside the appearance of these settlements is very pretty and refreshing, the date palms and orchards forming a green-setting to the low palm leaf huts, which are scattered throughout, and which just peep through the foliage. They have a striking similarity to the "ábádís" or settlements in Mekrán. The general condition of the people is low, and there is a noticeable equality of property throughout, but this is owing probably more to the want of good government and the chronic state of warfare and insecurity they live in, than to the natural disadvantages of the land. Agriculture is in rather a mediocre state as regards cereals and vegetables, the principal object of culture being of

course the date. They are not dependent on the annual rainfall which is small, but are able to irrigate with certainty by means of their valuable aqueducts drawn from the hill range as well as from wells, water being abundant and at no great depth. Each settlement has at least one of these canals, that of el-Bereymí Proper being brought from a perennial spring in the hills distant about twenty miles. The water in this canal was quite warm to the touch, but I forget what they told me about the source. The grains grown are wheat, jowari, maize, barley, and bajri, the spring crops being wheat, the autumn, jowari, and bajri. This is sometimes succeeded by a crop of beans or pulse, but the latter are never sown intermingled with cereals. The stubble is always ploughed in and never burnt, and the only other manure used is cattle dung. The vegetables grown are sweet potatoes, radishes, cucumbers, egg-plants, onions, and pumpkins. Tobacco, cotton, red and white, and lucerne are also grown, the last for the use of cattle. Eight or nine crops of this are obtained in the year, showing the quality of the soil, which is fertile but thin. Bnt more care and attention are bestowed on the fruits than on anything else, and they consequently arrive at considerable excellence. All the best kinds of dates are cultivated, *fard*, *maseybílí*, *khalas*, &c., though they are not considered equal to the same varieties in Bedieh (بديه) and Semáil (سمايل). The other fruits are peaches, mangoes, custard-apples, limes, sweet-limes, oranges, mulberries, pomegranates, melons, guavas, figs, and grapes. There are only a very few horses at el-Bereymí belonging to the Sheikhs; cattle too are scarce; camels are abundant and cheap; and asses are used extensively for burden and riding. The food of the people is chiefly dates and coarse bread or rice, varied by salt-fish, camels' and goats' flesh. Milk is abundant, and a hard sort of cream cheese is made, the juice of an euphorbia being sometimes used instead of rennet for coagulating the milk. On the sea-coast the intestines of fish are often used for this purpose. There being no banians or other regular traders, there is no general bazar at Bereymí, but every afternoon a market is held where the Bedouins assemble with their produce and animals for sale or barter with those who can supply their wants. Money is little used on such occasions where cloth, articles of food, camels, donkeys, goats, and all the miscellaneous articles of an Arab household, are exchanged. The most trifling things change hands, and the scene is, as may be imagined, a lively and picturesque one. The ladies here, I observed, did not wear the tinselled mask seen in Muscat, but covered their heads with a black cloth veil, which is still more unbecoming. I must not omit that like their European sisters they wore high-heeled shoes. Their occupations, besides household affairs, are spinning, mat-weaving, felt-making, and tending goats and kine.

El-Bereymí formerly possessed two forts, only one of which is now

standing, the other has been demolished, and lies a heap of ruins. Both are said to have been built by the Showámis, a strong clan of the Na'ím occupying chiefly the Wádí Jezze, but the fort still standing was improved and strengthened by the Wahhábís during their occupation. It consists of four towers joined by curtains and surrounded by a deep ditch. It is of square form, built entirely of mud or unburnt bricks, and carries eight guns of sizes. The breadth of the ditch is about 25 feet, and both scarp and counterscarp are quite steep and faced with brick work. The rampart is eight feet high and two thick, and there is an open space of 20 paces between it and the towers. These towers rise perhaps 40 feet, the curtain somewhat less than half way up, and each side of the square formed by them is about one hundred and fifty feet. The gate is the weakest part of the structure, there being only a single small wooden door standing half way across the ditch, which is here bridged with the trunks of two date trees. Inside the fort is a residence for the Sheikh with accommodation for the men, and some godowns. Water is abundantly provided by two wells, which would yield sufficient for a large garrison. I tasted the water of one, and it was perfectly sweet and good. Near the outer gate is a brass 24-pounder, mounted as a field-piece, having the name of Seyyid-bin-Sulṭán, A. H. 1258 in Arabic, and the English date 1842. It is one of a batch of 20 that Seyyid Sa'íd procured from America at that time for his corvette the *Sultan*. This gun was brought from Soḥár by Seyyid 'Azán, in 1870, in his expedition against Bereymí, and was used against the fort it now defends. With unusual energy and forethought for an Arab, Seyyid 'Azán brought spare carriage wheels, harness, and tents, all of which are carefully stored up in a godown. The harness did not look as if it had ever been used, and they told me the gun had been dragged thither entirely by manual labour. The fort is fairly well situated, and stands out on the plain, but on the N. W. side the houses and cultivation encroach somewhat close upon it, and on the other side lie the ruins of Sedeyrí's fort at no great distance, which would afford capital shelter for an enemy. Both as regards strength and position it is the most important fort in this part of 'Omán, and is generally regarded as the key of the country towards the west. Its reduction, therefore, would be considered necessary by any force approaching from that side.

I endeavoured to gather information respecting the route between 'Omán and Nejd, but the accounts were somewhat discrepant. According to some the first district beyond el-Jow is Beinúneh, in which is el-'Ankeh, a hamlet of the Bení Kattab, with a small date grove, the Sheikh of which is Saí'd-bin-Aweydimí. Next to Beinúneh lies el-Dhafreh, inhabited chiefly by the Menásír, and where there is a watered grassy vale called Da'fis, visited in season for pasture by the Menásír, 'Awámir, Bení Yás, Bení Kattab, el-Mizaniyeh, and el-Ghafaleh nomads. Further on between el-Dhafreh,

Kaṭar, and el-Ḥasa is the district of el-Ja'fúr. Through these districts lies the route from el-Bereymi to el-Ḥasa, from whence the road continues to el-Riádh. There is no tract that can be followed, as the sand is blown about by the wind, but there appear to be two general routes, one of which is used more in winter, the other in summer ; the first is straighter and shorter, the other passes near the sea, is more winding, and after leaving the Sabkheh turns north for three days. The journey is not considered dangerous or difficult, as water is found in a great many places, though usually very brackish, and they seldom have to carry a supply for more than two days. Caravans very rarely make the journey, and travel only at night, taking about thirty days from el-Ḥasa to el-Bereymí. Troops as a rule travel by day only, their pace being a gentle amble, and they cover the distance in twenty to twenty-five days. A ḳásid takes ten days. The Menásír and Bení Yás chiefly hold possession of the eastern part of the route, the Ál Morra of the western. No hills are met on the way, and the only Wádís are el-Sabkheh and el-Soḥba. I give in a tabular form the halting stations of the two routes, but as already observed, water is procurable in many other places. The Sabkheh, or Sabkheh Mattí, as it is sometimes termed, is a marshy tract or Wádí about forty miles in breadth, commencing from the vicinity of Wádí Jabrín and entering the Persian Gulf between Long. 51° 50′ and 52° 20′, lat. 24°. In some parts it is a treacherous morass, only to be crossed at the beaten tracks, and it is said that should the camel miss the path, he becomes engulphed in the mud. The Sabkheh, according to the concurrent testimony of all the Sheikhs and best informed persons I have spoken to on the subject, both in el-Jow and Muscat, including His Highness Seyyid Turkí, is the boundary line between Nejd and 'Omán, and has been so considered from time immemorial. The water-shed of el-Aarid and Yemámeh appears to lie S. E., the Wádí Ḥanífeh and all other Wádís converging towards el-Randha, where they unite in the Wádí el-Soḥba, which falls into the Persian Gulf just above the Sabkheh Mattí, probably at Khor el-Dhoan. The Bedouins in the great desert rear great numbers of camels, the sale of which constitutes their chief support. The Ál Morra and 'Awámir are said to traverse it extensively, as it is not entirely destitute of water, which can be obtained of brackish quality in places by digging. Palms and other large trees are not met with, but dwarf acacias and herbaceous vegetation, suitable for camel fodder, are sufficiently abundant. Besides two species of gazelle and the oryx, numerous ostriches inhabit the more northern and western portions, and are hunted for the sake of their feathers, which eventually find their way to Mecca, there being no sale for them in 'Omán. There is said to be a route running direct S. E. from Nejd to Mahra that takes twenty-five days. Water is procured every three or four days, and is carried on in skins, the

Bedouins finding their way without difficulty; a light camel-load of dates and flour enabling them to traverse a long distance. In 1870, Sa'úd-bin-Jelowí came straight across the great desert from Nejrán to Abúthabí in fifty-six days, travelling leisurely, but for the last fifteen days he and his followers were greatly pressed for food, their store having become exhausted. His purpose was to meet Seyyid 'Azán, which he did at Burka, and then accompanied him in his expedition against el-Bereymí.

South of Yemámeh and three days from el-Ḥasa lies the fertile and well-watered valley of Jabrín, whose groves of date palms are said to extend for several miles. It is situate entirely in the desert, and does not form part of Nejd. It was formerly a large and flourishing settlement, but it subsequently became so malarious and unhealthy, that the inhabitants were driven away, and it is now almost entirely destitute of permanent residents. The Arabs claim an antiquity of 800 years for it, but it has long since fallen to ruin, though I believe the fort and some of the walls of the houses are still standing. It is also said that after heavy floods gold coins are sometimes picked up by the Bedouins. The dates belong to the Ál Morra and Dowásir tribes, who visit Jabrín in the summer to collect the harvest, which is carried for sale to Nejd and el-Ḥasa. It is also extensively resorted to by the neighbouring nomads with their flocks and herds for the sake of the luxuriant pasturage.

In el-Bereymí I found a small colony of Arab gipsies, Zaṭṭ (زط) or Zaṭúṭ, as the Arabs call them, settled and I have since had further opportunity of observing these people. In his 'Alte Geographie Arabiens' Dr. Sprenger has identified the Zaṭṭ with the Jats of India, and though, as he shows, they have been in Arabia upwards of 1,000 years, they are at once distinguishable from the Arabs as a distinct race. They are taller in person and more swarthy, and they have that cunning and shifty look stamped on their physiognomy so observable in the gipsies of Europe. The Zaṭṭ are spread over Central and Eastern Arabia from Muscat to Mesopotamia, and are very numerous in 'Omán. Everywhere they maintain themselves as a separate class and do not intermix by marriage with strangers. It occurs sometimes, I believe, that an Arab takes a Zaṭṭiya to wife, but no pure Arab girl would be given to a Zaṭṭ, though daughters of Arabs by slave mothers may occasionally be obtained by them. It is probable, too, that the race is continued to some extent by adoption as well as procreation, as they do not seem to be a prolific people. In 'Omán, besides those who have been permanently settled in the country, are to be found many who come across from Persia and Belúchistán in search of employment or to visit their kinsfolk, but their stay is seldom prolonged. The Arab Zaṭṭ are divided into numerous clans or families, for which they have adopted Arab nomenclature, such as Wiláad Maṭlab (ولاد مطلب), Wiláad Ḳabál (ولاد قبال), Wiláad Shaghraf (ولاد

(شغرف), Musandé (مسندی), Ḥarímal (حریمل), Ḥaik (حیک), 'Ashorí (عشوری), &c., and each of which is in a state of clientship to some powerful Arab tribe, generally that of course with which it has most trading connections. The Zaṭṭ all profess the Musalmán religion, but no doubt they retain many of their own customs and usages. The levirate law obtains among them, but should there be no brother, the nearest male relative can take the widow to wife. They are looked down upon by the Arabs as an inferior race, but they are valued for the useful services they perform; and as their persons and property are always respected, they usually go about unarmed. In Nejd, I hear, the Zaṭṭ women are considered to be very handsome and dance publicly for money, but they are reputed to be chaste and moral; they are a necessary ingredient at private festivities, as they set off the assembly by their beauty and the party is not thought complete without them; they are consequently also more sought after by the Arabs there as wives. In 'Omán the case is different. The 'Omání women are more highly endowed by nature than their Nejd sisters, and the Zaṭṭ are not thought so favourably of by comparison. They appear to lead a semi-nomadic life, and move about from village to village with their families and chattels, working as occasion requires, but a few families may be found permanently established in most of the large towns and settlements. Their little mat hovels are the smallest and wretchedest human tenements I have ever seen, being merely a couple of mats arranged round three or four sticks tied together at the top, and the whole concern not usually exceeding 4 or 5 feet in height. They are accomplished handicraftsmen, being farriers, smiths, tinkers, carpenters, weavers, and barbers. They manufacture also guns and matchlocks; indeed most of the trades and manufactures seem to be in their hands, and they are to the natives of the interior what the Banians and other Indians are at the sea-port towns.

The Arabs assert that the Zaṭṭ speak among themselves in a dialect unintelligible to strangers, and they call this 'Rattíní' or 'Fársí'; but it is my belief that the original tongue of the Zaṭṭ has become almost entirely obliterated through long and intimate intercourse with the Arabs, and that what they speak among themselves is a jargon or gibberish of their own particular manufacture, composed of a corrupted Arabic mixed with the few Jat words they have retained. To effect this they have invented a simple and ingenious system by which they are able to transmute any word required into their own jargon without the slightest hesitation. The plan is to prefix the letter *m* and to suffix an additional syllable *eek*, while lengthening the first or second syllable of the word itself. Thus Bard (cold) becomes Mbardeek; Ḳamar (moon), Mḳâmareek; Ghol (غول snake), Mgholeek. I subjoin a few words that appear to be of their own vocabulary, as specimens:—Father—Bweieckee; Mother—Mahiktee; Brother—

Mânas; Son—Kashkâshee; Man—Fseyil; Woman—Fseyileh; Slave—Daugeh; Head—Kerrâ; Body—Kerrâsh; Bread—Kshayim; Rice—Fidâmah; Knife—Jerrâha; Water—Tsammee; Donkey—Gyadoor; Go—Batûs; Child—Towâtneek.

The Arabs do not of course trouble themselves with speculations as to the origin of this people, but have a traditionary belief that they immigrated to Arabia from Persia at some remote period. I may remark, in conclusion, that resemblance between the Zaṭṭ and the Gipsies of Europe in character, appearance, habits, and profession (I have no means of comparing the languages) is so striking and complete, that the hypothesis of their identity of origin must be regarded as, at least, highly probable.

A Route from el-Bereymí to el-Ḥasa.

Names of places.		
El-Dhafreh	الظفرة	
Khotem	ختم	
El-Serádîḥ	السرادیح	
Bedú el-Moṭowwa' ..	بدو المطوّع	
'Beinúnah	بينونة	
Bedú Jerash	بدو جرش	
Sabkheh Maṭṭí ..	صبخة مطي	
El-Sala'	السلع	
Salwah	سلوة	
El-Ghodha	الغضي	
El-Sakik	السكك	
El-Ḥemrúr	الحمرور	
El-Ṭaraf	الطرف	
El-Ḥasa	الحصه	From El-Ḥasa, *i. e.*, Ḥofúf, the usual road to Nejd is followed.

Another Route from el-Bereymí to el-Ḥasa.

Names of places.		Quality of water.	Remarks.
El-Johar	الجحر	Wells of good water ..	Acácia jungle, but no cultivation. Belongs to-el-Dhowáhir tribe. Half a day from Bereymí.
El-'Ankah	العانكه	Good, from shallow pits..	Date trees and cultivation. Hamlet of the Bení Kattab.
El-'Aweyneh.. ..	العوينه	Plentiful, but brackish; wells very deep.	Acacias and camel fodder. Two days from the sea.
Bedú Showeybí ..	بدو شويبي	Brackish; wells deep ..	Barren country with scrub. Limit of Beinúnah.
Da'fis	دعفس	Brackish; wells deep ..	Low ground with acacias, scrub, and grass. Visited in rains for pasturage by el-Manásír, Bení Yás, Bení Kattab, El-'Awámir, Mizárieh, and el-Ghafaleh nomads. Two days from the sea.
Bír el-Moṭowwa' ..	بير المطوّع	Sweet; wells very deep..	Acacia jungle. This place is so-called from one Mohamed el-Moṭowwa', a noted character, having been slain here. His son Ḥamd is now one of the most noted freebooters in 'Omán, and a constant terror to the Bátinah.
Ghadír el-Lál ..	غدير اللال	Sweet; but wells deep ..	Scanty scrub. The Sabkha lies between this and Bír el-Moṭowwa'. Road level, but winding among sand hills.
El-Sala'	السلع	Springs of sweet water on surface.	Acacia jungle. Belongs to el-Menásír. Half a day from the sea. Limit of el-Dhafreh.
'Aḳlet el-Nakhlet ..	عقلة النخلة	Sweet, near surface ..	Among sand-hills. Belongs to el-Menásír and Al Morra.
El-Sakik	السكك	Sweet, from springs ..	Woody. Lies a little S. W. of el-Ḳaṭar.
Salwah	صلوة	Sweet.	
Ba'íj	بعيج	Sweet; wells five fathoms deep.	
Bajásh	بجاش	Sweet.	
El-Mená'iet	المناعية	Sweet.	

The Mo'allaqah of Lebîd, with the life of the poet as given in the Kitâb-el-Aghânî.—*By* C. J. Lyall, C. S.

Note. It is proposed to publish a translation of the seven *Mo'allaqât*, or "Suspended poems" of the Arabs, together with a rendering into English of the notices of their authors contained in the famous *Kitâb-el-Aghâni*, or "Book of the Songs of the Arabs," by Abu-l-Faraj el-Isfahânî. The following version of the fourth *Mo'allaqah*, that of Lebîd, with its accompanying notice, is here printed as a specimen of the work.

The book will consist of four parts: I. An Introduction, giving a sketch of the history of Arabia during the century before the Hijrah to which the poems belong, a brief account of early Arabian poetry generally, some information regarding the mode in which the poems have been handed down and the early *râwis* or traditionists to whom their preservation and illustration are due, together with an examination of the historical data afforded by the *Kitâb-el-Aghâni* regarding the lives of their authors. II. Translations from the *Kâmil-et-tawârikh* of Ibn-el-Athîr and the *Kitâb-el-Aghâni*, giving the history of the Wars of Basûs and Dâhis. III. Notices of each of the seven poets (except Ṭarafeh, who is not mentioned in the work) translated from the *Kitâb-el-Aghâni*. The account of Ṭarafeh will be filled in from extracts from Ibn Quteybeh and others supplied by Reiske's edition of his *Mo'allaqah*. IV. Following each notice, a translation of the poet's *Mo'allaqah* in English prose, line for line with the original. Parts II, III, and IV will be illustrated where necessary by notes appended.

The renderings of the poems will be taken from the text of Arnold (Leipzig 1850), those of the *Kitâb-el-Aghâni* from the Bûlâq edition (in 20 volumes) of that work, and those of passages from the *Kâmil* from Tornberg's edition.

It is hoped that an accurate translation of the most ancient and authentic poems of the Arab race—poems which have for ages been regarded with the highest admiration as models of style and composition, and which undoubtedly present a fresh and faithful portraiture of the people among whom they appeared—illustrated by the oldest and most trustworthy traditions regarding the circumstances under which they were composed and the valiant stock to which their authors belonged, will not be found unacceptable.

The system of transliteration applied to Arabic words when they occur in Persian and Hindustani which has been adopted by the Asiatic Society, though well suited for the purposes of those languages, is not appropriate when the object is to represent in English Arabic words as uttered by Arabs. In the following pages, therefore, a system has been followed which is believed to agree closely with the best standard of pronunciation current in Arabia; it is mainly that adopted by Mr. E. W. Lane in his great Arabic-English Lexicon, the only differences being that among the consonants ذ is represented by the old-English Ð (with which it exactly agrees), ظ by Ḍ (to mark clearly its relation to ض Ḍ), ق by Q, hemzeh by ', and ع by ', and in rendering the vowels the circumflex instead of the acute accent has been used to indicate length, and *î* and *û* substituted for *ee* and *oo*. In the use of the *imâleh* of the *Fetḥah* (giving the vowel *a* the *e*-sound) and the *Ḍammeh* (change of *u* to *o*) an endeavour has been made to follow as closely as possible the rules laid down by Mr. Lane in his paper at pp. 171—186 of the 4th volume of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

Lebîd.

(Kitâb-el-Aghânî XIV. pp. 93—102.)

Lebîd was the son of Rabî'ah son of Mâlik son of Ja'far son of Kilâb son of Rabî'ah son of 'Âmir son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah son of Mo'âwiyeh son of Bekr son of Hawâzin son of Manṣûr son of 'Ikrimeh son of Khaṣafeh son of Qeys son of 'Eylân son of Muḍar. His father was called *Rabî'at-el-mo'tarîn* ("a Spring to those who came to ask for his bounty") on account of his liberality and generosity: he was slain by the Benû Lebîd in the war which befell between them and their tribe and his people. His uncle was Abû Nizâr 'Âmir ibn Mâlik *Mulâ'ib-el-Asinneh* ("the player with lances"), a name which he gained from the verse of Aus son of Ḥajr—

"'Âmir played gaily with the points of the spears,
And the fortune of the whole host betook itself thereto."[1]

The mother of Lebîd was Tâmireh daughter of Zinbâ' of 'Abs, one of the daughters of Jeðimeh the son of Rawâḥah.[2] Lebîd was one of the poets who are counted as belonging to the Ignorance, and also a *mukhaḍrim*, or one who attained to the days of el-Islâm; and he was one of the noblest of poets who composed faultless verses, of good knights, of reciters of the Qur'ân, and of those who attained to long life: it is said that he lived a hundred and forty-five years.

Aḥmed ibn 'Abd-el-'Azîz el-Jauharî states in his traditions respecting Lebîd's life, on the authority of 'Omar ibn Shebbeh, who heard it from 'Abd-allâh ibn Moḥammed ibn Ḥakîm, and it is also asserted by el-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî, who was told by Ibn Mahraweyh, who heard it from 'Abd-allâh ibn Abî Sa'd, who heard it from 'Alî ibn eṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, who heard it from Ibn el-Kelbî, and also from 'Alî ibn el-Musawwar, who had it from el-Aṣma'î, and also from el-Medâ'inî and other men whom he mentions, among whom are Abu-l-Yaqðân, Ibn Da'b, Ibn Ja'dîyeh, and el-Waqqâṣî,—that Lebîd son of Rabî'ah came to the Prophet of God (may God bless him and grant him peace!) with a deputation from the Benû Kilâb after the death of his brother Arbed and 'Âmir ibn eṭ-Ṭufeyl: that he then professed el-Islâm, and, separating himself from his tribe, became a companion of the Prophet,[3] and was a sincere believer; that he afterwards settled in el-Kûfeh in the days of 'Omar ibn el-Khaṭṭâb (may God be satisfied of him!), and abode there until his death towards the end of the Khalîfeh-ship of Mo'âwiyeh. His life reached to a hundred and forty-five years, of which he lived ninety in the Ignorance and the rest under el-Islâm.

'Omar ibn Shebbeh says in his traditions, and I was also told by 'Abd-allâh ibn Moḥammed ibn Ḥakîm, that Lebîd said, when he reached the age of seventy and seven—

"My soul stood and plained to me with bitter weeping—
'I have borne thee now seven years over the three-score and ten'.
"I said—'and if thou wilt add but three thou wilt reach the goal of thy hope,
for in but three years more the fourscore will be filled.'"

And when he reached the age of ninety, he said—

"Now that I have overpassed my space by twenty[4] years
I stand with shoulders bared to meet the stroke of Fate."

And when he lived to a hundred and ten, he said—

"Is there no life left for a man after that he has lived
a hundred years, and after that yet ten years more?"

And when he lived still longer, he said—

"Verily I am a-weary of life and its length
and of hearing men ask—'how goes Lebîd?'
Men are overborne, but he stands still unconquered,
by Time, the long, the everlasting dreary length!
I see the day come upon me and the night,
and each of them after its passing returns again:
Each day as it comes is like the day I met before—
it wanes not—I grow feeble—it but grows in strength."

Moḥammed ibn el-Ḥasan[5] ibn Dureyd informed me that he had been told by Abû Ḥâmid es-Sijistânî, who said that he had heard it from el-Aṣma'î, that 'Âmir ibn Mâlik Mulâ'ib-el-Asinneh, whose by-name was Abu-l Bera', repaired with a company of the Benû Ja'far, among whom were Lebîd son of Rabî'ah, Mâlik son of Ja'far, and 'Âmir son of Mâlik Lebîd's uncle,[5] to the Court of en-No'mân. And they found with the King er-Rabî' ibn Ziyâd of 'Abs, whose mother was Fâṭimeh daughter of el-Khurshub. Er-Rabî' was one of en-No'mân's boon companions, as was also a certain merchant of Syria whose name was Zarajûn[6] son of Naufil; the King had dealings with him in his trade, and, as he was a man of polished manners and abundance of jest and anecdote, delighted to make him merry. Accordingly, whenever en-No'mân desired to have a drinking party in private, he would send for the Syrian, and en-Niṭâsî, a physician who was in his service, and er-Rabî' son of Ziyâd, and they formed his company. And when the Ja'farîs reached el-Ḥîreh, they came before en-No'mân to present their petitions; and as often as they went forth from his presence, er-Rabî' who remained alone with him used to abuse them to him and mention all their bad qualities: for the Benû Ja'far were enemies of the tribe of 'Abs.[7] And he did not cease backbiting them to en-No'mân until he made him ill-disposed towards them. And one day when the Ja'farîs came before him, the King treated them with harshness, although he had formerly received them with honour and seated them near himself; and they left his presence in wrath. Now

Lebîd had been left behind to guard their goods and to take out their camels every morning to graze; and he came to them one night when they were talking of what er-Rabî' had done, and asked them what was the matter; but they refused to tell him. Then he said "By God! I will not guard aught of your goods or take out a camel of yours to pasture, except ye tell me the whole matter." (And it must here be told that the mother of Lebîd was an orphan who had been brought up under the protection of er-Rabî'). They said "Thy mother's brother has slandered us to the King and turned away his face from us." Then said Lebîd—"Can ye arrange so that he and I shall be brought face to face? I will withhold him from further mischief by a speech that shall bite and sting him[8]: en-No'mân shall never have any regard for him again." "Hast thou anything to say to him?" they asked. "Yes," said Lebîd. "Come, we will try thee," said they, "Satirize this herb." Now there was in front of them a plant with slender shoots and few leaves, growing close to the ground, of the kind called *et-teribeh*.[9] So Lebîd began[10]:—"This *teribeh*, which is neither fit for making a good fire, nor for nourishing a house, nor does it delight its neighbour—its sticks are mean, its leaves withered, its advantage little—the most evil of herbs for pasture, the poorest of them in leafage, the hardest of them to pull up—its country is far away, he that eats of it is a-hungered, he that lives thereon is a contented soul! Set me face to face with the brother of 'Abs—I will drive him away from you in disgrace—I will leave him overwhelmed with confusion." They said "We will wait till the morning before giving thee our decision." And 'Âmir said to them—"Watch this boy of yours" (meaning Lebîd): "if ye see him sleeping, he is not fit to undertake the contest with er-Rabî': he speaks only what comes to his tongue; but if ye find that he watches the whole night, then he is the man to do the deed." And they watched him, and found him mounted on one of the camel-saddles, with his teeth clenched on the pummel of it; and so he remained till dawn. And they said "Thou art the man for the enterprize!" Then they took him and shaved his head, leaving only his top-knot,[11] and clad him in a *ḥulleh*.[12] And he went forth with them, and they took him before en-No'mân. And they found him eating his morning meal in the company of er-Rabî' ibn Ziyâd: the two were eating together, and no third person was with them. And the palace and court were filled with deputations from different tribes. And when en-No'mân had done his meal, he gave permission to the Ja'faris to enter: and they went in; and when their affair came on for hearing, they set forth the requests for which they had come. And er-Rabî' interrupted their speech. Then Lebîd said—

"Shall my head be driven hither and thither every day?
Many the battle that is better than quietness!
We are the children of the Mother of the Four,
Our swords are keen, our platters ever full:

We are the best of 'Âmir son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah—
Cleavers of skulls in the midst of the battle-din:
We give to eat to all men from our brimming bowls
— Stay! God keep thee from cursing! eat not with him!

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * * " [18]

En-No'mân withdrew his hand from the food that was before him, and said, "By God! boy—thou hast disgusted me with my meat: I never felt for it the loathing that I feel to-day!" Then er-Rabî' started forward, and said, "He lies, by God! the son of an unchaste woman! verily I did with his mother thus and thus!" And Lebîd said to him—"Such an one as thou did as thou sayest with a nurseling of his house, his own near kinswoman! Nay, my mother was of those women who do not the things thou sayest." And en-No'mân satisfied the requests of the Ja'farîs at once and dismissed them. And er-Rabî' son of Ziyâd immediately went to his house. And en-No'mân sent to him double of what it was his custom to give him, and bade him depart to his people. And er-Rabî' wrote[14] to him saying—"I know that what Lebîd said has made a deep impression on thy heart; and I will not cease entreating thee until thou send one to strip me and proclaim to those about thee that I am not as he said." But the king replied to him—"Nay, thou canst do nothing now to shield thyself from what was said of Lebîd, nor canst thou recall again that with which men's tongues are busy. Go and join thyself to thy people." And er-Rabî' departed to his people, and sent from among them the following verses to en-No'mân—

"If I have driven away my camels, verily I have a spacious place of plenty
—there is no place of plenty like it in breadth and length:
A place where, if all Lakhm were to come down thereon,
they would not match with their wealth one feather of Semwîl.
The she-camels with their young ones graze on the juicy herbage there,
though it be not like your pastures of salt and honey.
Stay thou in thy land alone, and recline now that I am gone
now with en-Niṭâsî and now with Naufil's son."[15]

And en-No'mân answered him in these words—

"Hasten with thy camel-saddle whithersoever thou wilt, so that it be away from me,
but lengthen not speech upon me, and leave thy vain discourse.
I have been told a thing that I shall never forget,
while Egypt lies by the side of Syria and the Nile.
And what boots thy defence of thee against it, now that it has been borne abroad

by the swift riding-camels through the rugged plains of Semwîl?
The thing has been said, be it true or be it a lie,
and what shall excuse thee from a thing that has once been said?
Betake thyself where thou findest the land so broad and wide,
and feast thine eyes thereon in all its breadth and length!" [16]

And it is said that Lebîd also satirized er-Rabî' in the following verses, which some however allege to be spurious—[17]

"O Rabî'—let not any one bring thee before me
And ask me of thy faults and thy true nature
Or enquire what man thou art and what thou wast!
For thou, when the battle-press girds thee round, art like
Naught but a thing which hindrances constrain;
Verily thou sippest naught but a sip and tastest it;
If he that withstands thy flight but feel thee, surely
He will find thee even lighter than himself;
Verily thou art an old traitor, a hypocrite,
A manifest villain that returns to his villainy again and again."

Lebîd used to compose poems, but forbade them to be published until he composed his *Mo'allaqah*; and what had been done by er-Rabî' son of Ziyâd and Ḥamzeh son of Ḍamarah and the other chiefs who formed their company having been mentioned, Lebîd said to his people "Publish now my poems."

I quote from the book handed down by Abu-l-Ḥakem: he says—"I was told by el-'Alâ son of 'Abdallâh el-Muwaqqa' that Lebîd was once present among a company of persons who were telling tales by night in the house of el-Welîd son of 'Oqbeh,[18] who was governor of el-Kûfeh. And el-Welîd asked Lebîd of what passed between him and er-Rabî' son of Ziyâd before en-No'mân. Lebîd replied, 'That befell in the days of the Ignorance: but now God has brought to us el-Islâm.' And el-Welîd said, 'I adjure thee that thou tell me.' And when an Amîr used this form of asking, it was considered necessary to obey him; so Lebîd began to tell the tale. And a certain man of Ghanî[19] who bore a grudge against him said—'We were not informed of this.' 'Doubtless, son of my brother,' said Lebîd, 'thy father could not come by the knowledge of things like this: he was not of those who were admitted to witness them, that he should tell thee of them.'"

My uncle told me that he had been informed by el-Kirânî, who heard it from el-'Omarî, who was told by el-Heythem, who learned it from el-'Ayyâsh, who was told by Moḥammed ibn el-Munteshar, that Lebîd was never heard to boast of his former state after he became a Muslim except one day, when he happened to be in a courtyard belonging to Ghanî. He was lying on his back, having wrapped himself in his mantle, when there

approached him a young man of Ghanî who said—"May God bring evil upon Ṭufeyl for that he said[20]—

'May God requite Ja'far for what they did to us when our sandals
made us of those who tread the earth and slipped so that we fell!
They refused to be weary of us: and verily if our mother
had met from us that which they met, she would have been a-weary!
The lord of abundant wealth and every afflicted one—
in the chambers of their house they were warmed and sheltered:
They said "Hasten in hither, until ye can see your ways
when the darkness is folded away by the dawning of the day."'

Would that I knew what good he met at the hands of the Benû Ja'far, that he should say this of them"! And Lebîd drew aside the mantle from his face and said—"Son of my brother! the men that thou knowest belong to a time when a Police has been established, when men call on one another for help and receive it: when a House of public provision has been set up whence the servant goes forth with a wallet to feed the hungry, and a Public Treasury from which every Muslim receives his stipend; but if thou hadst known Ṭufeyl on the day when he said this, thou wouldst not have reviled him." Then he lay down again on his back, saying, "I ask pardon from God!" and he continued to repeat these words until he arose from rest.

Ismâ'îl ibn Yûnus informed me that he had been told by 'Omar ibn Shebbeh, who heard it from Moḥammed ibn Ḥakîm, who had it from Khâlid ibn Sa'îd, that Lebîd one day in el-Kûfeh passed by a place where a company of the Benû Nahl were sitting: and he was supporting himself by a hooked staff. And they sent a messenger to ask him who was the best poet of the Arabs. He replied—"The Wandering King, the Man of the Ulcers." And the messenger returned and told them, and said "This is Imra' el-Qeys." Then he returned again and asked him "Who next?" He answered "The Boy of the Benû Bekr that was slain." And he came back and told them, and said "This is Ṭarafeh." Then he returned a second time and asked "Who next?" Lebîd answered—"Next after these is the Man of the Hooked Staff," meaning himself. This story is differently told by Aḥmed ibn 'Abdallâh ibn 'Ammâr, who says that it was related to him by Ya'qûb eth-Thaqafî, Ibn 'Ayyâsh, and Mis'ar ibn Kidâm, all of whom heard it from 'Abd-el-Melik ibn 'Omar, who affirmed that he had been told it by the very person who was sent to Lebîd by the men who were called "The noble reciters of the Qur'ân—*el-qurrâ' el-ashrâf*." (El-Heythem says that he asked Ibn 'Ayyâsh who were "the noble reciters of the Qur'ân," and that he replied that they were Suleymân son of Ṣarad el-Khuzâ'î, el-Musayyab son of Nejbeh el-Fezârî, Khâlid son of 'Orfuṭah ez-Zuhrî, Mesrûq son of el-Ajda' el-Hamdânî, and Hâni' son of 'Orweh el-Murâdî.)

Lebîd was then in the mosque, having in his hand a hooked stick; "and I said to him" (says the messenger) "'O Abû 'Aqîl! thy brothers send thee greeting and ask thee to tell them who is the best poet of the Arabs.' He answered—'The Wandering King, the Man of the Ulcers.' And they sent me back to him to ask who was the Man of the Ulcers: he replied 'Imra' el-Qeys.' Then they sent me again to him to ask 'Who next?' He answered 'The Boy of Eighteen[21] Years.' They bade me ask him whom he meant: he replied 'Ṭarafeh.' Then they sent me a third time to ask—'And who then?' he said—'The Man of the Hooked Staff, where he says—

"Verily fear of our Lord is the best of spoils:
—it is by God's leave that I go late or soon;
I give praise to God—He has no like:
in His hand is all good: what He wills He does.
Whom He leads in the paths of good is guided aright
with a quiet heart: whom He wills He leads astray."'

meaning himself: then he said 'I ask pardon of God!'"

Aḥmed ibn 'Abd-el-'Azîz [el-Jauharî] informed me that 'Omar ibn Shebbeh had told him that he had heard from Abû 'Obeydeh that Lebîd composed only one verse after he became a Muslim, namely:—

"Praise be to God that my end came not to me
until I clad myself in the robe of el-Islâm."

The same Aḥmed states that he was told by his uncle, who heard it from Moḥammed ibn 'Abbâd ibn Ḥabîb el-Muhellebî, who was told by Naṣr ibn Da'b, who had it from Dâûd son of Abû Hind, who learned it from esh-Sha'bî, that 'Omar ibn el-Khaṭṭâb wrote to el-Mughîreh son of Sho'beh,[22] who was governor of el-Kûfeh, bidding him cause the poets of his government to recite before him the poems they had composed under el-Islâm. And he sent for el-Aghleb the *Râjiz*, el-'Ijlî, and said to him "Recite to me thy verses." And he answered—

"Dost thou wish for an epigram or an ode?
Verily thy request is easy to satisfy at once!"

Then he sent for Lebîd and bade him recite. And Lebîd said—"Dost thou desire aught of what has been wrapped in forgetfulness?"—meaning his verses of the days of the Ignorance. "No," said el-Mughîreh, "recite to me that which thou hast composed under el-Islâm." And Lebîd left him, and went and wrote out on a sheet of paper the Chapter of the Cow,[23] and returning with it said—"God has given me this in exchange for poesy since I became a Muslim." And el-Mughîreh wrote all this to 'Omar; and the Khalifeh diminished the stipend of el-Aghleb by five hundred pieces of silver, and added them to that of Lebîd, which thus amounted to two thousand five hundred dirhems. And el-Aghleb wrote to the Prince of the Believers, saying—"Dost thou diminish my allowance because I obeyed

thee?" And 'Omar returned to him the five hundred dirhems, but left the stipend of Lebîd at two thousand five hundred. Abû Zeyd relates that Mo'âwiyeh when he became Khalîfeh desired to retrench the odd five hundred from the allowance: for he said—"The two posts" (meaning the two thousands) "are well enough: but what need is there for the cross-piece?" (meaning the five hundred). And Lebîd replied to him—"I am but an owl[24] of to-day or to-morrow: return to me the name of it: for perchance I shall never touch the thing itself, and thou wilt save both the cross-piece and the two posts." And Mo'âwiyeh's heart was touched, and he left him his stipend undiminished; but Lebîd died before he could receive it.

'Omar ibn Shebbeh relates in the traditions which he gathered from 'Abdallâh ibn Mohammed ibn Ḥakîm, and I have been told by Ibrâhîm ibn Ayyûb, who had it from 'Abdallâh ibn Muslim, that Lebîd was one of the most generous of the Arabs; he had sworn in the days of the Ignorance that the East wind should never blow without his giving a feast to the poor. And he had two great bowls which he used to fill with meat morning and evening at the place of prayer of his people, and feed men out of them. And one day the East wind blew when el-Welîd son of 'Oqbeh[25] was governor of el-Kûfeh. And el-Welîd mounted the pulpit and pronounced the *Khuṭbeh* before the people; then he said—"Your brother Lebîd son of Rabî'ah made a vow in the days of the Ignorance that whenever the East wind blew he would feed those in need. Now this is one of the days of its blowing: help him therefore. As for me, I will set you the example." Then he came down from the pulpit, and sent to Lebîd a hundred young she-camels, and wrote to him these verses—[26]

"I see the butcher sharpening his two knives
when the breezes of Abû 'Aqîl are blowing:
High-nosed is he, high-headed, a man of 'Âmir—
long are his arms even as a polished blade.
The son of the Ja'farî fulfilled his oaths,
in spite of infirmities and slender store,
By slaughtering large-humped camels when there swept by
the skirts of the East wind blowing at eventide."

When Lebîd received these verses, he said to his daughter—"Answer him: for by my life! I have lived a long time, and am too weary to reply to a poet." So his daughter composed these lines—[27]

"When there blow the breezes of Abû 'Aqîl
at their blowing we call for help to el-Welîd;
High-nosed is he, keen-hearted, of 'Abd-Shems's line:
he has holpen in his generosity Lebîd
By the gift of camels like hills, as though a company
of the sons of Ham were riding on their backs.

O Abû Wahb, may God requite thee with good!
we have slaughtered them: now give us to eat the *therîd!*
Renew thy gifts! verily the generous man gives again and again,
and my assurance is that thou wilt certainly give again."

And Lebîd said to her—"Thou wouldst have done very well indeed if thou hadst only not asked him to give thee more to eat." She said—"Nay, but kings never count it a shame that men should ask of them." He answered—"Verily, O my little daughter, in this thou art most of all a poet!"

Aḥmed ibn 'Abd-el-'Azîz informed me that he had been told by 'Omar ibn Shebbeh, who heard it from Moḥammed ibn 'Imrân eḍ-Ḍabbî, who was told by el-Qâsim ibn Ya'la, who had it from el-Mufaḍḍal eḍ-Ḍabbî, that el-Farezdaq[28] one day chanced to pass by the mosque of the Benû Uqeyṣir, where there was a man who was reciting some verses of Lebîd's among which was the following—

"The torrents have scored afresh the traces of the tents, as though
they were lines of writing in a book which the pens make new again."

And el-Farezdaq prostrated himself. And they asked him—"What is this, O Abû Firâs?" he answered, "Ye know the prostration which is the due of the Qur'ân, and I know the prostration which is the due of song."

Ismâ'îl ibn Yûnus the Shî'î states that he heard from 'Omar ibn Shebbeh, who had it from Ibn-el-Bawwâb, that the Khalîfeh el-Mo'taṣim[29] one day was sitting at a wine-party, when one of the singers sang—

"The sons of el-'Abbâs know not how to say *no*:
Yes rises lightly to their tongues;
Their mildness adds lustre to their noble strain—
thus is mildness the ornament of generosity."

El-Mo'taṣim said—"I do not know these verses—whose are they?" They said "Lebîd's." "Why," said the Khalifeh, "what had Lebîd to do with the sons of el-'Abbâs?" The singer replied—"What Lebîd said was—

'The sons of er-Rayyân know not how to say *no*.'

It is I that put el-'Abbâs in place of er-Rayyân." And el-Mo'taṣim praised and rewarded him. Then the Khalifeh, who had a great admiration for the poems of Lebîd, said—"Who among you can recite his poem beginning—

'We wither away: but they wane not, the stars that rise on high'?"

And one of those that sat with him said "I." He said "Recite it to me." And he began—[30]

"We wither away: but they wane not, the stars that rise on high,
and the hills endure, and the mighty towers, though we be gone.
I dwelt under the shade of a house that all men sought,
and there has left me in Arbed a neighbour that helped me well."

CALCUTTA

THE MANIPŪRI ALPHABET.

And el-Mo'taṣim burst into a flood of tears, and invoked God's mercy upon el-Mâmûn—"For such a brother," said he, "was he to me." Then he went on, reciting the rest of the poem himself—

"Nay, wail not, if the Days have sundered him from me—
One day the stroke of Time shall fall upon all of us!
The race of men is nought else than a tent-place and its folk—
the day that they leave it void, it returns to its loneliness.
They pass forth from it in bands, and it remains after them
even as an empty palm with the fingers folded thereon.
And what is man but a kindled brand whereof the glow
sinks into ashes when once its blaze has spent itself?
And what is man but hidden thoughts of good intent?
And what is wealth but a loan, a trust to be given back?
Lies there not before me, even though death should be slow to come,
the comradeship of the staff over which my fingers close?
I tell tales of the ages that have long passed away;
I totter along—when I rise, my body is bent in twain;
I am become like a sword that has worn out its sheath—
far away are the days of its forger, but still its point is keen.
'O go not away from us!' Nay—but death is our trysting-place
—ready is it to come—nay, it is even here!
O thou that chidest, what assures thee but thine own dream
—when men have gone their way, who is he that will bring them back?
Dost thou tremble before what Time has brought on the brave?
Where is the generous man on whom Fate's stroke falls not?
By thy life! there knows not any waiter on the pebble's cast,
nor any watcher of the flight of birds, what God is doing!"

He that tells the tale says "We marvelled, by God! at the beauty of the words, the correctness of his recitation, and the excellence of his choice of a piece to recite."

El-Ḥoseyn ibn 'Alî informed me that he had been told by Moḥammed ibn el-Qâsim ibn Mahraweyh and Moḥammed ibn Jerîr eṭ-Ṭabarî, who said that he had learned it from Moḥammed ibn Ḥamîd er-Râzî, who was told by Selameh ibn el-Faḍl, who heard it from Ibn Isḥâq, that 'Othmân ibn Maẓ'ûn[a1] was dwelling under a covenant of protection with el-Welîd ibn el-Mughîreh; and one day, reflecting with himself, he said "By God! it is not becoming that a Muslim should dwell safely under the protection of a *Kâfir*, when the Prophet of God (may God bless him and grant him peace!) is in fear of them." And he came to el-Welîd and said to him—"I desire that thou be free from thy covenant of protection with me." El-Welîd said "Perhaps thou hast conceived some doubt of me." "No," said 'Oth-

mân, "but I wish thee to do as I ask." And el-Welîd said—"Come with me, that I may be quit of thee in the place where I took thee upon myself." And he went with him to the Holy Temple[82]; and when he found himself there face to face with a company of the Qureysh, he said to them—"This is Ibn Maẓ'ûn—I took him under my protection, and now he asks me to withdraw my shelter from him: is it as I say, O 'Othmân?" "Yes," said he. Then said el-Welîd, "I call you to witness that I am quit of him." The teller of the tale goes on to say that there were sitting there a company of the Qureysh to whom Lebîd son of Rabî'ah was reciting his verses; and 'Othmân went and sat down with the people. And Lebîd said—

"Yea, everything is vain except only God alone!"

And 'Othmân said to him—"Thou speakest truth." And Lebîd continued—

"And every pleasant thing must one day vanish away."[83]

And 'Othmân said—"Thou liest!" And the people knew not what he meant; and one of them signed to Lebîd to repeat the verse again, and he did so; and 'Othmân again said that he spoke truth in the first half-verse, and lied in the second: for the delights of Paradise shall never vanish away. And Lebîd cried—"O ye people of the Qureysh! there used to be no such man as this in your assemblies!" And Ubayy son of Khalaf (others say, his son) rose and smote 'Othmân on the face; and some one said to 'Othmân—"But yesternight thou wast safe from treatment like this." He replied—"How needful is it for this sound eye of mine that there should befall it what befell the other for the sake of God!"

Moḥammed ibn Khalaf ibn el-Marzubân told me that he had heard from Aḥmed ibn el-Heythem, who was told by el-'Omarî, who learned it from el-Heythem ibn 'Adî, who had it from 'Abdallâh ibn 'Ayyâsh, that [the Khalifeh] 'Abd-el-Melik wrote to el-Ḥajjâj bidding him send to him esh-Sha'bî;[84] and he sent him. And the Khalifeh attached him to his sons, and bade him educate and instruct them. Ibn 'Ayyâsh continues—"He invited me one day to visit him during the illness of which he died: and he choked with a morsel of food while I was with him. And he rested himself for a long time: then he said—'I have become as the poet says—

"I am as though, now that I have over-passed seventy years,[85]
I had stripped my shoulders bare to meet the stroke of Fate."

But he lived till he reached a hundred and ten, when he said—

"Is there no life left for a man after that he has lived
a hundred years, and after that yet ten years more?"

Still he lived on till he reached a hundred and twenty, when he said—

"Verily I am aweary of life and its length
and of hearing men ask 'How goes Lebîd?'
Men are overborne, but he stands still unconquered
by Time, the new, the everlasting dreary length;

I see the day come upon me and the night,
and each of them after its passing returns again."'

And he was glad and congratulated himself, and said 'I do not think there is any fear for me: already I feel much relieved.' And he bade them give me four thousand dirhems; and I received them and was going out, but had not reached the door when I heard the cry of the wailing woman who proclaimed that he was dead."

El-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî informed me that he had been told by Moḥammed ibn el-Qâsim ibn Mahraweyh, who heard it from Hârûn ibn Muslim, who was told by el-'Omarî, who learned it from el-Heythem ibn 'Adî, who had it from Ḥammâd er-Râwiyeh, that en-Nâbighah eð-Ðubyânî[96] looked upon Lebîd son of Rabî'ah when he was a boy with his uncles at the gate of the palace of en-No'mân son of el-Munðir, and asked who he was; and his genealogy was repeated to him. Then en-Nâbighah said to him—"Boy, thine eyes are assuredly the eyes of a poet! Dost thou ever compose verses?" "Yes, O my uncle," answered Lebîd. "Recite then to me something of thy composition," said en-Nâbighah. And he recited to him his poem beginning—

"Abode she not in Spring in this desolate camping-ground?"

And en-Nâbighah said—"Boy, thou art the best poet of the Benû 'Âmir! More, O my son!" Then Lebîd recited—

"There are traces of Khauleh in er-Rasîs, but of long ago."

And en-Nâbighah smote his sides with his hands and cried—"Go!-thou art the best poet of all Qeys!" (others say he said "of all Hawâzin"). This story was however told me differently by my uncle, who heard it from el-'Omarî, who had it from Laqiṭ, who heard it from his father and from Ḥammâd er-Râwiyeh, who learned it from 'Abdallâh ibn Qatâdeh el-Moḥâribî, who said that he was himself standing with en-Nâbighah at the gate of en-No'mân son of el-Munðir. "En-Nâbighah said to me" (says 'Abdallâh) "'Hast thou seen Lebîd son of Rabî'ah among those here present?' 'Yes', said I. 'Who is the best poet of them?' said he. 'The young man whom thou hast seen do thus and thus,' said I, describing him. Then he said—'Sit by me until he comes forth to us'; so we sat down, and when Lebîd came out to us, en-Nâbighah called to him—'Come hither, son of my brother!' and he came up: and en-Nâbighah bade him recite some of his verses, and he recited—

'Hast thou not drawn nigh to the desolate camping-ground
of Selma in el-Meðâ'ib and el-Qafâl?'

And en-Nâbighah said to him—'Thou art the best poet of the Benû 'Âmir! More!' and he went on—

'There are traces of Khauleh in er-Resîs, but of long ago,
—in Ma'âqil, and el-An'amân, and Shûm.'

And en-Nâbighah cried—'Thou art the best poet of Hawâzin! More still!' and he continued—

'Effaced are her resting places, where she stayed but a while and
where she dwelt long,
in Mina: desolate are her camps in Ghaul and er-Rijâm.'

And en-Nâbighah said—'Go thy ways! thou art the best poet of the Arabs!'"

Aḥmed ibn 'Abd-el-'Azîz told me that he had heard from 'Omar ibn Shebbeh, who was told by 'Abdallah ibn Moḥammed ibn Ḥakîm, who learned it from Khâlid ibn Sa'îd, that Lebîd, when his end was approaching, said to his brother's son (for he had himself no male issue[37])—"O my son! verily thy father is not dead, he has but passed away. When thy father is taken, place his body with its face to the *Qibleh*, and wrap it in its raiment; and raise no loud wailing over it; but see these two bowls of mine wherefrom I used to feed the poor: fill them with meat and carry them to the mosque; and when the *imâm* has pronounced the *selâm*,[38] bring them forward for men to eat therefrom; and when they have eaten, say to them—'Come ye to the funeral of your brother.'" Then he recited his verses—

"When thou buriest thy father, lay
over him wooden planks and clay—
Broad flags of stone, hard, firm-set,
that shall stop the chinks of the branches[39] strewn
Above him, and keep his cheeks unstained
by the dust of earth—But they will not keep them!"

Khâlid ibn Sa'îd says that these verses are taken from a long ode; and Yûnus has mentioned that Ibn Sureyj set to music certain verses of the same poem: but he does not state more particularly the air to which they were set. The following are the verses he gives:[40]—

"O my little son, hast thou seen my uncles,
the sons of the 'Mother of the Sons'?
And my father round whom the wretched ones
flocked in the bitter winter days:
And Abû Shureyk and the alightings
in the place of straitness where we met them?
Never have I seen or heard of
the like of them in all the world!
And I have out-lasted them all, and yearn
clinging to the fellowship I had with them.
Leave me and what my right hand owns,
if therewith I have done aught to strengthen men,
And do with what is thine as it comes into
thy mind, giving help asked or unasked."

Khâlid adds that he said to his two daughters when death was upon him—

"They wish, my two girls, that their father should live for ever:
—Am I aught else than a son of Rabî'ah or Muḍar?
And if it should hap one day that your father come to die,
rend not your cheeks, ye twain, shear not your hair for me!
But say—'He was a man who never wronged an ally,
who never betrayed a friend, or did aught of treachery'
Until the year is done: then the name of peace be on you!
for he who weeps for a year has discharged what is due from him."

And after his death his daughters used to array themselves and go every day to the meeting-place of the Benû Ja'far ibn Kilâb, and mourn there for their father; but they did not weep or wail, even as he had bidden them. And they continued thus for a year, and then went their ways.

In vol. XV of the Aghânî (pp. 137 *sqq.*) the story of the death of Lebîd's uterine brother Arbed (son of Qeys, son of Jez', son of Khâlid, son of Ja'far, son of Kilâb), who was slain by a lightning-stroke, is told at great length. Two different versions of the tale are given, according to the first of which (extracted from the history of Moḥammed ibn Jerîr eṭ-Ṭabarî, and resting on the authority of 'Amr ibn Qatâdeh) the circumstances were the following. A deputation of the Benû 'Âmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, headed by 'Âmir ibn eṭ-Ṭufeyl, Arbed ibn Qeys, and Ḥayyân ibn Sulma, waited upon the Prophet. 'Âmir had arranged with Arbed that he should occupy the attention of Moḥammed by conversation, while Arbed slew him when he was off his guard. This project failed, Arbed excusing himself for not attacking the Prophet by saying that 'Âmir stood between him and Moḥammed, and he could not smite the latter without striking the former. On their return 'Âmir fell sick of a carbuncle on his neck, and died in the tent of a woman of the Benû Salûl. Arbed when he reached his home was asked what had befallen between him and Moḥammed: he replied "He invited us to worship a thing which I should like to see before me now: I would shoot it with this arrow and slay it." And a day or two after this speech he went out with a camel which he intended to sell, and was killed together with his camel by a lightning-stroke.

The other version is extracted from the book of Yaḥya ibn Ḥâzim, and rests on the authority of Ibn Da'b. According to it, Lebîd's uncle 'Âmir ibn Mâlik Abû Bera', being sick of an internal tumour, sent Lebîd with a present of camels to Moḥammed, begging him to pray for his recovery. The Prophet said—"If I accepted anything from a polytheist, I would accept the present of Abû Bera'"; then he spat upon a lump of clay and gave it to Lebîd, bidding him dissolve it in water and give it to 'Âmir to

drink, when he would be healed of his disease. Lebîd on this occasion stayed some time with Moḥammed and heard the Qur'ân, and while there copied out on a sheet of paper these words—"*er-Raḥmânu 'allama-l-Qur'ân*" ["God the Merciful has taught men the Qur'ân"] and carried them home with him. 'Âmir recovered as the Prophet had said; but Arbed, whom Lebîd met on the way home and told of Moḥammed's noble bearing and holiness, and to whom he read the words he had written, impiously replied—"Would that I might meet er-Raḥmân in this waste—my blood be upon me if I smote him not with my sword!" And shortly afterwards, going out in the night to search for his camels, he was struck dead by lightning in the place where he had spoken these words. Of these two stories the first is to be preferred, as most in accordance with the other known facts of Lebîd's life, and with the tenor of the *marthiyehs* or dirges which he uttered over Arbed. Several of these have been preserved; one has already been given: the following few lines are to be found in the *Ḥamâseh*, and the *Aghânî* tells us (p. 140) that they were quoted by the first Khalîfeh Abû Bekr and applied by him to the Prophet—

"By my life! verily if the messenger spoke true,
a grievous stroke has fallen on Ja'far from the hand of Fate!
A brother was he that gave me aught that I asked of him
freely, and pardoned all the wrong that I did to him!"

NOTES TO THE NOTICE OF LEBID.

[1] The second hemistich of this couplet offers some difficulty. De Sacy reads

فراخ لها خطّ الكتيبة اجمع

and renders "tandis que la ligne entière de l'escadron avoit été enfoncée et avoit cédé à leur violence." But the reading of the Bûlâq edition of the Aghânî is distinctly

فراح لها حظ الكتيبة اجمع

and the use of خطّ in the sense of صف is of doubtful authority; while the rendering given above would require the line to begin with وقد. The translation adopted follows the explanation of the phrase راح للشيء given by Lane, and understands the hemistich as meaning that the whole fortune of the war hung on the spear-points which 'Âmir took to himself: he was the *fâris-el-jeysh*—"the knight of the host," a warrior such as 'Antarah draws for us in vv. 64 to 71 of his Mo'allaqah.

[2] Lebîd was thus nearly connected with the king of Hawâzin, Zuheyr son of Jeðîmeh, who was slain by Khâlid son of Ja'far of 'Âmir, Lebîd's great uncle on the father's side; he was (through his mother) first cousin once removed of Qeys son of Zuheyr, the leader of 'Abs in the war of Dâḥis. It should be added that the text of the Aghânî appears to make Zinbâ' a woman, whereas the name is that of a man; we may perhaps understand "one of the daughters of Jeðîmeh" as applying to Tâmireh, and "daughters" as meaning female descendants generally.

[3] *Hâjara.* De Sacy renders "qu'il accompagna ensuite le Prophète dans sa fuite à Médine." This, however, is impossible, for the death of 'Âmir ibn eṭ-Ṭufeyl occurred in A. H. 10.

[4] *Twenty.* De Sacy line reads *tis'in* (ninety) for *'ashrîn* (twenty), which latter reading existed in his MS. as well as in the Bûlâq edition: it does not seem necessary to do violence to the text.

[5] It will not escape notice that this passage does not agree with the genealogy given at the head of the article, inasmuch as it distinguishes between Lebîd's uncle, 'Âmir son of Mâlik, and 'Âmir Abu-l-Bera' or Abû Nizâr, Mulâ'ib-el-Asinneh. This story is told over again (with a different *isnâd* but in almost the same language) at p. 22 of Vol. XVI of the Aghânî; this does not appear to have been observed by De Sacy. The obscure passages in the text before us have in some cases light thrown upon them by variants in the second version.

[6] Zarajûn: the second version gives the name as Sarahûn.

[7] This enmity was doubtless due to the slaying of Zuheyr son of Jeðîmeh by Khâlid son of Ja'far.

[8] In our text the words are بقول محيص مؤلم. In the second version they are بقول ممض. I have translated as if ممض stood in place of محيص.

[9] In our text the words are تدعي الثربة. In the other text they are تدعي الخربة; the latter is the more usual spelling of the name: *vide* Lane *s. v.* ثربة. The plant is variously described, and according to Lane the name is now applied to what is called in Persian خنفج, *i. e.*, *thlaspi*. *Thlaspi*, an insignificant weed of the natural order *Cruciferæ*, the well-known "shepherd's purse," suits the passage well. (De Sacy's MS. appears to have read الثرية, which he renders "de l'espèce qu'on nomme *thériyya*, c'est à dire, humide"; the word meaning *moist* is, however, ثَرٍ, fem. ثَرِيَّة without teshdîd.)

[10] This speech of Lebîd's, which naturally loses its chief flavour in a translation, is in rhyming prose, each rhyme being three times repeated. The speech is given with slight variations, but substantially the same in sense, in the notice of er-Rabî' in Vol. XVI.

[11] "Top-knot", *ðu'âbetahu*: here it is in the singular, and therefore means either the top-knot or forelock: in the other version the word is in the dual, and means the two curls, one on each side of the head, commonly worn by boys.

[12] *Hulleh* is the name of a dress consisting of three garments, a shirt, an *izâr* or waist wrapper, and a *ridâ* or wrapper for the whole body.

[13] This address is in the *Rejez* metre: each line rhymes with all the rest. In line 3 "The Mother of the Four sons" is the wife of Mâlik ibn Ja'far: she had really five sons, *viz.*, 'Âmir, Ṭufeyl, Rabî'ah, 'Abîdeh and Mo'âwiyeh. Ibn Qutcybeh thinks (Ma'ârif, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 43) that the poet has put four instead of five merely for the sake of the rhyme: it may be, however, because four only were famous among the five. *Umm-el-benîn* "Mother of the Sons" was an honoured title which was borne by many Arab mothers; er-Rabî''s own mother Fâṭimeh was known by it: her sons were called *el-kemeleh*, "the perfect." The last four lines of the piece cannot be decently rendered into English, but they will be found in De Sacy's French. Lebîd charges er-Rabî' with being afflicted by the white leprosy called *baraṣ*, and puts the charge in a manner calculated to cause extreme disgust in the King. In the notice of er-Rabî' in Vol. XVI, the piece has two more lines, making fourteen in all, beside other minor variations.

[14] "Wrote." That er-Rabî' knew how to write is proved by the fact that he, with all the other sons of Fâṭimeh daughter of el-Khurshub, was called *Kâmil*, "perfect," which in the days of the Ignorance meant "a man who was a poet, valiant,

able to write, a skilful swimmer and a good shot with the bow." (Quoted from the Kitâb el-Aghânî by Causs. de Perceval, Journal Asiat. Dec. 1836, p. 533.)

15 These verses present many points of difficulty: they occur again in Vol. XVI, pp. 23, 24, and the readings there given differ in some particulars from those given here. In line 1, De Sacy reads, for the reading of his MS. and the Bûlâq edn., لأُلي سعة, but this will not scan, while the reading of the text seems to be nonsense. I have preferred the reading of Vol. XVI, p. 23, *viz.*, أنَّ لي سعة. In line 3 Lakhm is the family name of the kings of el-Ḥîreh. "Come down" *i. e.* to water—*waradet*: Vol. XVI, p. 24 reads *wuzinet* "were weighed." In line 4 there seems to be a play on the word *rish*, which means both wealth and feathers. *Semwîl* is here given with *sin*: in Vol. XVI, it appears as *Shemwîl* with *shin*. In both places the Bûlâq ed. reads *rishi* Semwîlâ; but De Sacy gives *ibni* Shemwîlâ, and translates "fils de Samuel," *i. e.* the famous es-Semau'al of el-Ablaq in Teymâ. It is true that in the reply of en-No'mân, as given in Vol. XIV, line 6 speaks of *ibni Semwîlâ*: but in Vol. XVI, the reading is *abrâqa Shemlîlâ*. I find in the *Marâsid* a place *Semwîl*, of which all that is said is that it is "a place abounding in birds." This seems to suit the passage best; at any rate the change of السَّمَوْأَل es-Semau'al to Shemwîl شَمْوِيلُ requires strong support before it can be accepted.

In line 7, De Sacy's الوذائم should be changed to الروائم; his conjectured reading احوار البقول for the meaningless حراز البقول is supported by the version of Vol. XVI, and has been adopted. In v. 8 a word occurs which is found in no dictionary, *viz.*, عسويلا (Agh. Vol. XIV,) or غسويلا (id. Vol. XVI,) or غشويلا (De Sacy). De Sacy renders لامثل رعيكم ملحا و غشويلا "elles ne sont pas, comme chez vous, réduites à manger des herbes saumâtres ou *nitreuses*." But *salt* pastures are just those which camels like: and it seems possible that عسويل may be connected with عسل honey.

16 These verses, like those of er-Rabî' just quoted, shew variations in the different versions. The second couplet as I have rendered it runs

فقد ذكرت بشي لست ناسئه ما جاورت مصر اهل الشام و النيلا

(The Bulaq ed. reads جاوزت apparently only by a misprint. De Sacy prefers to make اهل الشام the nom. to جاورت, and مصر and النيلا the accusative after it, and this rendering has much to recommend it). But in Vol. XVI the verse appears thus

فقد ذكرت به والركب حامله وردا يعلل اهل الشام و النيلا

to the second hemistich of which it is difficult to assign a meaning.

The third couplet runs in our text thus—

فما انقاوك منه بعد ما جزعت هوج المطي به نحو ابن سمويلا

In Vol. XVI, it runs

فما انقاوى منه بعد ما خرعت هوج المطي به ابراق شمليلا

Now if we take *Semwîl* as the name of a place, ابن سمويلا is obviously inappropriate. I have therefore adopted, in lieu of نحو ابن, ابراق from the other version. *Abrâq* is not given in Lane: but it seems a permissible plural from برق plural of برقة, a rugged and gravelly plain. جزعت, in the sense of traversing and passing through (Zuheyr, Mo'all. 15), also suits *abrâq* in this meaning best. (Of the reading of Vol.

XVI generally it may be said that خرعت appears to make nonsense, and that while شمليل is a word meaning "light and active" applied to a camel, it does not seem appropriate here).

[17] These verses have not been rendered by De Sacy, and we should be glad to know that they were really spurious and not by Lebîd. Verses 4 and 5 accuse er-Rabî' of cowardice, and say that in the press of battle he is like a thing held there by force, and would be glad to escape if he could. In verse 6 he is charged with merely sipping a sip and tasting of the fight حاس حسوةً و ذائق. In verses 7 and 8 the meaning is that if the man who stands next to er-Rabî' in the press and takes him for a bulwark (who to do so must needs be a coward himself) feels him, as one feels a sheep to see if it is fat (غمز), he will find that he is lighter and leaner, *i. e.* more cowardly and chicken-hearted than himself. In the last line is a word, مطابق, which is explained in the commentary on the authority of el-Aṣma'î as meaning the action of a beast whose legs are hobbled or shackled, or one walking among thorns: he sets down his forelegs, then he raises them and in the place where they had been puts his hind legs. So here the sense is that er-Rabî' having committed a villainy, returns to the same again.

[18] El-Welîd son of 'Oqbeh. His grandfather was Abû Mo'eyṭ son of Abû 'Amr son of Umayyeh son of 'Abd Shems; he became a Muslim at the conquest of Mekkeh (A. H. 8), and was sent by the Prophet to collect the *Ṣadaqah* or poor-rate from the Benu-l-Muṣṭalaq; having returned with a false report that they had refused to pay it to him, the Prophet ordered arms to be taken up against them: whereupon there was sent down from God this warning verse (Qur. xlix. 6) "O ye that have believed! verily there has come to you a wicked man with news: act therefore with deliberation." 'Omar appointed el-Welîd to be collector of the *Ṣadaqah* from the tribe of Teghlib, and 'Othmân made him governor of el-Kûfeh in succession to Sa'd son of Abû Waqqâṣ. One day he was leading the prayers in the great mosque of el-Kûfeh, and being drunk, after he had finished turned to the people and said "Shall I give you any more?" This greatly scandalized them, and they reported to 'Othmân his drunken habits. The Khalîfeh thereupon removed him from his post and inflicted upon him the legal punishment (*ḥadd*) for drunkenness, *viz.*, eighty stripes. After this he remained in el-Medînah until 'Alî was proclaimed Khalîfeh, when he withdrew to er-Raqqah, a town on the upper Euphrates, where he lived till his death, taking part with neither side in the contest between 'Alî and Mo'âwiyeh. El-Welîd was the uterine brother of the Khalîfeh 'Othmân. (Ibn Quteybeh, Ma'ârif, pp. 162-3).

[19] Ghanî: the tribe of 'Âmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah to which Lebîd belonged descended (as will be seen from the genealogy with which the notice begins) from Qeys son of 'Eylân through his son Khaṣafeh. Ghanî was the offspring of another son of Qeys (or, as others say, his grandson), A'ṣur. The tribe of Ghanî was bound by the ties of mutual protection (*jiwâr*) to 'Âmir, and a man of Ghanî having slain Sha's son of Zuheyr the king of Hawâzin, Khâlid, Lebîd's great uncle (see above, note[2]) offered to bear the bloodwit: on Zuheyr refusing to accept anything but the destruction of the offending tribe, Khâlid slew him; and this produced an enmity between 'Âmir and 'Abs which was not appeased till many years after on the outbreak of the war of Dâḥis.

[20] In rendering this poem I have ventured, with great diffidence, to take it in a sense exactly opposite to that adopted by De Sacy. He imagines that the words of Tufeyl are directed *against* Ja'far: and he renders the word in line 3 which I translate "to be weary of us," يملونا, "venir à notre secours," observing however in a note that he would have preferred to read يمدونا. This other reading would, however,

be impossible with لملت at the end of the verse; and ملة means "he contracted a loathing of him, he became tired of his society": never, as assumed, "he grieved for him, shewed him sympathy." In the next two verses De Sacy takes the subject to be Ṭufeyl's mother, while it appears to me to be the tribe of Ja'far. Now it is to be remembered that the story is told as a case of Lebîd's *boasting* of his former state after he had become a Muslim. Ja'far was Lebîd's own family: it is therefore improbable that the verses should be to the discredit of Ja'far; and the whole tenor of the tale and its sequel shews that Ṭufeyl must be praising Ja'far for some good deeds done him which seemed to the young man of Ghanî, who was accustomed to the orderly administration and public charity which existed under el-Islâm, to be a very trifling thing. It appears to me conclusive that, after reciting the verses, the Ghanawî says ليت شعري الذي رأي من بني جعفر حيث يقول هذا فيهم. Had the tale been *against* the house of Ja'far, the phrase would have run حيث يقول هذا عليهم. At the same time I should add that it is not impossible that lines 5 to 8 may refer to Ṭufeyl's mother; a collective family name like Ja'far is frequently construed with a feminine singular: but just before, by a *constructio ad sensum*, it has been construed with a masculine plural, يلقون; it may seem unlikely that from the natural *constructio ad sensum* the phrase should revert to the grammatical regimen of the feminine singular, though instances are not wanting. If this be so, then, taking lines 5 to 8 as praise of Ṭufeyl's mother, reading in line 6 *her* for *their*, and in line 7 *she* for *they*, the result of the passage will be that while the hospitality of Ṭufeyl's mother is related, that of the Ja'farîs is declared to be still more excellent.

[21] "Eighteen years." Ṭarafeh is said to have been six and twenty when he was killed: this earlier age may perhaps refer to the time when he attained distinction as a poet.

[22] El-Mughîreh son of Sho'beh: he was of the tribe of Thaqîf, and nephew of the martyr 'Orweh ibn Mes'ûd; he was a distinguished warrior, and was present at the battles of el-Yemâmeh (when Museylimeh "the Liar" was slain), el-Yarmûk (in A. H. 13, when he lost an eye), el-Qâdisiyyeh (A. H. 15), Meysân, and Nuhâwend (where he led the right wing), besides many others. According to Ibn Quteybeh (Ma'ârif, p. 150) he was made governor of *el-Baṣrah*, not el-Kûfeh, by 'Omar; and Ibn Khallikân (De Slane's translation, Vol. IV, pp. 255-258) tells a tale, equally discreditable to 'Omar and el-Mughîreh, of the manner in which the former screened the latter from the punishment due to him on account of a true charge of adultery brought against him during his rule at el-Baṣrah. It seems therefore doubtful whether this anecdote, which makes him governor of el-Kûfeh during 'Omar's reign, can be genuine. I find however that in the index to Freytag's edition of el-Meydânî's proverbs he is said to have been made governor of el-Kûfeh first by 'Omar and afterwards by Mo'âwiyeh; of the latter fact there is no doubt; he died at el-Kûfeh in A. H. 50 of the plague. Ibn Quteybeh mentions (Ma'ârif, p. 276) that he was the first Muslim who took bribes. This story is twice told in the *Aghânî*: it recurs in Vol. XVIII, p. 164, in the notice of el-Aghleb. This poet, who belonged to the tribe of 'Ijl, a sub-tribe of Bekr ibn Wâ'il, was called "the *Râjiz*," or reciter of verses in the *rejez* metre, because he was the first who used that metre for *qaṣîdehs*, or long odes; "before his time" (says Ibn Ḥabîb, quoted by el-Isfahânî) "the Arabs used the *rejez* only in war, in driving camels, in boasting one against another, and on other like occasions, and each poem consisted only of a few couplets. El-Aghleb was the first who used it for a qaṣîdeh, and after him other men followed in the way he had shewn them." El-Aghleb, like Lebîd, was very old when

he professed el-Islâm; he left his tribe and settled in el-Kûfeh with Sa'd son of Abû Waqqâṣ, and was present at the battle of Nuhâwend (A. H. 21), where he was among the slain.

[23] The second, or, if we omit the Fâtiḥah from our reckoning, the first *Sûrah* of the Qur'ân.

[24] إنا هامة اليوم او غد : That is "I shall be but a *ghost* (hâmeh) to-day or to-morrow." It is remarkable that this speech, savouring of the superstitions of the Ignorance, when men spoke of the spirits of dead men as *owls*, should be put into the mouth of so pious a Muslim as Lebîd, especially after the Prophet had specifically denied the existence of the *hâmeh* as of other things regarded with superstitious awe. (See Mes'ûdî, Murûj-eð-ðahab, Vol. III, p. 311). But it will be seen from a discussion elsewhere that this particular superstition (or at least language having reference to it) was by no means eradicated by el-Islâm, and that *hâmeh* was used generally to indicate a dead person even by Muslims.

These words ("I am but an owl of to-day or to-morrow") are given as a proverb in el-Meydânî (Freytag's edn., Vol. II, p. 885) and a history added which connects them with Lebîd's own tribe of 'Âmir. Shuṭeyr ibn Khâlid ibn Nufeyl was taken prisoner by Ḍirâr son of 'Amr of Ḍabbeh, who said to him—"Choose one of three things: first, restore to me my son el-Ḥoṣeyn, whom thy son 'Otbeh has slain." "I cannot raise up the dead to life," said Shuṭeyr. "Then give up to me thine own son to be slain in his place," said Ḍirâr. "Nay," replied Shuṭeyr, "the Benû 'Âmir would never agree to surrender a knight valiant in battle for a one-eyed dotard *who is but an owl of to-day or to-morrow*." "Then thou must die," said Ḍirâr, and bade his son slay him.

[25] For el-Welîd see note (18).

[26] These verses are sufficiently clear. De Sacy supposes that Abû 'Aqîl is the name of a tribe in el-'Irâq which dwelt eastward of el-Kûfeh, so that the breeze that blew from thence would be the East wind: but Abû 'Aqîl is the *Kunyeh* or by-name of Lebîd, as will have been noticed from a previous passage in this account of him. "High-nosed" اشم الانف, having the quality called شمم in the nose: that is, straightness with length and height: it is used to describe a magnanimous man who holds his head high. "Highheaded" اصيد: this word is properly applied to a camel who, by reason of the disease called صيد, is obliged to hold his head up in the air without turning it to right or left: hence it is applied in both a good and a bad sense to a proud and noble man who holds his head high. "Long-armed" طويل الباع,-*i. e.* generous. In the last line De Sacy reads تجاوب, while the Bûlâq ed. has تجاذب; the former would mean the East wind's moaning or whistling: the latter the sweeping in different directions of its skirts as it blew.

[27] The Arabic word for "of 'Abd-Shems's line," *viz.* عبشمي, deserves notice as a curious contracted nominal adjective. In lines 5 and 6 the idea is that the camels, which are black—the most precious kind of all (see 'Antarah, Mo'all. 12)—have humps so large (the hump being the most esteemed part of a camel as food—Ṭarafeh, Mo'all. 93) that they look as if a company of negroes were riding on their backs. Abû Wahb was el-Welîd's *Kunyeh* or by-name. *Therîd* is a mess of bread crumbled into broth—a much appreciated dish in the simple cookery of the Arabs.

[28] El-Farezdaq, with el-Akhṭal and Jerîr, made up the famous triumvirate of most excellent poets of the third order, the Islâmîs or those who had seen nothing of the days of the Ignorance.

[29] El-Mo'taṣim reigned from A. D. 833 to 842: he succeeded his brother el-Mâmûn, whose reign extended from 813 to 833 A. D.

[30] This most touching and admirable poem has been rendered by Rückert in his translation of the Ḥamâseh (Vol. I, p. 387). In line 2 "mighty towers" is مصانع, plural of مصنعة, which has several meanings: "fortresses" is the one which seems to suit the passage best. Line 13 Rückert thinks probably spurious, the insertion of an after-age. He renders it—

Der Mensch, was ist er anders als was er Frommes denkt?
und was sein Gut, als etwas auf Widerruf geschenkt?

De Sacy understands it as of the fleeting of life—"l'homme ressemble aux bonnes résolutions que suggère la piété." The latter is the preferable sense, though it certainly has a modern tone which is strange to old Arab poetry. Rückert also rejects, as a commonplace interpolation, lines 25 and 26: and certainly 23, 24 and 27, 28 seem to be consecutive in thought. In lines 17, 18 we have proof of Lebîd's already great age when Arbed died, before he became a Muslim; line 18 might be more literally rendered "I am as though, as often as I stand, I were stooping;" *râki'* is the posture assumed in prayer when the body is bent at right angles. In line 21 "O go not away from us," فلا تبعدن, is a phrase of frequent recurrence in dirges, and seems to have been used by the wailers at burials in the same way as (but with an exactly opposite sense) the Latin *ilicet*. At the end of the same line I have followed De Sacy and Rückert in taking موعد as meaning "a trysting place" ("un inévitable rendezvous," "unsre Frist der Einigung"): but it may also be rendered (as though pointed مُوعِد) "threatening, imminent." I prefer, however, the rendering adopted, as more suitable to the train of thought suggested by فلا تبعدن. Lines 23 and 24 shew that Lebîd was still a pagan and a disbeliever in the Resurrection when he uttered the verses. Lines 27 and 28 are quoted and explained by Lane *s. v.* طارق. The "waiter on the pebble's cast" بالحصى الطارقة (or الضاربة) is the woman who endeavours to obtain an augury by the cast and fall of stones (Rückert "Sandwurfweissagerin"), while the "watcher of the flight of birds," زاجرة الطير, is an auguress of the Roman sort (Rückert "Vogelflugausleger"). It would seem that these allusions to divining and the vanity of it are indirect attacks on Moḥammed.

[31] This history relates to the earliest days of el-Islâm, before the first Flight, that to Abyssinia in A. D. 615. 'Othmân son of Maẓ'ûn was one of the four converts who embraced the new faith together with 'Abd-er-Raḥmân son of 'Auf (Muir, Life of Mahomet, II, 106): he was a man of an ascetic temper, and his austerities caused the utterance by Moḥammed of the precept—"There is no monkery in el-Islâm." He led the emigration to the Christian Court of the Nejâshî (id. II. 133). El-Welîd ibn el-Mughîreh was an aged chief of the Qureysh (id. II, 32, 80, 128, &c.) who led in the rebuilding of the Ka'beh after its destruction by a flood in or about A. D. 605. He is believed to be the gainsayer who is cursed in the 74th *Sûrah* of the Qur'ân; he was one of the most violent of the Prophet's opponents, and a witness of his temporary apostacy, when he praised Lât, 'Ozza, and Menât.

[32] "The Holy Temple" el-Mesjid-el-Ḥarâm, *i. e.* the Ka'beh.

[33] The rest of this poem is given in the preamble to Lebîd's Mo'allaqah in the edition of the Mo'allaqât with Persian notes by Rashîdu-n-Nabî of Hûglî. It runs—

"Yea—everything is vain except only God alone,
and every pleasant thing must one day vanish away!
And all the race of men—there shall surely come among them
a Fearful Woe whereby their fingers shall grow pale:

And every mother's son, though his life be lengthened out
to the utmost bound, comes home at last to the Grave:
And every man shall know one day his labour's worth
when his loss or gain is cast up on the Judgment-Day."

These verses have, however, a suspicious islamic tone, and their genuineness seems very doubtful. The "bleaching of the fingers" اصفرار الانامل in v. 4 is death.

[84] Esh-Sha'bî. His name was 'Âmir ibn Sharâḥîl ibn 'Abd-esh-Sha'bî; he belonged to the Ḥimyerite race, and was born in the 6th year of 'Othmân's Khalifate; he was a *Kâtib* (secretary or scribe) to successive governors of el-Kûfeh. According to el-Wâqidî he died in 105 A. H. at the age of 77: others say 104 A. H. This anecdote therefore gives an authority for the attribution to Lebîd of the verses referring to his great age which extends to a period only about 60 years after the poet's death. (Ibn Qutcybeh, Ma'ârif, p. 229).

[85] "Seventy." As the verses were given before, they were uttered when Lebîd's age was ninety.

[86] En-Nâbighah of Đubyân was one of the foremost poets of the Ignorance: much of his verse is still extant, and has been printed in Ahlwardt's "Dîwâns of the six Ancient Arabic poets."

[87] According to Ibn Qutcybeh Lebîd had sons: but when he became a townsman and settled in el-Kûfeh, they returned to their desert life and left him (Ma'ârif, p. 169).

[88] The *Selâm* is uttered at the end of the prayers by the *imâm* and his fellow worshippers; if the worshipper be alone, it is addressed to the angels: if he be praying with others, it is addressed to men and angels together.

[89] "Branches": غصون: so in the Bûlâq edition. De Sacy reads غضون, the folds or wrinkles of the body, and understands that these are flattened out by the heavy flags laid over them: but this is not in accordance with the method of burial in use among the Arabs.

[90] These verses are not rendered by De Sacy. "The Mother of the Sons" has been explained before in note (13). The second couplet accords with the renown of Rabî'ah as the "Rabî'at-el-Mo'tarrin" of which we are told at the beginning of the Notice. Who the Abû Shureyk mentioned in the third couplet is I do not know, nor the event (apparently some famous encounter) to which it refers: perhaps it is the great "Day of the Defile of Jebeleh." Both this poem and that which follows it must be understood as belonging to the days of the Ignorance, before Lebîd (already aged) ceased to compose verse.

The Mo'allaqah of Lebid.

ARGUMENT.

In verses 1 to 11 the Poet describes the deserted abode of his Beloved, where in the Spring her tribe and his had pastured their flocks together; verses 12 to 15 tell of her departure thence for distant fields, named in vv. 17—19. Then the Poet sets forth his view of friendship and the duties of friends when their love cools (vv. 20—21); mentioning his camel as the means of cutting short an acquaintance which has become a burthen, he first describes her hardy frame; then (v. 24) he likens her in her eagerness to start on her way to a cloud heavy with rain, the out-lying portions of which, having emptied themselves of their watery burthen, have hurried away on the moist wings of the South wind. Then follow two other comparisons: the first of the camel to a wild she-ass, driven far away into the wilds by her jealous mate; how these two lived together is told at length (vv. 25—35). The second compares her to a wild cow

whose calf has been killed and torn by wolves, and who wanders restlessly by the outskirts of the pastures away from the herd in search of it; at the end of her wanderings, when she is beginning to be comforted for her loss, she is beset by hunters and dogs, but escapes the former and beats off the latter (vv. 36—52). Then he turns again to his Lady, and tells her more of his mood. He describes to her the revels which she knows not of (vv. 57—61): his open-handedness (v. 62) in clothing the naked and feeding the hungry: his valour in defence of his tribe (v. 63), which gives him again occasion to tell of his good mare (vv. 66—69): his high place in the Courts of Kings, where he is chosen as arbiter between contending poets (v. 70): his liberal hospitality, when he provides for his friends fat camels as the prize of the arrow-gambling (vv. 73—75); and his charity to the poor and friendless, whom he satisfies with food (vv. 76—77). Then he passes from himself to his tribe, and vaunts their nobleness of heart and the valour and steadfastness of their young men and their greybeards (vv. 78—89).

1 Effaced are her resting-places—where she stayed but a while and where [she dwelt long
in Mina: desolate are her camps in Ghaul and er-Rijâm,
2 And by the torrents of er-Rayyân: the traces thereof are laid bare
and old and worn, as the rocks still keep their graving:
3 Tent-traces over which have passed, since the time that one dwelt there,
long years, with their rolling months of war and peace.
4 The showers of the signs of Spring have fallen on them, and there have [swept
over them the rains of the thundering clouds, torrents and drizzle [both—
5 The clouds that came by night, those of the morning that hid the sky,
and the clouds of even-tide, with their antiphons of thunder;
6 There have sprung up over them the shoots of the rocket, and in the [sides
of the valley the deer and the ostriches rear their young;
7 The large-eyed wild kine lie down there by their young ones
just born, and their calves roam in herds over the plain.
8 The torrents have scored afresh the traces of the tents, as though
they were lines of writing in a book which the pens make new [again,
9 Or the tracery which a woman draws afresh as she sprinkles the blue
over the rings, and the lines shine forth anew thereon.
10 And I stood there asking them for tidings—and wherefore did I ask
aught of deaf stones that have no voice to answer?
11 Bare was the place where the whole tribe had rested: they passed [away
therefrom at dawn, leaving behind them the tent-trenches and the [thatch.

12 The camel-litters of the tribe stirred thy longing, what time they [moved away
and crept into the litters hung with cotton, as the wooden frame- [work creaked
13 —The litters hung all round, over their frame of wood,
with hangings, thin veils and pictured curtains of wool.
14 They began their journey in bands, wide-eyed as the wild cows of [Tûḍiḥ,
or deer of Wejrah as they watch their fawns lying around.
15 They were started on their way, and the sun-mist fell off them, as [though
they were low rocky ridges of Bîsheh, its tamarisks and its boulders.
16 Nay—why dost thou dwell on the thought of Nawâr? for she is gone,
and severed is all that bound her to thee, whether strong or weak.
17 Of Murrah was she: she halted in Feyd, then she travelled on
to those of el-Ḥijâz. How then canst thou reach to her
18 On the Eastward slopes of Aja' and Selma, or in Moḥajjar
where Fardeh and er-Rukhâm cut her off from thy coming?
19 Or it may be she went to el-Yemen, and then her abode
should be in Wiḥâf el-Qahr, or Ṭilkhâm, in Ṣuwâ'iq.
20 Cut short then thy longing for one whose converse is changed to thee:
and verily the best in affection is he who knows how to cut its [bonds.
21 Give freely thy best love to him who loves thee—there remains to [thee
the power to flee him when his love limps and its straightness [bends to a fall:
22 To flee on a camel spent with journeyings, which have left of her
yet something, her back and hump both thin and spare.
23 When her flesh has fallen away, and her flanks grown spare and lean,
and the strap which ties her shoe to her pastern is cut to pieces with [use,
24 Then she bends joyfully to the rein, eager to start, as though
she were a dusky red cloud whose cloudlets drained of rain have [sped away on the South wind:
25 Or a wild she-ass great with young, mated to a white-bellied male [whose sides
bear the marks of his fights with the stallion-asses, their blows [and their bites.
26 He takes his way with her to the uplands among the hills, his sides [all scarred,
with jealousy in his heart roused by her rebellion and her desire.

27 To the downs of eth-Thelebût, where he scans from the heights thereof
the wilderness of rolling uplands, in dread lest the guidestones
[should hide a foe.

28 Until, when they come to the end of the six months of Winter,
they feast their fill on the dewy herbage: and long had they suffered
[thirst.

29 They resolve to turn again, and seek with a steady purpose
the water-springs: and the way to gain one's end is to set the
[heart firm!

30 Their pasterns were pricked by the awns of the barley-grass, and there
[swept
over them the hot blasts of Summer in their swiftness and their
[heat.

31 And they raised as they galloped along a train of dust whose shadows
[fleeted
like the smoke of a blazing fire with its wood wrapped in ruddy flame

32 Fanned by the North wind, its dry sticks mixed with moist stems of
['*arfaj*,
with its volumes of rolling smoke that rise over the tongues of
[flame.

33 He sped along thrusting her before him—a custom it was of his,
when she lingered behind, to thrust her on in front—

34. And they plunged together by the bank of the rivulet into a pool
brimming, set close with reeds, and splashed about its waters—

35 A pool set round with reeds that screened it from the sun
those of them that lay in a tangle on its face and those that stood
[upright.

36 Is she like my camel—or shall I compare her to a wild cow who has
[lost her calf,
who lingers behind the herd, its leader and its stay?

37 Flat-nosed is she—she has lost her calf, and ceases not
to roam about the marge of the sand-meadows and cry

38 For her youngling just weaned, white, whose limbs have been torn
by the ash-grey hunting wolves who lack not for food.

39 They came upon it while she knew not, and dealt her a deadly woe
—Verily Death, when it shoots, its arrow misses not the mark!

40 The night came upon her, as the dripping rain of the steady shower
[poured on
and its continuous fall soaked the leafage through and through:

41 She took refuge in the hollow trunk of a tree with lofty branches
[standing apart
on the skirts of the sandhills, where the fine sand sloped her way.

42 The steady rain poured down, and the flood reached the ridge of her [back
in a night when thick darkness hid away all the stars;

43 And she shone in the face of the mirk with a white glimmering light
like a pearl born in a sea-shell that has dropped from its string.

44 Until, when the darkness was folded away and morning dawned,
she stood, her legs slipping in the muddy earth.

45 She wandered distracted about all the pools of Ṣo'âid
for seven nights twinned with seven whole long days,

46 Until she lost all hope, and her full udders shrunk
—the udders that had not failed in all the days of her suckling [and weaning.

47 Then she heard the sound of men, and it filled her heart with fear
—of men from a hidden place: and men, she knew, were her [bane.

48 She rushed blindly along, now thinking the chase before
and now behind her: each was a place of dread.

49 Until, when the archers lost hope, they let loose on her
trained hounds with hanging ears, each with a stiff leather collar [on its neck;

50 They beset her, and she turned to meet them with her horns
like to spears of Semhar in their sharpness and their length

51 To thrust them away: for she knew well, if she drove them not off,
that the fated day of her death among the fates of beasts had [come.

52 And among them Kesâb was thrust through and slain, and rolled in [blood
lay there, and Sukhâm was left in the place where he made his [onset.

53 On such a camel, when the glistening sands dance in the hot noon,
and the skirts of the mirage clothe their rolling hills,

54 Will I accomplish my desire—I shall not be turned away from it by [blame,
nor by all the reviling that men may care to heap on me.

55 And did not Nawâr then know that I am one
who knits where he pleases the knot of love and cuts it where he [wills,

56 Wont to leave when it likes me the places that I care not for
till the fated doom of Death shall lay hold of a certain soul?

57 Nay, verily thou knowest not how many a night
cool and mild, good for delight and revelry,

58 I have passed as we told tales together: and many a vintner's flag
have I come to when it had been taken down and his wine grown
[scarce and dear.

59 I buy the costly wine in the old and blackened skin
or the pitch-anointed jar, when its seal is broken and its wine ladled
[out.

60 Many the clear draught I have drunk in the morn, and many the sing-
[ing-girl
to whom I have listened as she strained the strings on the lute
[which her thumb adjusts.

61 I have risen to drink of the wine before the cock crowed at dawn
that I might drink deep of it again when the sleepers awoke from
[sleep.

62 And many the morning of wind and cold whose chill I have shut out
when its reins were held in the hand of the bitter North.

63 And I too have shielded the Tribe from harm when there bore my wea-
[pons
a swift mare, my girdle its reins as I went forth at dawn:

64 I mounted the watching-mound on the top of a dusty hill
narrow in standing-place, whose dust blew towards the standards
[of the foe:

65 Until, when the Sun put forth his hand and laid hold of night
and the darkness covered all the terrors of our line of fear,

66 I came down, and my mare reared up like a lofty trunk of palm
bare of branches, which the climber can never hope to climb;

67 I pushed her along as the ostrich flees, and swifter than that,
until, when she became hot with the race and her bones light,

68 The light saddle loosened upon her, and her breast streamed with
[sweat,
and her girth was soaked through and through with the foam
[that covered her.

69 She rises in the air, and strives against the rein, and inclines sideways
like the circling down of a dove when a flight of them flies to drink.

70 And many the Court of Kings thronged by strangers who know not one
[another,
whose gifts are hoped for by men and their chiding feared,

71 Where thick-necked men stood, like lions, threatening one another in
[their hate
as though they were fiends of the Desert with their feet firm
[set in strife—

72 I have denied what was vain in their claims, and dealt out to each his due
as I judged right: and their noblest was not nobler than I.

73 And many the camel, prize of the gamers, to whose slaying I have called
my fellows with the gaming arrows, all alike in length :

74 I call them to the slaying of a barren she-camel, or one with young,
and her flesh has been given freely to all my neighbours ;

75 And the guest and the stranger from afar were in my tent
as though they had come down into Tebâleh with its meadows of
[rich grass.

76 There sought refuge by my tent-ropes every wretched one
clad in scanty rags and wasted like the camel by her master's
[grave.

77 And they fill brimful with meat, when the winds are blowing shrill,
great bowls of broth, to which their fatherless ones come to drink.

78 Verily we of ' Âmir, when the Tribes are met together,
there wants not of us a Chief to lead in the doing of a noble deed,

79 Or a Divider to portion out to the Tribe its due,
or a Prince to give less or more as he deems right and good

80 In his headship : or a generous man who helps men with his bounty
free-handed, a gainer of all good gifts and one who takes them by
[force.

81 For he comes of a Stock to whom their Fathers laid down the way
—and every people has its own way and its leader therein.

82 If there comes an alarm, thou shalt find among them the helmets of
[mail,
and the hawberks of woven mail the rings of which shine like stars :

83 They will not be craven, nor shall their deeds fall without fruit,
for their hearts are firm and waver not with vain desire.

84 Be content with that which the King has allotted to thee as a portion :
for verily One who knows has portioned out the tempers of men.

85 And when faithfulness was dealt out among the Tribes of men,
the Dealer gave to us a full and abundant share ;

86 And He built for us a house of glory with lofty roof
and our greybeards and our young men have risen to the height
[thereof.

87 They are the Leaders in work when mishap befalls the Tribe,
and they are its good Knights and they are its Lawgivers ;

88 And they are a fair Spring-tide to him who seeks their shelter,
and to the widows, when their year of widowhood lengthens out ;

89 And they are the men to see that no Tribesman holds back in malice,
and that no vile betrayer goes over to the foe.

NOTES.

Verse 1. "Mina." There are two places of this name mentioned in the Marâṣid-el-Iṭṭilâ': the first the well-known valley close by Mekkeh, the second a place in Dariyyeh, a province of Nejd, on the route which passes through that country from Mekkeh to el-Baṣrah; the latter is meant here. Ghaul and er-Rijâm (that the latter should have the article is proved by a verse of Aus ibn Ḥajr cited by ez-Zauzenî) are the names of two mountains in the same neighbourhood.

v. 2. "er-Rayyân:" this is here the name of a mountain in Dariyyeh: it is also the name of a great mountain in the ranges of Aja' and Selma, the mountains of Ṭeyyi', where, according to the Marâṣid-el-Iṭṭilâ', there is a never-ceasing flow of water; the word means "having abundance of water for irrigation": and it is evident from the name and the mention of torrents here that abundance of water was as characteristic of the er-Rayyân in Nejd as of that in Ṭeyyi'.

v. 3. "Long years": *Hijaj*, plural of *ḥijjeh*; literally, seasons of pilgrimage: as we say "Summers" and "Winters" in the same meaning. "Months of war and peace": in the days of the ancient Arabs the year was divided into four months of peace, in which war between the tribes was by common consent unlawful, and eight months during which war was permitted; the months of peace were Đu-l-Qa'deh, Đu-l-Ḥijjeh, Moḥarram, and Rejeb.

vv. 4 and 5. "The showers of the signs of Spring:" *marâbiu-n-nujûm*: *Mirbâ'* is rain that comes in the beginning of the season called *Rabî'* or Spring: *en-Nujûm* are the constellations called *anwâ'*, that is, the 28 Mansions of the Moon, which by their rising or setting at dawn were supposed to bring rain or wind, heat or cold (Lane *s. v.* مرباع). *Rabî'* is not strictly Spring; for it includes the whole time from September till March, during which rain falls in Arabia: it is that season when the pastures are fresh and grazing abundant. The commentator on verse 5 divides the year into three seasons, *viz.*, *Shitâ'*, *Rabî'*, and *Ṣeyf*, or Winter, Spring and Summer; and he says that in the different words used for clouds in verse 5 the rains of the whole year are described: those of Winter fall generally by night, those of Spring in the morning, and those of Summer in the evening. (For an account of the ancient Arabian seasons, see Lane, *s. v.* زمن, and for one of the *anwâ'* see Pocock, Spec. Hist. Ar. p. 163.)

v. 6. "The rocket:" *Eyhaqân*, explained as *el-jirjîr el-barrî*, which is the *Eruca Sylvestris*.

v. 7. "Wild kine." According to Lane (*s. v.* بقر) the animal intended is the *antilope defassa* of modern zoologists, which is still called by this name in Egypt. "It is a species of bovine antelope: in Barbary, it seems that the animal thus called is another species of bovine antelope, or perhaps a variety of the former; it is said to be what is termed by Pallas *antilope bubalis*; by others, *alcephalus bubalis*, or *acronotus bubalis*; and this is said to come occasionally to the Nile: but the Arabic appellations given above are employed with much laxity."

v. 8. The comparison of the almost effaced traces of a Spring encampment, washed by the rain and worn by the winds, to lines of writing which have faded by long use is common in old Arabic poetry. Zuheyr says (the lines are quoted in the notice of him extracted from the Aghânî) speaking of tent traces (*ṭulûl*)—

بَلِينَ وَتَحْسَبُ آيَاتِهِنَّ عَنْ فَرْطِ حَوْلَيْنِ رَقًّا مُحِيلَا

"Worn are they: thou wouldst think their lines
over which two years have passed were a parchment old and faded."

Another instance is quoted by Lane *s. v.* سَفْر. From this it is evident that writing and books were not so strange to the Arabs of the time immediately preceding el-Islâm as has sometimes been asserted.

v. 9. The reference here is to the *weshm* or tracery pricked into the skin of a woman's hands and arms. The pattern is pricked out with a needle, and there is sprinkled over the skin and rubbed into it a preparation called *na'ár*, here rendered "blue," *i. e.* powdered indigo, but which may also mean powdered lamp-black. As the rains which deepened and broadened the traces of the tents are in verse 8 compared to a writer who goes over lines of writing again with a pen, so in v. 9 they are likened to a woman who renews the tattooing by sprinkling fresh pigment over the old lines; which being rubbed in, the lines appear fresh again.

v. 11. "Tent-trenches:" *nu'y*, the trench which is dug round a tent to receive the rain draining from its roof and to prevent the flooding of its interior; it is to be remembered that these pastures were resorted to during the season of rain. "Thatch," *Thumâm*, *i. e.* panic grass. Forskal (page 20) says that the name is used for *Panicum Dichotomum*: but it is applied by the Arabs to many species of *panicum*. The grass is used for thatching and for stuffing holes in the tents so as to keep out the weather.

v. 12. "Crept into the litters:" the word used (*takannus*) is appropriate to the action of a hare or a fox creeping into its hole (*kinâs*).

v. 14. Tûḍiḥ is mentioned in v. 2 of the Mo'allaqah of Imra' el-Qeys. The Marâṣid-el-Iṭṭilâ' says that it is the name of "a hill of white sand which rises among other hills of red sand in the great desert (ed-Dahnâ) near el-Yemâmeh," one of the Southern provinces of Central Nejd: "but others say it is a different place." Wejrah is also mentioned in the Mo'all. of I. Q., verse 33: it is a stage on the road from Mekkeh to el-Baṣrah, 40 miles or 3 stages from the former, much frequented by wild kine. The mention of the look which a wild cow or deer casts on her young one, at which time her eyes are most beautiful and tender, as a comparison for the eyes of a beautiful woman is common in old Arab poetry. See I. Q., Mo'all. v. 33.

v. 15. Bîsheh is the name of a valley in el-Yemen which is thickly populated: also of a village in Tihâmeh; so the Marâṣid: the commentary says that it is a valley on the road to el-Yemâmeh. The long line of camels with their litters in which the ladies ride is compared to the ridges of rock of this valley in the part where its ridges are low and sink into the plain (اجْزَاع). These, in the noon-tide, stand out from the midst of the mirage, with their rocks and tamarisks (*athl*, *Tamarix Orientalis*), even as the tall camel litters make their way through the mists of morn which cling round them like a skirt.

v. 16. "Nawâr:" the name of his Love: the word means "timid, retiring."

v. 17. "Of Murrah." There were many tribes of this name: the one intended is, however, probably Murrah ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the progenitor of which was the brother of 'Âmir son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, father of the tribe to which Lebîd himself belonged. These Benû Murrah were more commonly known as the Benû Salûl, and, as stated in the extract from the Aghânî, it was among them that the famous 'Âmir ibn Ṭufeyl died after his unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Prophet.

Feyd is a place still well known by that name: it was visited by Palgrave (Central and East. Arab. Vol. I, p. 230), and is situated on the South-East face of Jebel Selma, the most Southern of the two ranges of Ṭeyyi', about the middle of the range. el-Ḥijâz, "the barrier" *i. e.* between the uplands of Nejd and the low coast country of Tihâmeh, is the mountainous tract in which Mekkeh and el-Medîneh are situated.

v. 18. "Aja' and Selma": in the original *el-jebelân*, "the two mountains:" the two well known ranges, now called collectively Jebel Shaumar, and formerly famous as the country of Ṭeyyi'. They are now inhabited, according to Palgrave (I. 118), by a mixed race, sprung from the union of Ṭeyyi' with 'Abs, Teghlib and Hawâzin, called the Benû Shaumar (or acc. to Wetzstein, Z. D. M. G. XXII, p. 99, Shammar).

el-Moḥajjar is given as the name of several places in the Marâṣid: here it probably means a hill of the range of Ṭeyyi' which is girt (ḥojjira) by a stretch of sand. Fardeh is also the name of several places: here it appears to be an isolated hill in Ṭeyyi', called in the Marâṣid Fardet-esh-Shumûs. er-Rukhâm (Rukhâm without the article in the Marâṣid), a place in Ṭeyyi'.

v. 19. Ṣuwâ'iq (in Marâṣid, es-Ṣuwâ'iq), a tract in el-Yemen. Of Ṭilkhâm the Marâṣid only knows that it is mentioned here, and Wiḥâf el-Qahr ("Black rocks of violence") is not mentioned at all.

v. 23. Camels frequently have their soft feet protected by a leather shoe, which is tied by a strap round the pastern.

v. 26. "Her rebellion and her desire." The meaning seems to be that the he-ass's jealousy is roused by the rebellion of the female before her pregnancy and her desire thereafter, which makes him suspect that she may not be with foal by him.

v. 27. eth-Thelebût, a *wâdi* between Ṭeyyi' and Đubyân, South-East of the range of Selma. "The guidestones": *ârâm*, plural of *irem*, stones or cairns set up to mark the way in the desert.

v. 28. "The six months of winter:" *Jumâda sittetan*. According to ez-Zauzenî, *Jumâda* is here put for *esh-Shitâ*, winter, as in the verse of the Ḥamâseh—

"In a night of *Jumâda*, the season of cold and rain,
when the camp-dog cannot see the tent-ropes for the darkness thereof."

Others say that he divides the year into two halves of six months each, and that Jumâda is taken in its ordinary meaning, the name of a month, as the last month with which the Winter season ends; there are two Jumâdas, the first and the second, respectively the fifth and sixth months of the Arabian year: the second would be meant here. The verse means that during the cool season of dews and rain the two wild asses had satisfied themselves with the grass of the pasture, and had had no need of water, from which they had abstained all this time: then the Summer set in, and the pasture withered, so that they had to resort to the water in the deep valleys.

v. 29. The literal version of this couplet is—

"The two returned with their affair to a strongly set (purpose)
firmly determined: and success in plans is the fixing of them firm."

I have added in my translation what is understood,—that their purpose was to seek for water.

v. 32. *'Arfaj*, a shrub much used for fuel: its botanical name is not given by Lane, nor does it occur in Forskal.

v. 36. "Who has lost her calf:" *mesbû'ah*, more fully "whose calf has been torn and slain by beasts of prey (*sabo'*)."

v. 37. "Flat-nosed:" more accurately "camoys-nosed," *khansâ*, an epithet reserved for kine and deer. "The sand-meadows": *esh-Shaqâ'iq*, plural of *Shaqîqah*, an intervening space or tract between two elongated tracts of sand, producing good herbage.

v. 38. "Youngling just weaned:" so I have rendered *mo'affar*, following the commentary, which explains that it means "cast down in the dust" (*'afar*), and is applied to the young of an animal which is suckled by its dam and then left for a day or two to find its own food, so as to wean it gradually. The mother tumbles over the

calf in the dust when it desires to suck and prevents it from doing so. "White:" *qahd.* The wild kine are white, except the face and legs and tail, which are black: so says the commentator here. Imra'el-Qeys (Mo'all. 64) compares them to onyx stones.

v. 43. "A pearl born in a sea-shell:" *jumânet-el-baḥriy. Jumâneh* is properly a false pearl, or a bead of silver shaped like a pearl, from the Persian *gumân*, thought, fancy: here it is put for a genuine pearl, as is shewn by the following word *el-baḥriy*, which may be either the shell or the diver. "That has dropped from its string:" *sulla niẕâmuhâ:* literally "of which the string has been pulled out;" the restless roaming of the cow is likened to the rolling hither and thither of the pearl.

v. 45. No information is given in the Marâṣid regarding Ṣo'âid.

v. 46. The commentary says that the apodosis of *ḥattâ iḏâ* in this verse, *viz.: selet 'anhu* (she forgot her young one), is omitted: I prefer to understand verse 47, though introduced by *wa*, as the apodosis. A similar construction exists in verse 49: *ḥattâ iḏâ ya'isa-r-rumâtu, wa arsalû.*

v. 47. "The sound:" *rizz*, "a noise heard from afar." "From a hidden place:" *'An ẓahri gheybin*," "from a place which concealed what was in it".

v. 48. In rendering this couplet the reading فعدت has been chosen instead of فغدت; the former is cited in the notes to Arnold's edition (p. 29) from the Gotha MS.: the latter appears in his text. The native commentators prefer the latter, apparently because the construction of غدا as an اخت كان is thought the most appropriate explanation of the verse: but عدت from عدو to run would be equally admissible as regards construction, فحسب being its حال, and the sense seems to require the word; for the next verse says that the pursuers lost hope of reaching her, evidently because of her swift flight. Taking عدت as the first word, the verse may be literally rendered

"She rushed along, thinking that each of the two openings
was a meet place for fear, both behind her and before her".

"The two openings," *kila-l-farjeyn:* that is, the splitting of the thicket which opens before her and closes behind her as she rushes along: it is equivalent to the following words, *khalfuhâ wa-imâmuhâ. Maula* "a meet and fitting place," as in the Qur'ân, "*en-nâru maulâkum,*" "The Fire is your fitting place."

v. 49. "With stiff leather collars on their necks:" *Qâfilan a'ṣâmuhâ.* Another rendering of these words, which is the one preferred by De Sacy, is "lean and slender-waisted" (aux flancs maigres et effilés); *qâfil* means dry, and *a'ṣâm*, plural of *'oṣmeh*, is said to mean waist as well as leather collar. The latter meaning, however, is the only one of the two given in Lane.

v. 50. "Spears of *Semhar.*" According to the commentary and other authorities quoted by Lane, *Semhar* was the name of a certain maker of spears who dwelt in the town of el-Khatt in el-Baḥreyn, where the best bamboos from India were landed and fashioned into lances, which are thence frequently called *khaṭṭiy:* he is said to have been the husband of Rudeyneh, who also used to straighten spears; others say that *Semhar* was the name of a town or village in Abyssinia where good spears were made. But it will be seen from Lane (*s. v.* سمهر) that there is a quadriliteral verb اسمهر meaning "to be straight and hard," and that *semhariy* is applied to bow strings as well as spears, while *usmahirr* is used of a thorn in the sense of tough. In this verse there is another appellative, *Medariyyeh*, that is, belonging to or made at Medar, a vil-

lage in el-Yemen twenty miles from Ṣan'â (Marâṣid), which also means spears (*i. e.* long and sharp horns), spears being made there as well as at el-Khaṭṭ.

v. 52. Kesâb and Sukhâm, names of two of the hounds.

v. 56. "A certain soul:" *ba'da-n-nufûs, i. e.* himself. This verse affords an interesting example of the archaic use of او as the equivalent of الا (لا ان) *i. e.* unless. Having the force of "if not," it causes the verb to take the jussive or apocopated form required in the protasis of a conditional sentence.

v. 58. "As we told tales together": the Arabic verb *samara* means to pass the night in drinking wine and holding pleasant discourse together. "Vintner's flag:" the shops (*ḥânât*) of the wine-sellers were distinguished by flags hung out before them; when the flag was taken down it was a sign that the shop was closed or that the wine had run out. In this verse and the next Lebîd vaunts his liberality in buying wine for his fellows when it was at its dearest. So 'Antarah (Mo'all. 52), describing a gallant man, calls him *hattâku ghâyâti-t-tijâr* "one who pulls down, or causes to be taken down, the vintners' flags," *i. e.* exhausts their stock.

vv. 60, 61. The morning draught of wine is praised above all others by the ancient poets. In the work entitled *el-Marj-en-naḍir* ("the green meadow") Mohammed ibn Abi Bekr el-Usyûṭî says of the *ṣabûḥ* or morning potation—"The poets make mention of the morning draught in preference to wine drunk at other times, because in ancient times Kings and others used to prefer drinking in the morning, and because of the freedom of the heart at that time from care or thought of the obstacles and calamities of Fortune; also because those that arose early to drink anticipated those who blamed their wantonness: for it is the custom of the blamer to blame a reveller in the morning for what he has done the night before, because that is the time when he becomes sober and recovers from his drunken fit." (Quoted from Kosegarten, Mo'all. of 'Amr Kulth. p. 49.)

"A singing girl." The singing girls who sang at the drinking parties of the ancient Arabs were Greeks, Syrians, or Persians; until after el-Islâm the Arabs, though masters of rhythm and metre, had no indigenous system of singing except the rude song (originally of the camel-driver) called *rajez*. These girls probably sang for the most part in their own tongue and played the music which they had learned in Persian 'Irâq or Syria; but in the life of en-Nâbighah of Đubyân as given in the Aghânî (IX. 164) a singing-girl of Yethrib (afterwards el-Medîneh) is mentioned, who sang one of that poet's poems *in Arabic* and so enabled him to detect a fault of prosody.

v. 62. "Whose chill I have shut out," *i. e.* by gifts of clothes and food to the naked and hungry. The phrase "when its reins were in the hand of the bitter North" means that the North, the coldest of winds, had full control over the day.

v. 63. "My girdle its bridle": he threw the bridle over his shoulders so that it became a girdle to him, in order that he might have his hands free for his weapons.

v. 64. The dust blew from the hill-top where he acted as scout on to the Enemy's banners: this indicates that they were close at hand and that his post was one of danger.

v. 65. "The terrors of our line of fear:" *'aurât-eth-thughûr*. *'Aurât* means the dangerous or undefended portions of a place open to attack; and *thughûr*, plural of *thaghr*, is the frontier over which the enemy spreads his line of assailants. When the sun sets, and watching at the place of observation is of no further use by reason of the darkness, Lebîd comes down and scours the plain between his Tribe and the foe, to see that no night attack is being prepared by the latter.

v. 66. In this verse the word جذع is used of the trunk of a palm tree which is still an object of desire to the gatherer of the fruit, but is so tall that he cannot hope to climb it: it is thus evident that the word is *not*, as stated by the authorities quoted in Lane *s. v.*, restricted to the trunk of a palm tree after it has become dry or has lost its head of leaves and fruit.

v. 68. "Light saddle:" *riḥâleh*, a saddle made only of sheep-skin and wool, without any frame of wood, used by swift riders.

vv. 70—72. In these verses, says the commentator, he boasts of the contention which passed between him and er-Rabî' son of Ziyâd at the court of en-No'mân son of el-Munðir king of el-Ḥireh. The circumstances of this contest are related in the notices of both poets given in the Kitâb el-Aghânî.

v. 71. "Fiends of the Desert:" *jinnu-l-bediiy*. *El-Bediiy* may be either the proper name of a certain valley, or it may be synonymous with *el-bâdiyeh*, the Desert generally.

v. 73. The custom of the Arabs in gambling with arrows was to require those who lost to pay for the camel which was the prize of those who won: Lebîd's liberality consisted in that he furnished the prize himself from his herds, and thus those who lost had not to pay.

v. 74. A barren camel, says the commentary, is the fattest, while one with young is most delicate of flesh.

v. 75. Tebâleh, a certain valley in el-Yemen, famous for its abundance of water and rich meadows. In this valley was situated the Oracle of Ðu-l-Khulusah, consulted by Imra'el-Qeys after the slaying of his father.

v. 76. "The camel by her master's grave:" *el-beliyyeh*. It was the custom of the pagan Arabs to tether a camel by the grave of a dead warrior, and to let her die there of hunger and thirst; they believed that on the Judgment Day her master would ride on her at the Resurrection to the gathering of mankind. The root *beliya* means to be worn out.

v. 77. "They fill brimful with meat:" literally, *they crown*, as in Greek (Il. I, 470) κρητῆρας ἐπιστέψαντο ποτοιο, and (Il. VIII, 232) κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἴνοιο. "Bowls:" *khulaj*, plural of *Khalîj*, a river or canal, used to mean great and well-filled bowls.

v. 80. "A gainer of all good gifts and one who takes them by force:" *Kasûbu raghâ'ibin ghannâmuhâ:* this does not mean that the generous man, like the Vikings, was bounteous from the wealth he had acquired by plunder; the "good gifts" are his noble qualities; and to gain them by force is to improve them by strenuous and noble deeds.

v. 87. "Lawgivers:" *ḥokkâm, i. e.* judges, deciders of disputes, and layers down of the law; all these functions, as in Homeric times, were among the ancient Arabs combined in one man of tried steadfastness and honesty.

v. 88. "A Spring-tide." As the season of *Rabî'* or Spring was the pleasantest of the year, rich with fertilizing rains and green pasture, so men of bountiful and kindly nature were likewise called by that name. Lebîd's own father Rabî'ah, as the Aghânî informs us, was known as *Rabî'at-el-Mo'tarrin i. e.* "a Spring for those who came to seek his bounty."

"Their year of widowhood." The commentator quoted by Arnold (not ez-Zauzenî) says that in the Ignorance it was the custom for widows on the death of their husbands to undergo a period of separation (*'iddeh*) extending to one year. Under el-Islâm the *'iddeh* was fixed (*Sûrat-el-Baqarah*, verse 234) at four months and ten days. During this

period they could not marry again nor go forth from their houses, and were thus most miserable. Reference appears to be made to this ante-islamic custom in v. 240 of the *Sûrat-el-Baqarah*.—"Such of you as shall die and leave wives shall bequeath their wives a year's maintenance without causing them to leave their houses." That the period of mourning in the Ignorance was a full year, not for widows only but for the whole family of the deceased, may be gathered from the verses of Lebîd on his own death quoted near the end of the notice of him in the Aghânî, where he bids his daughters mourn for him—

إلى الحَوْلِ ثُمَّ اسْمُ السَّلامِ عَلَيْكُمَا وَمَنْ يَبْكِ حَوْلاً كَامِلاً فَقَدِ اعْتَذَرْ

"Until the year is done—then the name of Peace be on you:
for he who weeps for a year has discharged what is due from him."

Ez-Zauzenî, however, takes *murmilât* as meaning merely "poor women" النسا اللواتي نفدت از وادهن, and refers the lengthening of their year spoken of to the weariness of their life of poverty.

v. 89. The commentator quoted by Arnold explains *humu-l-'ashireh* as equivalent to *hum muslihu-l-'ashireh*: "They are the men who order or rule the tribe." Ez-Zauzenî and the Persian commentator Rashîdu-n-Nabî, however, reject so violent an ellipse and take the verse in the simpler construction which I have followed. Of the use of إن in the negative sense which it bears here (= lest) other examples are to be found in the Mo'allaqah of 'Amr son of Kulthûm, vv. 25 and 32.

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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On the Shighni (Ghalchah) Dialect.—By R. B. SHAW, *Political Agent, Ladàk.*

A few words of the Shighni dialect, collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh, were attached to my former paper on the Ghalchah Dialects printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Pt. I, for 1876. I see that the late Oriental Congress held at St. Petersburg expressed the opinion that a study of the forms of speech in use about the head-waters of the Oxus was very desirable. I hope therefore that this short grammar and specimen story of a third of those dialects may be acceptable.

Shighnàn and Roshân, the districts where it is spoken, lie in the valley of the Oxus just above the country of Darwàz, on the great bend which the river takes round Badakhshàn. They extend also up the valleys of some of its feeders which descend from the Pamir. They are both under the same Ruler (*Asaf Ali Khan* is the name of the present Mir). His dominions form the most northerly of the Hill-States dependent on Afghànistàn. My informant (a Shighni) saw him go, some six years ago, to do homage at Faizabad to Naib Muhammad Alam, the Governor of Afghàn Turkistàn. The next year, his son went on a similar errand, since which my informant has been absent from his country. On both occasions tribute wa taken: 2000 *tillas* (gold coins), 1000 *yàmbu* (Chinese shoe-silver) &c. These are probably mere round figures used to express a considerable (and unknown) amount; for these two items alone would be worth about £18,000. The next district to the north, Darwàz, is represented as being subordinate to Bokhàrà. Shighnàn was not invaded by the Afghàns, but followed natural-

ly the destiny of the mother province, Badakhshàn, to which it has been, from time immemorial, attached. The former seems to be the most important of the Ghalchah States, and wonderfully protected from invasion by natural advantages.* It would thus form a safe refuge for an aboriginal people.

The valleys of the Oxus feeders which form the greater part of the territory of Shighnàn and Roshàn, open out at their heads into the high plains of Pamir. It will be observed that the Shighni dialect shows a greater affinity to that of Sariḳol (in the Eastern side of Pamir) than to the speech of the Wakhis, notwithstanding that the latter occupy a valley on the same side of the main water-parting, and parallel with the Shâkh-Darrah (Shighnàn). This would show that the open Pamirs must have opposed less serious obstacles to inter-communication than the Western ridges which divide the Oxus feeders from one another, or than the narrow gorge of that river itself. Its local name "Panjah," suggests the illustration of a hand with fingers outspread (as in playing the piano). It is obviously easier (comparing small things with great) to cross the level back of the hand, than to travel at right angles across the arched fingers.

The Shighni dialect has all the sounds known in the other Ghalchah dialects with the addition of one which is intermediate, and seems to explain the transition, between the Persian *sh* and the Sariḳoli *kh* (as in German *ich*). It will have been noticed that many Persian words such as *shab, sharminda, Pàdshàh*, become in Sariḳoli *khâb, kharminda, Pâdkhâh*, &c. The Shighni supplies the intermediate step by a sound which I do not know how to express (without special type) better than by the compound *skh*. It is the German *ch* of *ich* sibilated so as almost to resemble an English *sh*. The steps are plain from the *sh* pronounced at the back of the upper teeth with the front part of the tongue, to the *skh* a little further back with the middle part of the tongue raised, and to the Ghalchah *kh* slightly further back still. This *skh* is unlike the Wakhi *sch*; for while the former is an attempt to sibilate the *kh*, the latter is an *sh* pronounced at the back of the palate, with the tongue curled back.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular.	Plural.
N. *chîd*,..... a house	*chîden* ..... houses
G. *chîd* (*chîd*-END G. Abs.), a house's	and so on all through, with
D. *chîd*-ER or -ERD or AR-*chîd*, to a house	

* See the account of Abdu'l-Subhân, given by Capt. Trotter R. E., in the Report of the Yarkand Mission, 1873-4.

Acc.	*chîd* or *chîd*-ER,..	a house
Loc.	*chîd*-TI,*.....	on *or* to a house
	chîd-ANDE',	in *or* into a house
	PIS *chîd*,	on *or* to *or* towards a house
	MI *chîd*, ...	in a house
	TAR *chîd*,	into, on to *or* to a house
Abl.	AZ *chîd*, ...	from a house
	chîd KATTI, ...	with a house
	chîd-ITS,.....	as far as a house

the addition of the same post-positions as in the singular.

THE PRONOUNS.

1st Person.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
N.	*wuz*, ... I	*màsh*, ... we
G.	*mu* (G. Abs. *mu'nd*) my, (mine)	*màsh* (G. Abs. *màsh-end*), our, (ours)
D.	*mu'rd* or *mur*, ... to me	*màsh-ard* or *-ar*, ... to us
Acc.	*mu*, also *mur*, ... me	*màsh*, ... us
Loc.	*tar mu* &c.,.....at me, &c.,	*tar màsh*, &c.,..... at us
Abl.	*az mu*,..... from me	*az màsh*, ... from us

2nd Person.

N.	*tu*,..... thou	*tamà*, ... ye
G.	*tu* (G. Abs. *tu'nd*), thy, (thine)	*tamà* (G. Abs. *tamà'nd*) your, (yours)
D.	*tu'rd* or *tur*,..... to thee	*tamà'rd* or *tamà'r*, ... to you
Acc.	*tu*, also *tur*, ... thee	*tamà*, ... you
Loc.	*tar tu*, ... at thee	*tar tamà*,..... at you
Abl.	*az tu*,..... from thee	*az tamà*, ... from you

3rd Person.

Masculine and Neuter.

N.	*yü* or *yid*, ... he, that	*wàdh*, ... they
G.	*wi* or *wum* (Abs. *wi'nd*), his, of that	*wief* (Abs. *wief-end*), their, theirs
	(? *yü* when the governing noun is in the nominative)	
D.	*wi'rd* or *wir*, *wum-ird* to him, to that	*wief-èrd* or *-er*,..... to them

* This forms another resemblance with the Dard, (Arniya) in which dialect also he affix *té* signifies 'to.'

Acc. *wi* also *wi'r*, ...	him, that	*wief*, ...	them
Loc. *wi-té, tar-wi, tar-òd*,	at him or that	*wief-té*, ...	at them
wum-andé, yum-andé, &c.,	in him or that		
Abl. *az-wi, az-um*,	from him, or that	*az wief*, ...	from them

Feminine.

N. *ya*, ...	she
G. *wam* or *wu-am* (*ya*, ? when the governing noun is in the Nominative)	of her
D. *wam-ird*, ...	to her
Acc. *wam, yiwam*, ...	her
Loc. *tar wam* &c., ...	at her, &c.,
Abl. *az wam*, ...	from her

Same as Masculine.

Substantival Pronoun.

N. *yem* or *yam*, ...	this one	*màdh* or *dath*, ...	these
G. *mi* or *di*, ...	of this one	*mef* or *def* (Abs. *mef-end*),	of these
D. *mi'rd* or *ar-am*, ...	to this ane	*mef-erd* or *-er*, ...	to these
Acc. *mi* or *di*, ...	this one	*mef* or *def*, ...	these
Loc. *tar-am*, &c.,	to this one, &c.		&c.

The Adjectival Pronouns *that* and *this* are the same as the above Pronouns of the 3rd Person.

The following emphatic forms have also been found: *ik-yid, ik-wi* and *ik-yuwi* "that same", *ik-yiwam* "that same she", *ik-wid-und* "of that same" (G. Abs.), *ik-yam, ik-wam* "this same."

The following pronouns seem to be declinable without internal change: *chiz* "what?", *kà* "what?", *tsèi* "whatever", *chi* or *chài* "who"? or "what"?

Reflective Pronoun.

Singular and Plural.

N. *khu*, ... I, thou, he, my-, thy-, him-self, &c.
G. *khu* (Abs. *khu'nd*)
D. *khu'rd*
Acc. *khu*
Loc. *khu-ti* &c.
Abl. *az khu*

khu-bath = by himself, &c.

The set of separable terminations or pronouns belonging to the Past Tenses of Verbs is more perfect and normal than in Wakhi and Sarikoli.

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*am* or *um*	*am*
2.	*at*	*et*
3.	*i* or *é*	*en*

These terminational pronouns are used precisely like common pronouns (nominative only); but they can be placed immediately after the verb (as terminations) as well as in other parts of a sentence and in addition to the ordinary personal pronouns. The Past Tenses which employ them seem not yet to have reached the purely inflectional stage.

VERBS.

The conjugation of the Verbs resembles the Sarikoli more than the Wakhi. The Infinitive is in *ao*, and the declension of the Verbal Substantive is effected with the Root (deprived of the *ao*) as well as with the full Infinitive form. In other words the Nominative and Accusative of the Verbal Substantive add the syllable *ao* to the Root form, and other cases add their own respective terminations either to the Root or to the Nom. form.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB 'TO TAKE'.

(i.) Root form: *zekht;* (ii) Present form: *zez;* (iii) Past form: *zokht.*

Verbal Substantive; Nom. and Acc. cases:		*zekht-ao*	the taking
	Gen.	*zekht-i*	of taking
	Dat.	*zekht-ir* / *zekhtao-ir*	to or for taking
	Abl.	*az zekht*	from taking
	Loc.	*zekhtao-té*	on *or* in taking
		zekht-its	whilst taking
		tâ zekhtao-ir	till taking

IMPERATIVE.

zez or *zézé* take thou zez-*id* take ye

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Future Tense.

S.	1.	zez-*am* (in some verbs, *-um*),	I take
	2.	zez-*é* (in some verbs, *-yé*)	thou takest
	3.	zez-*d*	he takes
Pl.	1.	zez-*am*	we take
	2.	zez-*id* (in some verbs, *-yid*)	ye take
	3.	zez-*in* (in some verbs, *-yin*)	they take

IMPERFECT TENSE.

ZOKHT-IRD (*am*) *vòd*, ... I was taking (lit. to the taking I was) &c., with the pronoun terminations (see Past Tense).

PAST TENSE.

S.	1.	ZOKHT (*am*), ...	I took
	2.	ZOKHT (*at*)	thou tookest
	3.	ZOKHT (*i*) [sometimes *é*]	he took
Pl.	1.	ZOKHT (*am*)	we took
	2.	ZOKHT (*et*)	ye took
	3.	ZOKHT (*en*)	they took

PERFECT TENSE.

ZOKHTJ (*am*). ..... I have taken
&c. &c.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

ZOKHTJ-IT (*am*), ... I had taken
&c. &c.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

ZOKHTJ-INJ *vày-am*,..... I may take, *or* have taken (lit. I may be &c. taking *or* having taking).

Tsa is used as a prefix before verbs in the Indicative Mood to give them a Conditional or Subjunctive tense.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB 'TO GO' OR 'TO BECOME'.

(i.) Root form: SIT; (ii) Present form: SÁO; (iii) Past form: SUT or SAT, (iv) Perfect form: SUDHJ.

Verbal Substantive: Nom. Acc. SIT-*ao* &c.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

	Singular.		Plural.
1.	SÁO-*am*, ... I go *or* become	SÁO-*am*	we go &c.
2.	SÁO-*i*, ... thou goest &c.	SÁO-*id*	ye go &c.
3.	SÔD (for SÁO-*d*) he goes &c.	SÁO-*in*	they go &c.

IMPERFECT TENSE.

SIT-IRD (*am*) *vòd*, ... I was going &c.
&c. &c.

PAST TENSE.

SUT (*am*) OR SAT (*am*), ... I went &c.
&c. &c.

PERFECT TENSE.

SUDHJ (*am*), ... I have gone &c.
&c. &c.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

SUDHJ-IT (*am*), ... I had gone &c.
&c. &c.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

SUDHJ-INJ *vày-am*,..... I may go *or*
&c. have gone &c.
&c.

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB 'TO BE'.

(i.) Root form: VID; (ii) Present form: VÁY; (iii) Past form: VÔD; (iv) Perf. form: VUDHJ.

Verbal Subst. Nom. and Acc. VID-*ao*
&c.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT FUTURE TENSE.

S. 1. VÁY-*am* [YAST (*am*)] ..... I may be *or* am
2. VÁY-*é* [YAST (*at*)] &c.
3. VE'D [YAST (*é*)]
Pl. 1. VÁY-*am* [YAST (*am*)]
2. VÁY-*id* [YAST (*et*)]
3. VÁY-*in* [YAST (*en*)]

PAST TENSE.

VÔD (*am*)..... I was
&c.

PERFECT TENSE.

VUDHJ (*am*)..... I have been
&c.

PLUPERFECT TENSE.

VUDHJ-IT (*am*) ..... I had been
&c.

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

VUDHJ-INJ *vày-am*..... I may be *or*
&c. have been.

In the Past Tenses the pronominal termination of the 3rd person singular (*é* or *i*) is often used separately like those of the other persons, unlike the rule in Wakhi and Sarikoli.

E. g. *idis i chùd* = thus he did.
idis am chùd = thus I did.

The Negative affixes are *nà* or *né* and *mà* as in the other Ghalchah dialects; *mà* is used with the Imperative and Optative, and *nà* or *nè* with the other moods.

In compound verbs the former is used in the form of the root (sometimes in the Acc. or Dative of the Verbal Substantive) and the latter in the appropriate Tense.

E. g. 1. *pedhed-ir sut* "he went *to* the lighting" *i. e.* "began to light."
2. *chîd-sut* or *chîd-ao sut* "he went (began) to do."
3. *dam-dhed vardhèd* "he is able to breathe (strike breath)" (Hind. *dam màr sakta*).

N. B. The form *chîd-ao sut* may be compared with *ghiéw sut* "he went (to) the hunt", to show that there is nothing exceptional in the *Verbal* Substantive taking the Accusative (which is the same as the Nominative,) form after the verb *sut* "he went". In both cases it is probably a contraction for the Dative *chîd-ao-ird* and *ghièw-ird*. Cf. English "he went a journey", "he wrote me word". The Infinitive is merely a case of the Verbal Substantive. With common compounds, as in Hind. before *sakna* and *chukna*, or, in Persian after *bàyad*, *tawànad*, &c., the termination vanishes and the mere root is left.

The Numerals arĕ:

1.	one	*yîw*, *yî*, or *î*	7.	seven	*wuvd*
2.	two	*dho*	8.	eight	*waskht*
3.	three	*àrraï*	9.	nine	*nào*
4.	four	*tsavòr*	10.	ten	*dhîs*
5.	five	*pinz*	11.	eleven	*dhîs-et-yîw*
6.	six	*khhàuskh*	15.	fifteen	*dhîs-et-pinz*

SHIGHNI STORY.

Woi—Direĝh.

1. Rôzé[1] î Pâdskhâh Wazîr-katti shart i chugj.[2] Lovdj-é[3]: "Agar mu'nd[4] puts sôd,[5] tu'nd[4] razîn sôd[5] khu razîn mu puts-ir dhâd." Wazîr-en[6] nàstj-en[7] di ḳauli en[7] skhud. 2. Rôzé vôd, Wazîr-ar puts sut, et

[1] Persian.

[2] The Perfect Tense "has made" with the terminational pronoun (*i*) of the 3rd pers. sing. prefixed.

[3] The terminational pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. here follows the verb.

[4] Genitive absolute "of mine", "of thine."

[5] 3rd pers. sing. Indicative (for Conditional) of the verb *sitao* "to go" or "to become." The meaning is, therefore, literally "if a son of mine should become (existent), &c."

[6] The Plural affix of nouns, which is the same as

[7] The terminational pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl.; the latter belonging to the verb *skhud* "heard", (for *skhud-en*, like *nâsj-en*). *Nâsj* is the Perfect Tense "have sat down" (*i. e.* "are" or "were sitting"); *skhud* is simple Past Tense.

Wazîr mûd. Pâdskhâh-and[8] razîn sut. Sahâr en[9] khabar Pâdskhâh-ar vûd :[10] "Razîn tu'nd sut." 3. Pâdskhâh marakan nustjîn[11] vôd,[12] yî âdam âz vâj déid, sukhan i chûd : "Wazîr mûd." Pâdskhâh khu khèshi[1] "khair"[13] i chûd. Mardum en[7] di skhud. Wazîr-bachah réid.

4. Roz ba roz[1] ḳad[14] chûd,[15] kattà[16] sut. Meth-ov vôd, tar khu mâd sukhan i[17] chûd, lovd-é :[17] "Eh, mâdar-i-mihrbân,[4] mu ped-end[8] î tir-i-dast[1] yast." Ya lovd : "Tar khazîna dedh." Yü déid tar khazîna, tir-i-dast i[17] zokht khu[18] naskhtuid. 5. Naskhtuid tar vâj, khu mashk[1] dar-rao[1] chîd-ao sut.[19] Ba'd[14] lap-ath mashk i[17] chûd, pahlawân sut. 6. Yi ghinik[20] âz bàzâr yat. Taghâr-andé pâi, wum kal-té,[21] et[18] yat. Yü tir-i-dast alḳà[22] i chûd, wu'm taghâr-ti[21] wedhd-é, di âz mi palé tar wi palé zabôd. 7. Pâi ar-wum pîts khhavd. Ba'd idis[23] khu pîts-ir dhöst i dhâd. Nazar wedhd tar bachgalà.[24] Fuk-en dath tir-pur,[25] Wazîr-bachah 'nd khhâli. 8. Ba'd i[17] lovd : "Eh, bî-nafas ! tu at[26] idis vôd, di âz mâdar at mutawalid sut. Pâdskhâh khu khèshi az tu khair i[17] chûd." 9. Ba'd khu dhöst tar khu jèb i[1] yòd. Az-um-undé pul i[17] zwâst. Patte'wdé tar wum ghinik : "Eh ghinik ! tu pal zez, sukhan-i-bad[1] chiz kini ?"

10. Khu mâd-ar di gap dhâd, lovd : "Eh mâd ! mu ped-end[27] achi chiz yast ? Yem mardum né yàdin[28] tar mu. Yî âdam i[17] ramâd tar ḳishlâḳ. Fuk-ath jam' i chûd khu[18] vûd-è.[17] Tar Pâdskhâh[29] khèz digar yî âr-ath na sut. Ba'd mardum-ird khhuràk[1] dar-rao[1] dhèd-ao sut.[30] 11.

[8] Genitive absolute.
[9] Separable term. 3rd pers. pl. belonging to *vud*.
[10] *Vud* : Past Tense of "to bring."
[11] Adjective : "sitting."
[12] Past Tense of verb *vidao* "to be."
[13] A local expression : "to say 'well' to", = to refuse."
[14] Arabic.
[15] Lit. "made stature."
[16] Turki.
[17] Terminational pronoun 3rd pers. sing.
[18] "And."
[19] Lit. "went to the doing," *i. e.* "began to do."
[20] Diminutive of *ghin*.
[21] Locative. Lit. "(there was) some whey in a vessel on her head, and she came."
[22] "Made his bow (into) a ring," *i. e.* "pulled it till it was bent almost double."
[23] "After such."
[24] A special plural, "a troop of boys."
[25] Persian ; meaning "arrow on string," or, as we say of guns, "loaded."
[26] Terminational pronoun 2nd pers. sing.
[27] Genitive absolute.
[28] 3rd pers. pl. *Present* Tense.
[29] Genitive.
[30] See (19).

Ba'd tar khhalḳ maslahat i chùd. Lovd: "Yi âdam tar Pâdskhah khèz bâzam. Az mard ḳaul, et[19] az zan fèl." 12. Wi âdam en ramâd, yü sut Pâdskhâh khèz-andé, salàm i chùd. Lovd: "Wu aleikum as-salàm. Êh! khânah-i-padar mubârak bàshad.[1] Tu khub khub pond at[26] sàr chùgj. 13. Ba'd yü ḳissa i zokht, lovd-é: "Pâdskhâh-i-'àlam! Mu-ir[31] tar tu khèz Wazîr-bachah bokht. Wi âtà[16] katti dis shart at[26] chugjit.[32] Pâdskhâh-en[6] kal-ird ti tsa yâdhd, wàdh az khu ḳaul na gardhen. Yem chiz sut?"

14. Ba'd Pâdskhâh lovd: "Injàvid di! Surb di[29] ghaiv-ti[21] tis-kinid. Yi gad-ird pand-yâd sôd." 15. Ba'd yü chorik naskhtud, khu sut tar Wazîr-bachah khèz. Wazîr-bachah wind-é wi, lovd: "Eh! di[33] surb az di[34] ghaiv-ti[21] zézid." Wi surb zokht-en. Ba'd sukhan i[17] wi pekhst 16. Yü lovd-é: "Wuz am[35] tamà gap am[35] dhâd. Pâdskhâh lovd-è: 'Mi ghaiv-ti surb tis-kinid. Yi gad-ird pand-yâd sôd.'"

17. Wazîr-bachah gaskht tar khu wazîr-en, sukhan i chùd, lovd: "Màsh tsi-rang kinam shich," lovd-é: "Maslahat kinid." "Yi ga âdam bâzam." Yi ga âdam en bokht. 18. Firebt Pâdskhâh-en[36] khèz-andé. Ba'd az salàm, gap i zokht. Pâdskhâh lovd-é: "Injàvid di!" Wazîr en[37] lovd: "Eh! Pâdskhâh-i-'àlam, tu awwal gap dhâd, àkhir yü zülikîk gadhà dé[38] idund tambi wedhd; tamà katta dé[39] tambi wedhid. Shich dé[40] idis ved: Bàz-i-sufèd mu'r vàr, wuz tu-katti khèshi kinam." Wi chorik en rukhhsat dhâd. 19. Sut Wazîr-bachah khhèz-andé, lovd-é: "Shèr at[41] ya robà?" Lovd: "Néi, wuz am mudâm-ath shèr-bachah vòd." Lovd-é: "Wâḳi'a-i-kàr[1] ikyam: bàz-i-sufèd mu'r vird."

20. Ba'd yü gaskht tar khu wazîren, lovd: "Anjàm kinid." Ba'd en anjàm chùd. Wi'r tuskha[1] anjàm en chùd. Sahàr tar pond en dhâd.

[31] Accusative.

[32] Pluperfect.

[33] Adjectival Pronoun, Accusative.

[34] Substantival Pronoun, Genitive.

[35] Terminational pronouns 1st pers. (one of them probably superfluous).

[36] Probably the Plural of respect.

[37] For "Wazîren lovd-en." The plural affix of the noun and of the verb being the same, is not repeated; one serves for both.

[38] A particle which seems to serve many purposes. Here it would seem to answer to *kih* in Persian, *viz.*, "that", conj., used for relative pronoun.

[39] Here it was explained as forming a comparative. In the Gaddi (Hind.) dialect there is a similar word, e. g. *bapà déa gal* "a big-like matter."

[40] ? di (this).

[41] The separable term or pronoun of the 2nd pers. sing. used without the verb substantive (see Remark 3, p. 168 of my Paper on the Ghalchah Languages, As. Soc. Journal, Pt. I, for 1876.)

Fuk-ath en rawân wi-katti sut, yü wiẓivd-i wief, lovd: "Mu'rd et[42] ba-kâr nist.[1] Wuz yî kalandar. Agar Pâdskhâh khizmat am vàr-dhâd,[43] ikyid. Tamà wiẓaftsid." 21. Ba'd khu-bath rùi ba ràh i chûd, ràh ba biabân, ba'd bar dâman-i-dasht. Chandîn farsang i dhâd. î skhats mâbain-ir yat. 22. Ba'd az khu vorj-ti[21] khhavd. I sowâr az wi ruya yat, skhhats zimb-ti khhavd. Tar yak digar en sukhan chûd. Lovd: "Eh vrôd! mubârak safar. Tu tar kà 't[26] ikhtiyàr chugj?" Yü lovd-é: "Wuz am[44] khiz mat-i-Pâdskhâh rawân, bàz-i-sufèd-ird rawân-am[44]." 23. Yü lovd-é: Tu ism-sharîf chiz?" Lovd: "Wazîr-bachah." Yem vào wi pekhst-é; yü lovd: "Alà-àspa." Ba'd lovd: "Yet, katti sâo-am." Yü lovd: "Tu khu tsem bidhèm, khu pîts tar zabô kin, wuz yet-am." Yü khu tsem i[17] bidhèmd, khu pîts tar zabô i chûd. Pàlé gaskht, yü wi khèz-andé.[45]

24. Ba'd en katti sat, khu tòid-en. Sat î daskht-andé. Chandîn ràh en dhâd, tâskhna en sut, guskhna en sut. Ba'd en wum daskht médhen-andé khhavd. Lovd: "Eh vrôd! yî lav tuskha ziwedh." Tuskha i zwâst, dar-rao khéd-ao en chùd. 25. Ba'd tuskha en khùd, lovd: "Tu tari ta-mâsha sào, yì ẓir-i-ẓir bon varéyé, màsh skhab-panâh kinam." Ba'd Wazîr-bachah nûst, et Alà-àspa sut. Tar wi daskht khèl-ak charkh i chûd. Hèch chîz-ath maujùd na sut. Ba'd ikyum-andé nafas i nûst. Dastba-duhâ[1] i chùd, khu kal khambind-i; khu kal i sind, chûskht-é: Ḳila tayàr sudhj, darwàza hèt-ath. Rawân sut, tar kila déid, tamâsha i chùd, khu wiẓivd az khu jài-té,[21] sut tar khu hamrâh khèz. 27. Lovd-é: Eh vrôd! î ẓir-bon am vùd, nur-skhab sào-am, yum-andé skhab-panâh." Ba'd en sut, déid-en tar ḳilà. Lovd: "Eh vrôd! yü ẓir-bon kaiyi?" Lovd: "Ẓir-bon-i kam vòd?" 28. Sat-en, ẓiz en vùd. Yiw dar-rao yâts pedhed-ir sut.[46] Yiw pis-skhats sut. Ba'd âb ta'am en sat. Khhùd-en, khu vorjen darakht-khhâna en vûst. Chustj et wokht en làchùd.

29. Skhab en yum-andé skhovd, sahàr Alà-àspa lovd-é: "Wuz ghiéw sào-am, tu neth." Yü tùid ghiéw, yem nûst. 30. Wazîr-bachah khhu-ràk i pukhta khu'r chûd. Khu-bath khhud et wi baskh bighin i chùd, khu làchud-i. Khu-bath yat, khu bistar-té khu pattéwd-i. Zamân vòd, divé sadâ chùd. 31. Yî chiz-i.yak-wajabi déid khu naghjid tar kitsâr. Yî târ' burût'[6] i khu'nd piked, wi dhöst et pâdh i vûst, pattéwd-i. Khu-bath wi

[42] Terminational pronoun of the 2nd pers. pl.

[43] For "vàr-dhâd-am," Past Tense of compound verb.

[44] Here the terminational pronoun (1st pers.) may also be said to replace the verbal substantive, as *rawân* is a (verbal) adjective, and not a part of the finite verb.

[45] Here is a case of the suppression of the verb substantive after the ordinary pronoun *yü*, similar to its suppression after the terminational pronoun *at* above (note 41).

[46] Lit. "went to the lighting." This Dative form seems equivalent to the other *chîd-ao sut*. We may perhaps take the former to be the full form and the latter to be

khhuràk i khhud khu naskhtuid. Wazîr-bachah zur i chùd, ba azâb i yet-chùd, khu pis zabô i wi chùd.

32. Daryâv i wi chùd, yü zabòd tar ghor. Yem khhafâ sut, khu wiẓ, ivd. Déid tar ḳilà. Khu-bath yet, khu jài-ti nûst. Khu midhj i zokht dar-rào pisen dhèt sut. Divè sadâ chud. Yü khu midhj i zokht khu zabòd tar divé zabô. Az-um Alà-àspa déid. 33. Lovd: "Eh vrôd! mu badi tar haḳ-i-tu chiz?" Wi lovd: "Ti-am, gap tu'r dhàd-am." Ba'd sut. Alà-àspa khu wiz i az khu dàm-té làchud. Yid sut, ta'am i wi'r vùd. Ta'-am i khhud et fâtiha i lovd. Wazîr-bachah andùid, dèg et tabàk darrào zanéd-ao sut.

34. Ba'd Alà-àspa lovd: "Mu badi tar haḳ-i-tu chiz vôd?" Yü lovd-é: "Eh! tu badi tar haḳ-i-mu nist, wuz et tu am vrôd. Wuz am yî wakhht khhuràk pukhta chùd, khu-bath am khhud et tu'rd am làchud. Khubath am yat khu jài-ti am khu pattéwd. Divé sadâ chùd. Yak-wajabi déid. Ba'd î târ[1] burût i khu'nd nakhvend. Mu dhöst pâdh i vûst. Khu-bath zabòd wi âb ta'am i khhud. Ba'd khu-bath naskhtuid. Wuz am zur et zur ba azâb am khalàs khu chùd, ba'd pis-zabô am wi chùd. 35. Daryâv am wi chùd, zabòd tar ghor. Wuz am wiẓivd. Yett-am, khu midhj am zokht, ikyund am nust. Divé sadâ chùd, Wuz am zabòd, di[as] mi pith tsa dedhd, mu mis farò yest. Tu at déid." Khu birej en wedhd khu skhovd-en.

36. Sâhar rukh dhâd, Alà-àspa lovd-é: "Eh, Wazîr-bachah! tu sào ghiéw, et wuz netham." Wazîr-bachah tuid ghièw, yem dar-rào àb ta'am sut. Khuràk-i pekht, khu-bath i khhùd, wi'rd i làchud. Khu midhj i zokht, khu yat ikyum-andé nûst. 37. Ikyuwi wakhht vod, divé sadâ chud, et yam mis anduid et yü mis déid. Midhj hawàlà chùd, wi kal dhâd tar pâi-gâh, wi tanà tar divé zabô. 38. Yem ẓekht-é, khu totheh virik i jam' chud, wikhin mà-sòd. Tâ mi khhavd-ao-ird[47] wi kal zabòd wi gardhân-té, jaosar sut. Ba'd naskhtuid khu ratsust. 39. Alà-àspa pis-zabô i wi chùd. Daryâv i wi chùd. Yák bâr pálé gaskht et dhöst tar bon i chùd, lovd-é: "Sâhar, khu hâl chiz, wînîd."

40. Alà-àspa wiẓivd ghamghîn, déid tar ḳilà. Yat, khu jâi-té nûst. Khu midhj khu-tar-dâmàn làchud. Ghàyat i vòd, divé sadâ chùd, yem

dative or locative in meaning notwithstanding the absence of the proper affix, as in the examples *âb ta'am sat, ghiew saoam* "went (to) drink and food," "I go (to) the hunt." Cf. the English "give *me* the book," "write *me* word." At any rate the form answering to our infinitive ("began to do &c.") seems to be some case of the verbal substantive.

[47] *Tâ yam khhavd-ao* was first given as a form with the same meaning. But on reflection my informant corrected himself and gave the form in the text. It shows how purely the so-called Infinitive (in *ao*) is in Shighni a verbal substantive. It governs the genitive of the pronoun (the subject) and takes the affix of the dative case. Literally: "till his sitting down."

anduid. Wazîr-bachah déid. Lovd: "Mu badi tar haḳ-i-tu chiz ?" 41. Lovd: "Hèch chiz-ath nâi; biyàr at tu lovd, wuz am bâwar na chûd. Tu gap râst vudhj. Yat, mâsh shich khu ghiéw chîd-ao là-kinam. Chiz mâkri hîlâ kinam ki wi ghor dedham. Tanâb-i-abréskhamîn tébam." 42. Chil gaz tanâb en tebt. Sàhar âb nahòr en chûd, rawân en sut tar pond. Wazîr-bachah lovd-é: "Wuz dédham."[48] Alà-àspa lovd: "Khub, tu tâḳat na vardhé." Ba'd firébt-en yum-andé. Kamand wi baghal-andé sakhht i chûd. Wedhdé, tâ zân-its sut, lovd-é: "Pach! sukhtam." 43. Alà-àspa kamand tiẓd-é, lovd: "Eh Wazîr-bachah! naubat mu'nd. Yi nasîhat tu'rd kinam. Waz lòv-am: 'Pach! sukht-am' tu sust-dé[49] là-kin." Alà-àspa wedhd-é. Lovd-é: 'Pach! sukht-am!' Yü sust-dé là-chûd. Al-ḳissa khèl-i-wakhht naghjîd, tanâb wi mi dhöst köt reid. Yü tar bir-jahân, tar Childiniâ, firébt. Tanâb az khu baghal-ti khalâs chûd. Ba'd yem Wazîr-bachah wi ghor ghaiv-ti gulkhan wedhd-é.

44. Alà-àspa rawân sut, mâl az parao dichâr wi'r yet. Az chupân duhà i chûd, lovd: "Eh! yem mâl chi 'nd ?" Chupân lovd-é: "Yak-wajabi 'nd." Yü firébt yi yirk i injuvd, ruh-i-hawâ wi kal i zokht. Yi sekhh kabâb az wi-ti khu'rd i chûd. Kabáb i pekht, khhud-é, dedh tùid. 45. Ba'd stòr-dàr az parao yet. Duhà i chûd, lovd-é: "Yem stor chi 'nd ?" Yü lovd-é: "Yak-wajabi 'nd." Yü sut, ki az wi katta-dé skhij nâi, ikwi injuvd;[48] wi kal i zokht. Yi sekhh kabâb az wi-ti khu'rd i chûd. Wi digar i pattéwd. Chupân dhâd yi skhkufta khu pis-pîts. 46. Yü rawân sut, ghâyat jâi sut, skhtur-bân dichâr wi'r dhâd. Duhà i chûd, lovd-é: "Yem skhtur chi'nd." Yü lovd-é: "Yak-wajabi 'nd." Yü sut, ki az wi katta-dé bughra[16] nài, ikwam injuvd. Wum kal i zokht. Yi sekhh kabâb az wi-ti khu'rd i chûd, khu rawân sut. Sarwân' dé khu pis-pîts. 47. Yü tùid. Galla-bân wi'r dichâr yet. Duhà i chûd, lovd-é: "Yem galla chi'nd ?" Sut, i katta vorj injuvd, wi kal i zokht. Yi sekhh kabâb az wi-ti khu'rd i chûd. Yü galla-bân dé khu pis-pîts. 48. Yü tùid; tar skhâr firébt. Khazînachi darvâza-andé nûstj.[49] Yü lovd-é: "Tu yundé chi'r[50] kini ?" Yundé parindah dam-dhed na vardhèd." Lovd-é: "Har chiz ved, ba nasîb-i-khu am yet." 49. Alà-àspa wi pekhsté "Yak-wajabí jân chiz darun ?" Lovd-é: "Nur dho ròz' sut, yü pa tîr-dinyâ vod, az-um zakhhmi yet. Shich skhovdj.[49] Wi jân wi pis-pàlé, dho ẓir, yiw az mi pàlé, yiw az wi pàlé. Wief ẓiren varagh. Az wi darun dho kshebts naskhtîst. Wief kaleñ tar chap skhchand. Wi pis pàlé yi mâth, wi dhâ tar zân, varagh. Wi darun

[48] Lit. "that than it (there was) no larger bull, that same (one) he seized." The Sighni mode of expressing the superlative.

[49] Both these verbs being verbs of action not of condition or state (*viz.* to sit down s'asseoir "to go to sleep", s'endormir, and not "to be sitting," "to sleep"), our Present Tense in their case is represented in Shighni by the Perfect, *viz.* "he has sat down" = "he is *or* was sitting"; "he has gone to sleep", "he is asleep *or* sleeping."

yi tsirao naskhtîst. Wi dhâ tar skhats, wi jân naskhtîst. Agar pinj-dâna wi tsa kini, wi na mird. Yiw ki az def yiw at khatà dé[50] na chùd[50a] yü ta mird." Yü def ḳaulen i ba jài chùd. Yü mùd.

50. Chil wi skhidz mèkhh-ir vòd. Wi zokht, divé-en dar-rào het chîd sut. Fuk-ath i het êhùd, yiw réid. Yet, wi mis het i chùd et déid tar-am. Yi khub-rùi tar-am. Nâ khher tar wam dàkhhl, na mèst. 51. Ya dar-rào niwd-ao sut, lovd: "Eh jawân! tu chiz-ar khu zâya kini?" Yü lovd: "Sadaḳa yak târ mùi tu. Tu taròd chi'r kini?" Lovd-é: "Wuz am wuvd-sàlà vòd, yak-wajabi mu tsift, khu vud-i taròd muhkam i chùd." Yü lovd-é: "Mubàrak ved, wuz am wi zîd." Ya lovd-é: "Wi zîd-ao asân nist; pinj-dànà dâdhgad wi tsa kini, yü na mird." Alà-àspa lovd-é: "Té-am, ches, wuz am wi zîd." Dhöst-andé injuvd khu yeten. Chûskht-é, mughj.

52. Ba'd skhab en nâst, khuràk en khhud. Bar skhevd-ao en yet. Khu midhj i tiẓd, medhéna-'rd i pattéwd. Ya lovd-é: "Dis chiz-ir kini?" Yü lovd-é "Wuz am nasihat-i-padar zokhtj. Har wakhht tar khu watan na firébtj-am, khu kaman het na kinam." Ba'd en skhuvd. 53. Sahar ikwid-und dinyâ wiz i chùd. Fuk-ath wiz i chùd. Yet-en wi ghor ghaiv-andé. Kamand i jumbind et yiwi yiwi pi-kamand vûst et yü tiẓd. Al-kissa tiẓd-é tayàr sut, et ikyiwam khub-rùi vùd. Wazîr-bachah tiẓd-é. Tà ba yak dîdan[1] wuam pits i wind, ba sad dîdan 'âshik. 54. Alà-àspa yi tér jândâr ar-khu-khèz i là-chugjit. Az barai azmàish[1] kamand i chùd tar wi; lovd-é: "Bashànd tàz, dé wuz-am." Wazîr-bachah tiẓd-é, yi chuvgaz jài rèid, et yü chûskht-é tér jândâr. Dedhé kamand i skhchukht. Yü dhâd ar wi khèz, tît tît sut. 55. Ba'd lapath i niûwd, lovd: "Eh diregh dinyâ. Dar ràh-i wum khub-rui, mù i mi jinàutj."

56. Ba'd Wazîr-bachah fikr i chùd, lovd: "Waz am na zwâst av (?)[51] wi. Wiẓivd, yet tar ghor kal, tanàb i pattéwd aram. Tanâb injuvd, yü tiẓd. Alà-àspa naskhtud. Dhâd ba yak digar baghal, lap en niûwd. 57. Alà-àspa lovd-é: "Vròd, tu et dis chiz-ir chùd. Khub-rù at 'âshik sut, mâl-i-dinyâ tu at 'âshik sut." Lovd: "Har chiz vòd yi disàj sut." Sut-en tar ḳilâ. Wazîr-bachah lovd: "Yet, baskh kinam." "Alà-àspa lovd: "Tu baskh kin." Wazîr-bachah dar-rao baskhtjit[52] sut, khu katta et bashànd khu'r zezd, rèz-gi dhid wi'rd. Alà-àspa lovd-é: "Yid mazlum[52a] mis tu, yid mâl mis tu, mu'rd hâjat nist." Ikyuwi khu baskh dà chùd wi'rd. 59. Lovd-é: "Tu neth, wuz saò-am bàz-i-sufèd wuz tu'r vàram. Yíd nùst, Alà-àspa tùid. Chandîn muddut-i-wakhht naghjid. Sut az yi skhàr-andé, bàz-i-sufèd zokht et yet.[53] Yet yum-andé skhâb i

[50] Accusative.

[50a] Past tense for conditional: "if thou hast not failed" for "if thou fail not", &c.

[51] Perhaps to be compared with Sariḳoli accusative, "*a-wi*."

[52] A curious form. Lit. "had divided, went."

[52a] Lit. "oppressed one," *i. e.* "woman." A Turki idiom.

nâst[53] sâhar i lòvd : " Rawân sâo-am." Khuràk en khhud et khu vorjen bidhân en chùd ; rawân en sut.

60. Chandîn muddat-i-pònd en tòid.[53] Ba'd tar wi skhats zimb en firébt. Ba'd Alà-àspa lovd : " Ikyundé khush kinam." Wazîr-bachah lovd-é " Yet, mi mâl baskh kinam." Alà-àspa lovd : " Nài ! Az tu shîr-i-mâdar[1] tu'r piyil. Et mu'nd yî shart tu katti yast. Ikyuwi at mu'r chùd,[56a] dinyâ et ḳyâmat wuz az tu râzi. Shart mu'r lòv. Mi shart ikyam. Sut-at khu sur at chùd [56a], ba takht bakht at firébt, skhevd-áo-té at di[58] sut,[54] khu pâdh tar khu ghin kiné, lôv : " ' Mu moza tàẓ.' Ba'd yi pâdh é di[58] tiẓd, lôv : ' Wòi dirègh !' Dé idund at di[58] chùd,[56a] wuz lap-ath râzi az tu."

62. Alà-àspa tùid tar wi ruya. Wazîr-bachah yet tar khu jâi. Pâdskhâh'r khabar en yèd, ki Wazîr-bachah yat, bàz-i-sufèd i vùd. Pâdskhâh wi àdam-ir mughda-khwâhi dhâd. 63. Wazîr-bachah firebt, déid tar Pâdskhâh khèz. Bàz i zokht et déid. Pâdskhâh az khu jài-té andùid. Kullugh,[55] i chùd. Bàz i zokht khu dhöst-té, lovd-é : " Wazîr-bachah, tu lap-ath màt at sudhj. Sào tar chîd."

64. Yü sut tar khu chîd. Wi mâd wi wind ; khush-wakhht sut. Skhab nùst et sàhar i khu sur injuvd. Mardum en jam' sut. Pinz meth sur en dhâd. Pâdskhâh dund sur i na dhâd, di Wazîr-bachah dund sur tsa dhâd. 65. Végà'r nikàh en chùd. Khu ghin i zokht khu tùid tar khu chîd. Shevd-ao-té khu pâdh tar khu ghin i chùd. Lovd-é : " Mu moza tàẓ." Ba'd yi pâdh i tiẓd. Lovd-é : " Wòi dirègh !" et wi ghin lovd : " Yem chiz sut. Woi-Dirègh at diodhj,[56] mu chiz-ir at yòd ?" 66. Yü lovd : " Woi-Dirègh mard, kakhoi na vòd." Ya lovd : " Nài, kakhoi. Ikwi meth tu at tsa tùid, ya mis tùid. Wuz et ya katté maktab-bandi am skhéid." Lovd : " Dis di tsa ved, tu at mu'rd hèch-ath hâjat nist." 67. Khu moza i pinùid, khu vorj sowâr sut, khu ikwi skhab-ath tùid. Al-ḳissa rukhh sut. Yi ràmà az parào yat. Duhà i chùd, lovd-é : " Yem mâl chi'nd ?" Lovd-é : " Woi-Diregh-ind." 68. Taram dé[58] sut ; sarbàn wi parào dichàr yat. Lovd : " Eh sàrwân ! yem skhtur chi'nd ?" Wi lovd : " Wòi-Diregh." Taram dé sut, pâda-bân wi'rd dichàr yet. Lovd : " Yem pâda chi'nd ?" Lovd-é : " Wòi-Diregh-ind."

69. Sut, yi bâgh az parào yat. Lovd : " Yem bâgh chi'nd ?" Bâgh-bân lovd-é : " Wòi-Dirègh." Bâghbân yi lagan-andé gul i zokhtj. Bâgh-bân pîts tar wi pâlé vòd. Yid khu naghina zokht, gul medhen-andé rubùid-é.

[53] These words seem to have two different forms : "*yet*" and "*yat*", "*nâst*" and "*nùst*", "*tùid*" and "*tòid*."

[54] Lit. " thou hast gone to the sleeping.

[55] Lit. " Service" (Turki), a common salutation among friends.

[56] Lit. " hast caused to enter (*viz.* thy house).

[57] Diminutive of *kaniz*. P.

Bâghbân zokht khu tùid. 70. Firèbt-i Wòi-Dirègh-ird gul. Ya takhht-té khu pattéwdjit. Yem gul wam-ird injuvd. Ya lovd : " Eh bâghbân ! tu 'ajab khush-bùi gul at vùd. 71. Ba'd gul i zokht, het i chûd. Naghi na naskhtuid. Lovd : " Eh bâghbân ! ar-bâgh chài ?" Yü lovd-é : " Eh bébé ! yi shakhs ar-bâgh déid." Lovd : " Gul ba rùi wi na lòvé."

72. Wazîr-bachah az-bâgh naskhtuid. Yet tar ḳila divé. Kanîzak[57] pis-skhats naskhtoid. Yem yet, butta[58] zimb-ti nûst. Kanîzak yet, skhats i zokht. 73. Lovd : " Eh kanîz ! skhats mu'r dhâd." Lovd : Tu 'ajab bé-darak âdam at tu nist ? Wòi-Dirègh pari-zâd. Tu tsi-rang wam jâm-andé skhats brézé ?" Na dhâd wi'rd skhats ; Skhats i zokht khu rawân sut.

74. Yi gaz jài na sat et ya skhats wikhin gaskht. Ya wi tis i chúd, vòi yat skhats i zokht. Lovd : " Eh kanîzak, skhats mu'r dhâd." Kanîzak na dhâd. 75. Vòi tar wi khu jài sut, et wikhin gaskht. Vòi tis wi chùd, Vòi yat, skhats i zokht. Lovd : " Eh kanîzak ! skhats mu'r dhâd." Ya na dhâd-é.

76. Lovd : " Eh kanîzak ! tu véga'r tsa yossé tar wam khèz skhats na firebé. Skhats mu'r dhâd." Jâm i lap chûd, injuvd-é wi'rd. Yi lav i brokht, khu naghina pattéwd-é ar-jâm. Khu lumàl skhats-té bighin i chûd, lovd : " Wi kal het na kini, farib Wòi-Dirégh-ir."

77. Vùd-é, lovd : " Eh ! tu tsi-rang skhats vàré ? Yem khhîr véga sut." Lovd-é : " Mu'nd tu khéz 'arz ; ba'd har-rang at dé mu'r chu." Ba'd khu ḳissa i zokht. " Dund shich har-rang dé mu'r tsa kinid, kelân id." 78. Lovd-é : " Sà ! ḳiwé." Ya naskhtuid, ḳiwd-i wi. Ba'd déid, As-salâm i chûd. Ya az khu takhht-té andùid wi'rd. Dedhé sifend, khu pis-pâlé wedhd. 79. Ba'd az chandîn muddat-i-wakhht, kanîzak-ird i lovd : " Sà, mullâh ḳiw kin." Sat mullâh i ḳiw chûd. Mullâh wief i chûd nikah ba yak digar. Wâdh en ba takhht et bakhht firébt. Mâsh mis tamà dàulat-andé firâb-am.

TRANSLATION OF SHIGHNI STORY.

Woi-Dire'gh.

1. One day a king made an agreement with (his wazîr), (and) said : If to me there be a son (born), and to thee a daughter, (thou shalt) give thy daughter to my son. The (other) wazîrs were sitting (there), and heard this compact. 2. One day a son was (born) to the wazîr, and he died. To the king a daughter was (born). (Next) morning they brought the news to the king : " A daughter has been (born) to thee." 3. The king was sitting in public, (when) a man came in, (and) said : " The wazîr is dead." (But) the king refused his alliance. Men heard this. (So) the wazîr's son remained (unmarried).

4. Day by day he increased in stature and became big. A day was, (that) he spoke to his mother (and) said: "Gracious mother, there is a bow of my father's." She said: "Go into the treasury." He entered into the treasury, and took the bow and came out. 5. He came outside, and at once began to exercise himself. He practised much, and became expert. 6. A woman came from market. She came with (some) whey in a vessel on her head. He pulled the bow, (his arrow) struck this vessel, so that it passed through it from one side to the other. 7. The whey poured down into her face. Then she put her hand to her face. She fixed her eyes on the boys. All of them (had their) arrows in their bows, the wazîr's son's (was) empty. 8. Then she said: "Oh wretch! was it for this that thou wast born of thy mother? The king has (done well to) refuse relationship with thee!" 9. Then he carried his hand to his pocket, and took a penny thence. He threw (it) to that woman (saying): "Oh woman! take thou the penny; why dost thou speak evil words?"

10. He told his mother (of) this matter, (and) said: "Oh mother! what evil (?) was there in my father. These men come not into my presence." He sent a man into the villages. He assembled all the people, and brought them (in). Not any one went into the king's presence. Then he began at once to give food to the men. 11. Afterwards he took counsel with the people. He said, "I will send a man into the king's presence, (and say) a man's *word* (is equivalent to) a woman's *deed*." 12. They sent the man, (who) went into the king's presence, and saluted (him). (The king replied:) "And to you be the peace. May thy father's house be blessed. Thou hast accomplished a good journey." 13. Then (the man) took up his tale, (and) said: "King of the world! The wazir's son sent me before thee. Thou hadst made such and such an agreement with his father. Whatever falls upon the heads of kings, they turn not away from their word. What is this (that thou doest)?"

14. Then the king said: "Seize this (man). Thrust an arrow through his mouth. (It) will be a warning to another." 15. Then this man went out, and went before the wazîr's son, who saw him, and said: "Oh take this arrow from this (man's) mouth." They took the arrow. Then he asked him (of) the matter, and said: "What did he do?" 16. He replied: "I spoke thy word. The king said: Thrust an arrow through this man's mouth. It will be a warning to another." 17. The wazîr's son turned to his counsellors, and spoke, saying: "What shall we do now? Consult together", he said. (They replied) "We will send another man." They sent another man. 18. He arrived in the king's presence. After salutation, he took up his tale. The king said: "Seize him!" The wazîrs said: "Oh king of the world! first do thou talk (with him); after all, that is a young boy who makes so much of a

fuss; do you make a greater fuss. Now let it be thus, (say) 'Bring me a white falcon, (and) I will ally myself with thee.'" (So) they gave that man his leave. 19. He went into the presence of the wazîr's son, (and) said: "(Art) thou a lion or a fox?" (The other) replied: "No, I have ever been a lion's offspring." The man said: "The fact of the matter is this: let him bring me a white falcon (says the king)."

20. Then he turned to his counsellors, (and) said: "Make preparations." They made preparations. They got ready provisions for him. In the morning they set out on the road. All of them started with him, (but) he turned them back, saying: "I have no need of you. I am a *Kalendar* (beggar). If I (can) bring and give the king's service, this (is my desire). Turn ye back." 21. Then by himself he set his face to the road. His road (went) towards the wilderness, and to the skirt of the desert. He travelled many a *farsang* (parasang) (and then) a river came across (his path). 22. He alighted from off his horse. A horseman came from another direction, (and) alighted on the bank of the river. They spoke to one another. (The new-comer) said: "Eh, brother! may your journey be happy. What object hast thou chosen (for it)?" The wazîr's son replied: "I am going on the service of the king, for a white falcon." 23. (The other) said: "What is your distinguished name?" He replied: "The wazîr's son." This one in return asked the other (his name), who answered: "Âlà-âspa." Then (the wazîr's son) said "Come, let us go together." (Âlà-âspa) said: "Do thou shut thine eyes, (and) turn thy face backwards, (and) I will come." The wazîr's son shut his eyes, (and) turned his face backwards. He turned round, the other (was) before him.

24. Then they joined together and went on. They went into a desert. A long way they journeyed, and became thirsty and hungry. Then they alighted in the midst of that desert. (Âlà-âspa) said: "Oh brother! bring out a morsel of food." He took out some food, and at once they began to eat. 25. After eating the food, (the wazîr's son) said: "Do thou go for a walk on one side, thou wilt find a (place) under some rock or other, (which) we will make our shelter for the night." Then the wazîr's son sat down, and Âlà-âspa went off. He made a large circuit in that desert, nothing was there. Then he sat down for a moment there. 26. He raised his hands in supplication, (and) bowed his head. (Again) he raised his head, and looked: a castle has sprung up, with the gate open. He went and entered the castle, and walked through it. Then he turned away from the place, and went back to his companion. 27. He said: "Oh brother! I have found a (place at the) foot of a rock, to-night let us go, there is our shelter for the night." Then they went and entered the castle. The (wazîr's son) said: "Oh brother! where is that rock shelter?" Âlà-âspa answered: "Is this an insufficient rock shelter?" 28. They went

and fetched fuel. One (of them) at once began to light a fire. The other went for water. Then they began to drink and eat. They ate, and tied up their horses in the stable. They placed barley and grass (before them).

29. That night they slept there; in the morning Álà-àspá said: "I go a hunting, do thou sit (still)." He went a hunting, the wazîr's son sat still. 30. He cooked some food for himself. He ate by himself, and covered up the other's portion and put it by. By himself he came and threw himself on to his bed. (A certain) time elapsed, (and then) the door made a sound. 31. A span-high thing came in and passed on to the fire-place. It pulled out a hair of its own moustache, bound him hand and foot and threw him down. It ate his food itself and went out. The wazîr's son struggled, and with difficulty succeeded in drawing himself out of (his bonds), and pursued it.

32. He looked for it; it jumped into a pit. He became vexed and turned back. He entered the castle. He came by himself and sat down in his own place. He took his sword and at once began to sharpen it. The door creaked, he took his sword up and rushed behind the door. Álà-àspa entered by it. 33. He said: "Brother, what is my offence against thee?" The other replied: "Let us go, I will tell thee a tale." Then they went (in). Álà-àspa put down his load (of game) from off his back. The other went and brought food for him. He ate his meal and said grace. The wazîr's son got up and at once began cleaning the saucepan and the dish. 34. Then Álà-àspa said: "What was my offence against thee?" The other said: "Oh, thou (hast) not (committed) any offence against me. I and thou are brothers. Just now I cooked some food. I ate it by myself and set (some) aside for thee. I came and threw myself down in my own place. The door creaked. A span-high (creature) entered. Then it pulled out a hair of moustache of its own. It bound me hand and foot. It ran and ate its meal. Then it went out. I struggled and struggled and painfully released myself. Then I followed after it. 35. I looked for it, and it jumped into a pit I turned back again. I came and took my sword, and sat down here. The door creaked. I started up (thinking) this time if it enters, it will at once have me down. Thou didst enter." They spread out their bedding and went to sleep.

36. The morning dawned, and Álà-àspa said: "Oh wazîr's son, do thou go a hunting and I will sit (still)." The wazîr's son went a-hunting. Álà-àspa at once began (to prepare) a meal. He cooked the food, himself he ate (his portion) and set aside (some) for the other. He took his sword and came and sat down there. 37. At that very moment the door creaked; he at once arose and it entered. He made a stroke with his sword, and struck its head off at his feet, (while) the body (fell) behind the door. 38. He ran and collected his cups and platters, that they

should not become bloodied. Before he could sit down (again), (the creature's) head flew on to its neck and became joined on. Then it went out and fled away. 39. Ala-àspa pursued it. He looked for it. For once he turned aside, and put his hand on his beard saying: "To-morrow you shall see what will happen to you."

40. Ala-àspa returned discontentedly, and entered the castle. He came and sat in his own place. He placed his sword on the skirt (of his robe). At last the door creaked, and he jumped up. The wazîr's son came in. He said: "What offence have I (committed) against thee?" 41. Ala-àspa replied: "Nothing at all. Yesterday thou didst tell (me a tale); I did not believe (it). Thy story has been verified. Come, now let us put away our hunting. Let us employ some artifice to enter (the creature's) pit. Let us twist a silken rope." 42. (So) they twisted a rope forty yards (long). In the morning they made their breakfast, and went on their way. The wazîr's son said "I will go in." Ala-àspa said: "Well, thou canst not (find) strength." Then they arrived at the spot. He fastened the rope tightly under his arms. He entered as far as his knees. (Then) he exclaimed: "Oh! I burn!" 43. Ala-àspa pulled in the rope, and said: "(Now) the turn is mine. One instruction I give thee. (If) I say, Oh, I burn; (then) do thou let the rope go freer." Ala-àspa entered. He cried: "Oh! I burn." The other let (the rope) out. 43. Finally a long time passed, the rope remained short in his hand. Ala-àspa reached the bottom of the earth, (the country of) *Chil-dinyà*. He undid the rope from under his arms. Then the wazîr's son made a camp-fire at the mouth of the pit.

44. Ala-àspa started off. A flock came (along the road) from in front, meeting him. He saluted the shepherd and said; "Whose is this flock?" The shepherd answered: "The span-high one's." Ala-àspa came up and seized a sheep. He took off its head in the air (without throwing it on the ground). He prepared for himself one spit (-full of meat) for roasting, from off it. He cooked and eat it, and then went on. 45. Next a cow-herd met him. He saluted him and asked: "Whose are these cattle?" (The cow-herd) replied: "The span-high one's." He went, and seized the largest of all the bulls; he took its head off. He prepared for himself one spit (-full of meat) for roasting, from off it. The rest of it he threw away. The cow-herd struck himself a slap on the face. 46. Ala-àspa went on, some distance, when a camel-herd met him. He saluted him and said: "Whose are these camels?" The other replied: "The span-high one's." He went and seized the biggest of all the male camels. He took its head off; and prepared for himself one spit (-full of meat) for roasting, from off it, and went on (again). The camel-herd struck himself on the face. 47. Ala-àspa went on. A man in charge of a troop of

horses met him. He saluted and said: "Whose is this troop of horses?' He went (and) seized a big horse, and took its head off. He prepared for himself a spit (-full of meat) for roasting, from off it. That keeper of the horses struck himself on his face. 48. Ala-aspa went on and arrived at the town. The Treasurer was sitting in the gateway. (Ala-aspa) said: "What doest thou here? Here not a bird (even) is able to breathe."* (The other) answered: "However that may be, my fate has brought me here."† 49. Ala-aspa asked him: "In what (lies) the life of the span-high one?" The treasurer answered: "To-day is two days since he was in the Upper World. He returned wounded thence. Now he sleeps. His life is at his side, (and lies) in two stones, one on this side and one on that. Break those stones. From inside them two magpies will come out. Cut their heads off from the left. At his side there is a stick. Strike it on thy knee and break it. From inside it a lamp will come out. Put it into the water, and his life will go out (of him). If thou wert to put him in pieces fine as millet seed, he would not die. If thou omittest not one of these (instructions), he will die." Ala-aspa performed these instructions. The span-high one died.

50. Forty keys of his were (hanging) on pegs. He took them, and immediately began to open the doors. He opened them all, (till but) one remained. He came and at once opened this and went-in. A beautiful (damsel was) there. Neither the sun entered to her, nor the moon. 51. She immediately began to weep and said, "Oh youth! why dost thou work thine own perdition?" He answered, "For love of one hair of thine. What doest thou there?" She said: "I was seven years old (when) the span-high one stole me, and brought me and made me fast here." He said, "Be happy, I have killed him." She answered, "It is not easy to kill him; if thou wast to make him (into pieces) the size of grains of millet he would not die." Ala-aspa said, "Let us go; see I have killed him." He took her by the hand and they came. She looked; he was dead.

52. Then they sat down that evening. They ate their meal. (Then) they came to sleeping. He drew his sword and threw it (down) between (them). She said, "Why doest thou thus?" He answered, "I have received (this) counsel of my father. As long as I have not reached my home, I do not ungird myself." Then they slept. 53. In the morning he loaded up the wealth of that (creature). All of it he loaded up. They came to the mouth (bottom) of this pit. (Ala-aspa) shook the rope, and tied the things one by one, and (the wazir's son) pulled (them up). At last he finished hauling, and (Ala-aspa) brought that Beauty (to the rope). The

* *I. e.* "there is not room for a bird even to get in and steal."

† A common reply to an impertinent question. Lit. "Whatever may be (the case), by my fate I have come here."

wazîr's son pulled. At one sight of her face, (he fell) in love as if he had beheld her a hundred times. 54. Ălà-àspa had kept a black sheep by him. By way of a trial, he made the rope fast to it and said: "Pull well, it (is) I." (The wazîr's son) pulled, (till) a cubit remained. He saw a black sheep. Then he cut the rope. (The body of the sheep) struck (the ground) in front of Ălà-àspa, and was (dashed) to pieces. 55. Then he wept much, and said: "Alas for the world. For the sake of that Beauty, he has treated me so."

56. Then the wazîr's son repented himself, saying: "(Why) did I not take him out?" He returned and came to the mouth (head) of the pit, and threw down the rope to Ălà-àspa, who seized the rope: the other pulled, Ălà-àspa came out. They embraced one another, and wept much. 57. Ălà-àspa said: "Brother, why didst thou so? Thou hast become in love with the Beauty, in love with the goods of this world." The other replied: "Whatever has happened, has happened so." They went into the castle. 58. The wazîr's son said: "Come, let us divide (the goods). Ălà-àspa said: "Do thou make the division." The wazîr's son began to divide, and takes for himself what is large and good; the refuse he gives to the other. Ălà-àspa said: "This woman is now thine, these goods are now thine, I want them not." Even his own share he gave to him. 59. He said: "Do thou sit still, I will go and bring thee the white falcon." He sat still, and Ălà-àspa went off. A certain space of time passed. He went into a town, he took a white falcon and came (back). He came and remained there for the night, in the morning he said: "Let us start." They ate their food and saddled their horses, and started.

60. They went a certain distance of road. Then they arrived at the bank of that river. Ălà-àspa said: "Here I say good-bye." The wazîr's son said: "Come, let us divide these goods." Ălà-àspa said: "No, by thy mother's milk (they are) a gift to thee. And I have one bargain (to make) with thee. If thou perform that same for me, I am satisfied with thee in this world and in the next. Make me the promise. 61. The bargain is this. (When) thou hast gone and made thy marriage, and arrived at the throne of prosperity, and art about to sleep, put out thy foot to thy wife and say: 'Pull off my sock.' When she has pulled off one, say: "Woi-Diregh! (Ah, alas!)" If thou doest that so, I (shall be) well pleased with thee."

62. Ălà-àspa went on his way (direction). The wazîr's son came to his own place. They carried the news to the king, that the wazîr's son has come and has brought a white falcon. The king gave that man the reward of good news. 63. The wazîr's son arrived and entered the king's presence. He took the falcon and went in. The king arose from his place. He gave him the salutation of a friend. He took the falcon on his

hand, and said: "Wazîr's son; thou hast had much trouble. Go (and repose) in thy house."

64. He went home. His mother saw him and rejoiced much. That night he remained (there) and in the morning he took up (the arrangements for) his wedding. Men assembled together. They made a wedding feast for five days. The king did not give such a feast, as the wazîr's son gave. 65. The next day they celebrated the marriage. He took his wife and went home. On going to bed he put out his foot to his wife and said: "Pull off my sock." She pulled off one: He said: "Woï Dirègh (Ah! alas!)," and his wife said: "What is this? If thou hast taken Woï-Dirègh (to wife), why didst thou take me?" 66. He said: "Woï-Dirègh is a man, not a woman." She said: "No, a woman. That same day that thou wentest forth, she at the same time went. I and she studied at school together." He said: "If that be so, I do not want thee at all." 67. He put on his sock (again), and mounted his horse and went forth that same night. At last it became light. A flock of sheep met him. He saluted (the shepherd) and said: "Whose is this flock?" (The shepherd) replied: "Woï-Dirègh's." 68. Thence he went on; a camel-herd met him. He said: "Oh camel-herd! whose are these camels?" He answered: "Woï-Dirègh's." Thence he went on, a cow-herd met him. He said: "Whose are these cattle?" He replied: "Woï-Dirègh's."

69. He went on; a garden came (in sight) in front of him. He asked: "Whose is this garden?" The gardener answered "Woï-Dirègh's." The gardener had (has) taken some flowers in a vase. His face was away from (the wazîr's son). The latter took off his ring and hid it in the midst of the flowers. The gardener took (them) up and went away. 70. He took the flowers to Wòï-Dirègh. She had thrown herself on to a couch. He took up the flowers to her. She said: "Oh gardener, thou hast brought wonderfully sweet-smelling flowers." 71. Then she took the flowers and opened them out. The ring came out. She said: "Oh gardener, who is in the garden?" He answered: "Oh lady! a person came into the garden." She said: "Speak not of flowers (compared) with his face."

72. The wazîr's son came out of the garden. He came to the castle gate. A maid came out for water. He came and sat by the side of a bush. The maid came and fetched water. 73. He said: "Oh maiden, give me some water." She said: "Art thou not a wonderfully foolish person? Woï-Dirègh is fairy-born. How shalt thou drink water in her cup?" (So) she would not give him any water, (but) she took her water and went off.

74. She had not gone a yard (when) her water turned into blood. She poured it away and came again and fetched (more) water. He said: "Oh maiden, give me water." She did not give him (any). 75. Again she went

to the (same) spot and (the water) became blood. Again she poured it away. Again she came and fetched water. He said: "Oh maiden, give me water." She did not give it.

76. He said: "Oh maiden, if thou takest it till to-morrow, thou wilt not make the water reach her presence. Give me water." (She) filled the cup and handed it to him. A drop he drank, (and) threw his ring into the cup. He spread his handkerchief over the water, and said: "Open not its mouth (lit. head), (but) convey it to Woï-Dirègh."

77. She brought it and (Woï-Dirègh) said: "Ah! how dost thou bring water! To-day has become to-morrow." (The maid) said: "I have a matter to represent to thee; after that do whatever (thou wilt) to me." And she took up her tale: "So now whatever thou mayst do to me, thou art great [*i. e.* thou art the mistress]. 78. [Woï-Dirègh] said: "Go call [him]." [The maid] went out [and] called him. Then he entered and saluted [her]. She got up from her couch to [meet] him. Then she took him up and placed him at her side. 79. After some time [she] said to the maid: "Go call the Mullà." She went and called [him]. The Mullà performed their marriage to one another. They attained to the throne of prosperity. May we also attain to [and partake of] your good fortune!

A SHORT VOCABULARY OF THE SHIGHNI DIALECT.

A.	
to be able	vardh-(ao)
again	vào, vòi
to alight, to descend	khhavd-ao
all	fuk
also	mis
and	et
apricot	nàsh
to arise	andùid-ao
to arrive *or* to cause to arrive	firibt-ao (Inf.)
	firàb-am (Prest.)
	firebt-am (Past)
	firebtj (Perft. P.)
an arrow	surb
to ask	pekhst-ao
at once	mis
an augury	fàl

B.	
back (subst.)	dàm
bad	ganda
a bank (of river &c.)	zimb
barley or *grain* in general)	chustj
to be	vîd-ao
	vày-am (yast-am)
	vòd-am
	vudhj
a bear	yurskh
a beard	bon
to become (to go)	sit-ao
	sào-am
	sut-*or* sat-am
	sudhj
a bed, bedding	birej
before	parào

behind (adv.)	zabô
behind (p. p.)	tar—zabô
to bind	vist-ao
	vùst-am (Past)
a birch tree	brùj
black	tèr
blood	wikhîn
body	tanà
bone	sitkhân
bottom	bon
to bow the head	khambind-ao
a bow (for shooting)	tsan
a boy	gadhà
bread	gardhà
to break	vrukht-ao
	varagh-am
	vrukht-am
	vrukhtj
the breast	sîna
to bring	vîd-ao
	vàr-am, vir-d
	vùd-am
	vùdj
a brother	vròd
a bull	nîr skhîj
to burn	tebd-ao
	also sùkhtan P.

C.

a calf	shik
to call	ḳiw chîd-ao
	ḳiw-am
	ḳiwd-am
	ḳiwdj
a camel	skhtur
to carry, to take away.....	———
	yoss-am
	yòd-am
	yòdj
cattle (horned)	stòr, pâda
to clean	zanéd-ao

to close (one's eyes *or* mouth)	bidhemd-ao
	bidhemd-am
	bidhemdj
to come	yet-ao
	yàd-am, yâdhd
	yat- *or* yett-am
to come out	naskhtîd-ao
to command, (to send)	(Past Tense) ra mâd-am
to cook, *also* to ripen	pekht-ao
	péz-am
	pekht-am
	pekhtj
a corpse	murdhà
to cover	bighin chîd-ao
	bidhem-am
a cow	jào, stòr
cream	maròb
a crow	khhurn
a cubit	chuv-gaz
to cultivate	cheridz-ao
a cup	virik
to cut, to cut off	(skhchukht-ao ?)
	skhchand-am
	skhchukht-am
	skhchukhtj

D.

daughter	razin
dawn	rukh
to dawn	rukh dhéd-ao
day	meth
demon	dhéw
to descend	wedhd-ao
to die	mîd-ao
	(mir-am ?) mir-d
	mûd-am
	mùghj
distribute	baskh chîd-ao

to do, to make	chîd-ao
	kin-am
	chùd-am
	chùgj
a dog	küd
a door	divé
to draw	(tiẓd-ao ?)
	tàẓ-am
	tiẓd-am
	tiẓdj
to drink	brekht-ao
	brèz-am
	brokht-am
	brokhtj
to drop, to alight	khhavd-ao
dry	kâk
	E.
an ear	ghokh
earth, ground	zemts
to eat	khhéd-ao
	.....
	khhùd-am
	.....
eight	waskht
to enter	.....
	dedh-am
	déid-am
	(dedhj ?)
to cause to enter	(Perf. Participle) diodhj
a ewe	magh
an eye	tsem
an eye-brow	vrugh
	F.
a face	pîts
a father	ped, âtà T.
female	stredz
to find, to receive, to obtain	.....
	varé-am
	vùd-am

a finger	angaskht
fire	yâts
a fire-place, hearth	kitsâr
five	pinz
to flee	(Past Tense) rat-sust-am
a flock	ràmà
flocks and herds	mâl
a flower	gul
a flower-pot	lagan
to fly, to rush, (to burst)	(Past Tense) za-bòd-am
food, provisions	tuskha
a foot	pâdh
four	tsavòr
a frog	shèr-bîch
fuel	ẓiz
full	lap
	G.
a gate	darvâza
a gift	piyîl
to give	dà chîdao, *or*
	đhéd-ao
	dhi-am
	dhàd-am
	dhâdj
to go, (to become)	sit-ao
	sào-am
	sut- *or* sat-am
	sudhj
to go (indef.), to walk	.....
	ti-am
	tùid *or* tòid-am
	.....
to go out *or* up	naskhtid-ao
	naskhti-am, naskh-tîst
	naskhtuid-am
	.....
a goat	vàz

good	bàshànd
a grandson	nebòs
grass	woskht
great, big	kattà, kattanàk T.

H.

hair	ghunj
a hand	dhöst
he	yŭ
a head	kal
to hear	skhîd-ao
	.....
	skhùd-am
	.....
heart	zrâdh
a herdsman	chupân, pâda-bân
here	yundé, ikyundˇ, taròd
to hide	(Past Tense] rubùid-am
a horse	vorj
a herd of horses	galla
a house	chid
how?	tsi-rang
hungry	guskhna
hunting, sport	ghiéw

I.

I [pron.]	wuz, *also* am [see Gr.]
in, into	tar
iron	spin

J.

to join, to unite [intr.]	jaosar sit-ao

K.

a key	skhidz
to kill,	zîd-ao
	zîn-am
	zîd-am
	.....
the knee	zân

L.

a lady	bébé
a lamb	warg
a lamp	tsirao
a leaf	pàrg
to learn, to read	[Past Tense] skhèid-am
a leg	ling
to lick	dhikt-ao
to light	pedhéd-ao
little, small	dzülikîk
a little morsel *or* drop	lav
a load	wiz
to look	cheskht-ao
	ches-am
	chùskht-am
	chùskhtj
to lose	binest-ao

M.

a magpie	kshebts
to make, to do	chîd-ao
male	nîr
a man	chorik
meeting [adv.]	dichâr
middle [subst.]	medhéna
milk	skhuvd
to milk	dhùid-ao
millet-seed	pinj-dâna
month	mèst
moon	mèst
mother	mâd
mountain	tàkhh
mouth	ghaiv
much, many	lap
moustache	burùt T.

N.

name	nâm
neck	gardhàn
new	nàu
night	skhab

nine	nào
noise	sadà
nose	nèdz
now	shich
	O.
odour	bòi
one	yîw, yî, î
one by one	yîwi yîwi
open	het
other	gà, gad [obl.]
outside	vàj
	P.
to pass	[Past Tense] naghjîd-am
people	khhalḳ
a pine tree	ambekhts
a pocket	jèb
a portion, a share	baskh
to pour [tr.]	tis chîd-ao
praise	stàuakh
presence	khèz
publicly	marakan
to pull	[tiẓd-ao ?]
	tàẓ-am
	tiẓd-am
	tiẓdj
to pull out	[Past Tense] piked-am, *also* nakhvend-am
to put, to put by	là chîd-ao
to put on [clothes]	[Past Tense] pinùid-am
putrid	pudhj
	R.
rain	barân
to raise [the head]	[Past Tense] sindam
a ram	yirk, maghîj
a wild-ram	méshak
a ravine	shervidâj
to remain	[Past Tense] réidam
to return	waẓivd-ao
a river	skhats [*water*]
a road	pònd
a rock	ẓir
a rope	kamand
to run	[Past Tense] ẓekht-'am
	S.
a saddle	bidhàn
to say	levd-ao
	lòv-am
	lòvd-am
	lovdj
to see	wînt-ao
	wîn-am
	wînd-am
	wîndj
to seize	[Pres.] injav-am, [Past] injuvd-am
self	khu, khubath
to send	bekht-ao
	bâz-am
	bokht-am
	bokhtj
seven	wuvd
to shake	jumbind-ao
she	ya
a sheep	jândâr
a shepherd	chupân
a shoulder	sîvdh
side	pàlé, yimb
to sit	.....
	neth-am
	nùst *or* nâst-am
	nùstj or nâstj
sitting	nùstjîn
six	khhàuskh
size	dâdh-gad

a slap	skhkufta
sleep	khùdhm
to sleep	skhevd-ao
	.....
	skhovd-am
	skhovdj
small	dzülikik
a smile	shunj
to smile	[Past Tense] shind-am
snow	zinij
son	puts
to spread	wedhd-ao
a star	skhtardz
to steal	[Past Tense] tsift-am
a stick	mâth
stomach	kîch
a stone	ẓir
straightway, at once	mis
to strike	dhéd-ao
	dhàd-am, [*3rd* dé]
	dhâd-am
	dhâdhj
to study, to learn	[Past Tense] skhéid-am
such, like that	dund, idund
the sun	khhèr
a sword	midhj

T.

ten	dhis
time [this time &c.]	pith
that	yü [*obl.* wi], *Pl.* wàdh
that very	ikyuwi
then	dedh
thence	az-um, az-um-andé
there, therein	yum-andé, ikyum-andé
this	yam, yem [*obl.* mi di] *Pl.* dath
this very	ikyam
thirsty	tâskhna
three	àrraï
thou	tu
to throw	[Past Tense] pat-téwd-am
thus, like this	dis, idis
to-day	nur
to-morrow	végà
tongue	zév
tooth	dhendân
towards	tar —— pàlé
town	skhàr
to transfix	tis chid-ao
to treat [behave]	[Perf. Part.] jinàutj
trouble, toil	m
to turn [intr.]	gardh-ao
to turn [tr.]	.....
	wiẓafts-am
	wiẓivd-am
	.....
to turn aside, to depart	[Past Tense] gaskht-am
to twist *or* spin	.....
	teb-am
	tebt-am
	.....
two	dho

V.

a vessel, pitcher	taghàr, totheh

W.

the waist	midh
a waist-band	miend
water	skhats
a water-course	wiedh
we	màsh
to weave	wift-ao
a wedding feast	sur

to weep	niwd-ao	who?	chài, chi
	.....	why?	chiz, chiz-ar
	niùwd-am	wife	ġhin, ẓin
	.....	woman	ghin, kàkhoi
well	bàshànd *(good)*	wool	wùn
what?	kà, chiz, tsiz	work	kàr
whatever	tsèi	to write	nevish-an
wheat	ẓindam		
where?	kàiyi		Y.
whey	pài	yesterday	biyàr
white	sufèd	you	tamà

N. B.—No special mark has been put against the Persian and Arabic forms.

The Mythic History of the God Viráj.—*By* G. S. Leonard, *Assist. Secretary, Asiatic Society, Bengal.*

In giving an account of the god Viráj, the deity worshipped in the form of the universal world, and forming one of the ten supernatural beings in the scale of the creative agents, we have to consider him in the threefold light of history, mythology, and theology, in all of which he makes a conspicuous figure in the original works of India.

The great variety of discordant accounts found in the Puráṇas and elsewhere, regarding the genesis of Viráj and his historical and mythological traditions make it extremely difficult to form a correct and distinct idea of his personality, to ascribe to him a definite shape and form, to depict his real figure, like that of any other god in the Hindu Pantheon, and to attain to a knowledge of the doctrines his religion inculcates.

Viráj, as we learn from the different accounts of his genesis, does not appear to have a prior or separate existence of his own apart from nature, to entitle him to an independent entity or personality. His body, unconfined by any dimensions, cannot possibly admit of any distinct shape or form. And the doctrine taught in the established form of his worship is not composed of the creed of a particular deity, nor professed by a set or sect of people among the numberless schisms of the Hindus, nor is it capable of a distinct delineation.

So great is the confusion in the gradation of persons, as has been justly remarked by Moore in his Hindu Pantheon, that it presents us Viráj in different degrees of relationship to Brahmá the creator. Manu mentions him as the offspring of the latter, when the Brahma Vaivarta Puráṇa repre-

sents him as progenitor of the same. He is stated in the Institutes as father of Svayambhuva Manu, while in the Matsya and Padma Puráṇas we find him identified with the latter. The Brahma Vaivarta again represents him as the offspring of Rádhá and Kṛishṇa, and presents us with a multiplicity of minor Virájs (Kshudra Viráṭs) proceeding from the elder one (Mahá Viráṭ).

The epithet of the first male (Ádi Purusha) agrees with Viráj in one place, and with Brahmá in another; with Náráyaṇa in a third, and with Svayambhuva in a fourth. In one place the hymn addressed to the thousand-headed male (Sahasra Śírsha Purusha) agrees with Viráj, and in another with Brahmá, and elsewhere we find it addressed to Vishṇu or Náráyaṇa. So his wife Śatarúpá (Centiforma)—a fit epithet for the consort of Sahasrarúpa, *milleformis*—Viráj is represented in one place as his progenitrix and wife of Brahmá, and in another as a daughter of the same and consort of Svayambhuva Manu, identified with Viráj.

Notwithstanding the inextricable confusion, as shown above, in which the persons of Viráj and his consort are involved, a careful study of the subject and patient inquiry into the mists of fiction, which inseparably attend the character of Viráj in every theory of the Śástras, will enable us to find the true person of this deity, from the fictitious and pretended ones imposed upon him in sectarian works, each claiming the title for its respective divinity, which it attempts to glorify above the rest. Thus the Brahmites invariably honor Brahmá with that title which the Vaishṇavites contend to reserve for their adored Vishṇu or Náráyaṇa, and the Krishṇites of late for their favourite deity, as also for his offspring by Rádhá. While on the other hand the Śivites lay a claim to it, not alone for their god but also for his pigmy son Gaṇeśa, the Janus of the Hindus. They also denominate their goddess Kálí by the name of Śatarúpá. The Mánavites or Adamites do not scruple to call the great ancestor of mankind by that august name, and the great mother of the human race by that of Śatarúpá.

In the Vishṇu Puráṇa, says Dr. Wilson, "Vishṇu is said to be the first Purusha or spirit who, in association with Pradhána—matter, becomes male and female, *i. e.* active and passive energies for the creation of the world in the egg." "This system," adds he, "is conformable to that anciently maintained as explained in the opening of Manu, substituting Vishṇu for Brahmá." The same sort of reasoning applies in the case of Viráj also, who is represented, (*vide* Moore's Pantheon) to be a biformed being half male and half female, sometimes joined together and at other times in separate forms. In disregard, therefore, of the persons, severally designated with the title Viráj (for we find not only the other gods but potentates of the earth oftentimes honored with that title), and in exclusion of every consideration respecting the different forms in which he is exhibited, we must satisfy our

curiosity concerning him with a bare description of his nature and attributes, according to the import of the word and its definition given in the Sástras, with an exposition of the system of religion which is promulgated under that name in the Puráṇas and the Vedánta, together with its analogies in other Asiatic and European systems.

Viráj, as the word signifies (virajati = *regit* from the root 'rajri' = *regere*) means the ever-reigning ruler or sovereign of the universe, be he whoever he may, whose entity is composed of three natures: *viz.* the intellectual or *chaitanya*, the spiritual or *Váiśvánara*, and a concrete gross nature, *sthúla śaríra*, which respectively constitute his omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence throughout the utmost bounds of existence. He is also considered as Viśva constituting the individual souls of the Viśvedevás or different orders of gods or supernatural beings which subsist in him, and is sometimes represented as Mahá = *magnus* or Kshudra = *parvus* in the relation of father and son, as he fills a greater or lesser sphere, the whole universe or a part, and both of the same nature and properties.

Such being the import of the word according to its definition, Viráj proves to be the lord of the universe coeval with its creation, but whose essence, instead of dying away with the dissolution of the material world, as the Pantheist says, will continue for ever with the entity of its divine origin to all eternity. He proves also, from the joint testimony of the Sástras given in the following pages, to be the automaton or moving principle of the visible world, whose body, as the poet figuratively expresses it, "is nature, and whose soul is god." He may be called both great and small, agreeably to our conception of him presented to our enlarged or limited faculties; and as infinity is beyond the conception of a finite being, we, for the sake of meditating on his nature, can assign to him a greater or a lesser magnitude of a whole or part, according to the powers of our understandings, for he is "as great in the earth as in the ethereal frame." The form of Mahavirát is no more than the macrocosm of European philosophers, which comprehends the whole of the visible world, and the Kshudravirát agrees exactly with the microcosm of metaphysicians, which Dr. Reid, like the Vedántists, applies to Man or Manu who is an aggregate of the intellectual and physical natures of Viráj. The obvious manifestation of the deity in the face of nature, though of itself evident to the meanest understanding from every object of creation by which on all sides we are beset, is yet so mystified by the reveries of theologians, and the rhapsodies of philosophers on the one hand, and so diversified by the discordant descriptions of poets and obscured by the conflicting accounts of mythologists on the other, that this confused chaos of abstract mysticism of the Vedánta, and the contradictory myths of the Puráṇas would well nigh destroy each other, and leave a void in the belief of the Virájian religion, as it has

already done in the minds of the vulgar and ignorant, had not the irresistible light of natural theology showed its superiority over every other scheme of religion to the saints and sages of all ages and countries, and preserved its relics among the learned and superior classes of the Hindus. The truth of the self-manifestation of the deity in the universe forms the pith and marrow of the Virájian doctrines, (Virádmata) and is in unison with the true, rational, and natural religion of all mankind, whether deduced *à priori* from a pre-existent cause to his work, or inferred *à posteriori*, from the works of nature to a superintending agent.

The deduction of Virájism from its fountain head of Brahmism by the analytical method pursued by the Vedánta like all other ancient schools, is not only too abstruse for common comprehensions, but too intricate and mazy on account of its concatenation of causes and effects to several successive steps or gradations of being. I have therefore followed the modern method of induction in the investigation of Virájism as it is presented to us, and then attempted to resolve it to the main source whence it sprung. "The world subsists in and is the abode of God," is a main tenet of the Virájian theology; and the universe like a mirror not only reflects God's image, but refracts it to every observer in it. The want of such a display of divine attributes either in the works of nature before us, or in the construction of our intellectual, mental, and bodily faculties, would undoubtedly lead us to form a very different ideal of divine nature—different from the light of nature, and therefore of truth, and as different from each other as those propagated by the false dogmas of pretended revelations, and as various and uncertain as those introduced by the endless speculations of philosophers. A religion or system of doctrines teaching the mysteries of divine nature inconsistent with the light of nature, may seem too grand and sublime to common capacities, too amusing to the speculative, and may be also very good in the abstract, but it can neither appeal to our comprehensions unless justified by the light of nature, nor be of practical use to us, unless it appeal to our own natures and the nature of things. The pure mysticism of the Vedánta and Súfism, and the ideal spirituality of a Plato, a Berkeley, and others, may be suitable to intellectual and spiritual beings of higher orders placed in other spheres as cherubs, seraphs, and other denominations of the holy choir; but a being of this material world, confined to this sublunary sphere, requires a religion adapted in every sense to his comprehension and well suited to his nature, as that inculcated by the Virájian or natural theology.

The admirable Sir W. Jones has given us an extract of European theology from the writings of the illustrious Mr. Neckar which I shall quote in this place as best calculated to give a just idea of the Natural theology of Viráj in the glowing language of a modern philosopher. "*Considering themselves as an emanation from that infinite Being*, they

would cherish the idea of a God, who created, who regenerates, who *preserves* this universe, by invariable laws, and by a continued chain of similar causes, producing similar effects, who pervades all nature with his divine spirit, as an universal soul, who moves, directs, and restrains the wonderful fabric of this world. The blissful idea of a God sweetens every moment of our time, and embellishes before us the path of life; unites us delightfully to all the beauties of nature, and associates us with everything that lives or moves. Yes; the whisper of gales, the murmur of waters, the peaceful agitation of trees and shrubs, would concur to engage our minds and *affect our souls with tenderness*, if our thoughts were elevated to *one universal Cause*, if we recognised on all sides the works of *Him whom we love*, if we marked the traces of his august steps and benignant intentions, if we believed ourselves actually present at the display of his boundless power, and the magnificent exertions of his unlimited goodness."

I am confident that the Súfí and Vedántist would consider this rhapsody as an epitome of their common system, for they concur in believing the Spirit of God to pervade the universe, and to be always immediately present in his works, and consequently always in substance, and the souls of men (jíva) though differing infinitely in degree, yet not at all in kind, from the divine Spirit of which they are particles in which they move, and in which they will be ultimately absorbed.

The ubiquity of the divine Soul containing the grand arcanum of the Vedánta and Súfí theologies, is the invariable theme of oriental poetry and philosophy, for when the Veda says "He is in and yet out of all", it fully agrees with the Urdú poet Mír Hasan in maintaining his spiritual presence in all material bodies, yet different from all matter:

> "He is neither in the stone nor in the gem,
> Yet shines alike in every hue the same."

And while the Vedántist in his ecstacy beholds everything as an image of his Maker, the Súfí, in his religious rapture, sees nought but the essence of his God spread all around him.

But the advocates of Pantheism are apt to construe the inseparable union and diffusion of the essence of Viráj over the material world, whether exhausted or unexhausted in nature, as a real, material, and physical pantheism, and the untangible universality of Vaiśvánara (ζωτικός) the vivifying and animating soul of the universe, as a spiritual, ideal, and intellectual pantheism. But in the zeal of maintaining their favourite theories they entirely forget, that the perfect, immaterial, and incorruptible essence of a spiritual nature, though so closely connected with the material world, as supporting, sustaining, vivifying and moving all its parts for evermore, cannot be assimilated to imperfect, gross, dense, and motionless matter, by its pervasion over the whole, which means but the omnipresence of the

spiritual essence and not its transubstantiality into matter. For the text says "The spirit of Viráj, presiding over all material forms, is said to be embodied in the shape of the universe, but when that ever wakeful soul is said to preside over individual souls on earth, he is understood as a superintending spiritual substance." The Commentary on the above passage states: "Viráj Purusha's filling the world with his substance signifies, his presiding over individual souls in a divine and not material form." This explanation proving the spirituality of Viráj's essence, keeps him aloof from the charge of materialism.

The atheistic pantheism of Spinoza maintaining the absorption of the infinite god (Brahm) in nature is entirely ignored by the Vedas, for it has been inveighed against by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra in the introduction to his English version of the Ch'hándogya Upanishad, where he maintains a Theistic Pantheism by upholding the existence of the finite world in the infinite essence of God. "Uddálaka," says he, "instead of supposing with pantheists the absolute consubstantiality of God and Nature,—of God and the whole universe being of one and the same substance—makes the Deity create the universe first, and then shed out as it were, a ray of his light. His doctrine in short, is not the absorption of the infinite into the finite—of God in Nature—but of the finite in the infinite—Nature in God." Spinoza with his iron logic has fallen into a downright fallacy by supposing the extinction of the divine essence and personality by their pervasion or diffusion over the universe, because the Veda, granting even the infinity of the universe, declares God is perfect and so is the universe which is derived from him, as a prototype of the divine archytype. The subtraction of the perfect from the perfect leaves the remainder perfect. This doctrine of the Veda though a seeming paradox, is however true of infinite quantities, for if you take infinity from infinity, the remainder is also infinity.

The terminology of the Vedas using the word emanation for causation or creation, and diffusion and pervasion for omnipresence, as also the use of the ablative case for the instrumental, has oftentimes misled the learned to understand the Vedántic theism as a material pantheism. But the literal acceptation of such grammatical and verbal terminations cannot fail also to bring the charge of pantheism home to the Bible and other sacred writings, where the language is glowing and elevated.

Virájism is sometimes liable to the charge of finitism, from not having existed prior to the creation, but being coeval with the existence of the finite world, to which he is said to be subservient as the world is subservient to him. All this is very true, because Viráj had no being before the creation of the world, but the Eternal Being that had an existence before creation manifested himself either as Viráj or governor of the world after he had created it, or emitted a spark of himself for presiding over it. In the

former case it must be infinite and in the latter case it is equally so, being an effluence of the same nature, wherefore he is called Avyaya or imperishable, even after the dissolution of the world.

From the above reasoning, Virájism falls under the charge of a third kind of Pantheism, called the Dualistic, ascribing the co-existence of the finite world and its infinite soul, as the passage says "though Viráj is infinite, yet he is inseparably connected with the finite world." But this is a false objection raised by materialists, as two co-eternals and co-infinites are impossible in nature, one of them, *i. e.* the creative power must be anterior to the created object, and united to it in spirit for its government. Hence it is no dualism but monotheism.

Again Virájism is brought under the charge of materialism from Viráj's being the product (Kárya śaríra) of the partition and combination (pañchí karaṇa) of the five atomic principles or elementary bodies of the material world, just as the material force of bodies is produced by the union of substance and particles. But it must be borne in mind that the Viráj spoken of in the Sástras as a *Purusha* or sensible spirit cannot be the result of any mechanical or chemical force: and he is said to be *chaitanya* or intelligent soul, which can never spring from galvanism or electricity. He is styled the mundane soul, which must be a particle or modification of the eternal, self-existent supreme soul of God (Brahm).

The multiplicity of divine personages from Brahm to Viráj and the plurality of individuals in the person of the latter, *viz.* a Vaiśvánara, Viśvarúpa, and Viśva, all tend to prove both Brahmaism and Virájism as regular polytheistic systems, notwithstanding their pretensions to simple monotheism.

In refutation of this charge of polytheism I may mention that the Hindus consider these gradations of divine beings, not as so many independent, self-existent persons, but as modifications of the Supreme being, and entirely dependent and subordinate to him for the purposes of creation and the preservation of the universe. The Hindu never ventures to declare them as all co-eternals or co-omnipotents with the Supreme soul. Therefore if the Christian Trinitarian with his creed of three co-existent and self-independent persons in the triad is viewed as a monotheist, why should not the Hindu Unitarian with his faith in the triads be reckoned so likewise?

Another objection that is raised against Virájism with any degree of plausibility, is that of idolatry from the representations given of Viráj in the Puráṇas. But is there any possibility of making an idol with a thousand heads, hands, eyes and feet, and whose dimensions are as extensive as nature herself? Does the description of the Being in the Psalms "whose canopy is the Heaven and whose footstool is the earth," amount

to idolatry? Does the language of the Bible attributing hands, feet, eyes and ears to the Most High savour of idolatry? The answer is no; these descriptions are but figures of speech. In this case I see no cause why this reasoning should not equally apply to Viráj. Although I have made many personal enquiries and consulted all the authorities on Hindu Mythology known to me, I have been unable to hear of, or discover, any mention of an image of Viráj, with the exception of the colossal figures in the caves of Elephanta, and these are only supposed to represent Viráj.

Viráj worship.—The worship of Viráj, like those of the other divinities of the Vedántic Triad, is positively enjoined in the Sástras as an essential duty of the twice-born or higher classes of Hindus. It is absolutely requisite for every Bráhmaṇ to recite the Purusha Sukta or Purusha Medha Sukta—the Vedic hymn addressed to *Virát Purusha*—the first male, in his daily rituals, and is as indispensably necessary as the Gáyatrí, the essence of the Vedas, and the creed of all Bráhmaṇs, to be repeated in their daily ablutions and worship of Vishṇu. There is no Bráhmaṇ, however ignorant he may be, that has not got the Gáyatrí and the first stanza or at least the first hemistitch of the Purusha Súktá by heart, to be muttered with his sandhyás or daily prayers in the morning or evening.

The Trinities of the Veda and the Vedánta being much more concerned with the sacred scriptures and theology of the Hindus, than the other deities connected with their mythology, their worship is consequently confined with the learned few, while that of the other is widely spread among the lower classes of the people. Hence the worship of the supreme Brahm, which in the Vedic ages had been popular among Bráhmaṇs, was during the Puráṇic periods, driven to the woods and forests, where it was restricted to religious recluses and ascetics, till it was brought back and its worship re-established among the learned by the celebrated Śaṅkaráchárya of the Deccan, and lately introduced among the secular Hindu public by the philanthropic Rámamohana Ráya, from whom the first Bráhmya Samáj of Calcutta had its origin, and who was the prime mover in the wide and increasing dissemination of the truths of this primeval religion among the educated and intelligent classes of the people.

The religion of Brahmá too, which had been in full force among the ancient Hindus was latterly supplanted by Sivitism from many parts of India. (*Vide* As. Res., vol. 6.) It was re-established afterwards in the Deccan under the name of Hiraṇyagarbha adoration, until it was entirely suppressed by the zeal of the Unitarian Śaṅkaráchárya, as is mentioned in the Śaṅkara Vijaya of Ánandagiri, Chap. XI. It was, however, again revived by Mádhava Áchárya, under the appellation of Brahma Sampradáya or Mádhváchári, as Wilson describes in page 87 of his sketches of the "Hindu Sects." The worship of Brahmá as god of fire, or Vulcan of the Hindus, still

continues in Bengal, particularly where incendiaries grow frequent. Brahmá or Hiraṇyagarbha, says Wilson, is particularly reverenced at Pokhar in Ajmír, and also at Bithur in the Doáb. Vide id. p. 12.

The worship of Viráj is purely mental, without any visible form, symbol or figure. It was greatly in vogue during the Vedic period, when the Purushamedha and Aśvamedha sacrifices were in use, as the Vedas severally attest. At present the god Vishṇu, the second person of the "mythological triad," and possessing the attribute of the preservation of the world, is identified with Viráj, and worshipped under that name in the Purusha S'ukta hymn. The form of Viráj displayed in the person of Kṛishṇa, an incarnation of Vishṇu, tends also to corroborate this identity. The Mahábhárata furnishes us with instances of the manifestations of Viráj adored by the Páṇḍavas and gods of all orders.

In the Deccan, and particularly at Berar, there is still extant a Viráj-worshipping sect, where notwithstanding the propagation of Hinduism much later than in Northern India, the forms of the ancient and primary modes of worship, with the usages and customs of the Vedic times, are preserved entire from the innovations and changes of the North.

Authorities inculcating the necessity of worshipping Viráj may be quoted in great numbers from different S'ástras, but for fear of tiring the patience of the reader with a recital of mere injunctive precepts without their proper formulæ, I will note but a few to show how explicitly a Bráhman is enjoined to pay his adoration to that deity from the earliest times, in different S'ástras. Manu says, the recital of the Purusha hymn exculpates a man from every sin.

"Whoever daily recites the hymn addressed to the Virát purusha, being solely intent upon him in heart and mind he verily pleases the god, and thereby avoids the miseries of life and obtains the heaven of Vishṇu afterwards."

"Whoever without recital of the hymn to the Purusha, either bathes or worships Vishṇu, all his acts become null and void."

"Whoso worships Viráj with recital of the Purusha hymn, and scatters flowers and water upon his offerings, he has verily worshipped the whole universe, with whatever exists or moves in it." (Viráj being an epitome of the whole.)

"Whoso offers flowers or sprinkles water with recital of the Purusha hymn, to the gods, he does them full adoration."

"Let men worship Hari, who is without beginning, middle and end, with the *Yadvishṇu* mantra and *Purusha śukta* hymn, because in the whole Veda there is nothing like these."

I give below an abridged translation of a few stanzas of the Purusha S'ukta or Universal prayer from the Áraṇya Gáṇa of the Sáma Veda, taken from "Ward on the Hindus," in Vol. I, p. 289.

"Possessed of innumerable heads, innumerable eyes, and innumerable feet, Bramha fills the heavens and earth and dwells in the human breast. He who knows all, and whatever was, and whatever shall be, and is separate from all. In his separate state he exists in a threefold form above the universe, the fourth part is transfused through the world. He is therefore called the great being; his command is the water of life. From him proceeded the Virat purusha. He is the source of universal motion; he is not separate from the universe; he is the light of the moon, of the sun, of the fire, of the lightning, and of all that shines. The Veda is the breath of his nostrils: the primary elements are his sight, the agitation of human affairs is his laughter, and his sleep is the destruction of the universe. In different forms he cherishes the creatures, as in the form of fire he digests their food; in the form of air he preserves their existence, in the form of water he satisfies them, in the form of the sun he assists them in the affairs of life: and in that of the moon he refreshes them with sleep. The progression of time forms his footsteps: all the gods are to him as sparks of fire. In the form of fire he cherishes the gods (fire is said to be the mouth of the gods); therefore I bow to him who is the universe; to the gods who dwell in heaven I bow; to the gods who dwell in space I bow; to the gods on earth I bow; to the regent of waters I bow; to the gods who guard the region I bow."

The Ch'hándogya Upanishad, in Section XVIII, adores him in the following form: "Verily of that All-pervading Soul, the heaven is the head, the sun is the eye, the wind is the breath, the sky is the trunk, the moon is the fundament, and the earth is the feet. The altar is His breast, the sacrificial grass constitutes the hair of His body, the household fire forms His heart, the Annáhárya-pachana fire forms His mind, and the Ahavaniya fire forms His face."

The Aranyaka Upanishad describes the sacrificial horse as a form of the Virátpurusha.

Manu, in the first chapter of his Institutes, containing both the early Theogony and cosmology of the Hindus, gives the following account of the genesis of the world, and the origin of Viráj, as in the translation of Sir W. Jones:

Verse 8. He (Brahm) having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed:

Verse 9. That *seed* became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, *in the form of* Brahmá the great forefather of all spirits.

Verse 10. The waters are called *nárá*, because they were the production of Nara *or the spirit* of God, and since they were his first *ayana*

or *place of motion* he thence is named Náráyaṇa or *moving on the waters.*

Verse 11. From that which is the first cause, not the object of sense, existing *every where in substance*, not existing to *our perception*, without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahmá.

Verse 13. And from it's (egg's) two divisions he framed the heaven *above* and the earth *beneath*, in the midst *he* placed the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.

Verse 32. Having divided his own substance, the mighty power, became half male, half female, or *nature active* and *passive*, and from that female he produced Viráj.

Verse 33. Know me, O most excellent of *Bráhmaṇs* to be that person, whom the male *power* Viráj, having performed austere devotion, produced by himself; Me the *secondary* framer of all this *visible world.*

Verse 34. It was I, who, desirous of giving birth to a race of men, performed very difficult religious duties, and first produced ten Lords of created beings, eminent in holiness.

Verse 35. Marichi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Cratu, Prachétas or Daksha, Vasishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nárada.

Verse 36. They, abundant in glory, produced seven other *Menus*, together with deities, and the mansions of deities, and *Maharshis* or great Sages unlimited in power.

Verse 51. He, whose powers are incomprehensible, having thus created both me and this universe, was again absorbed in the supreme Spirit, changing the time of *energy* for the time of *repose.*

Verse 52. When that power awakes (*for, though slumber be not predicable of the sole eternal Mind, infinitely wise, and infinitely benevolent, yet it is predicated of* Brahmá *figuratively, as a general property of life*) then has this world its full expansion; but when he slumbers with a tranquil spirit, then the whole system fades away.

Verse 53. For, while he reposes *as it were*, in calm sleep, embodied spirits, endued with principles of action, depart from their several acts, and the mind itself becomes inert.

Verse 62. Swáróchisha, Auttami, Támasa, Raivata likewise and Chácshusha beaming with glory, and Vaivasvata, child of the sun."

This account of the creation and the creative powers employed in the process, very nearly corresponds with the description of the creation given in the opening chapter of the book of Genesis, with the slight reversion of the creation of water before that of heaven and earth, which in the Mosaic account is described as increate, as chaos itself. "The Spirit of God moved on the waters" agrees almost verbatim with the words of the Bible

wa-rúḥ elohím meraḥḥefet 'al-pené tehom. The spiritual essence is the first developement of the divine soul (Brahm), that which is, filling all infinitude and existing from eternity. All Sanskrit authorities from the Veda to Kálidása speak of water as offspring (nara súnava,) or first creation (Srishtirádyá) of the Spirit of God, which is thence called Náráyaṇa, Vishṇu, Jalasáyí, &c., producing the mundane egg within the waters of the deep. This person of the Godhead agrees with the Holy Spirit of the Scriptures, who begat the mundane egg in the womb of the watery abyss, as Milton describes in Books I and VII, of his Paradise Lost.

"——— with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss
And mad'st it pregnant.

"——— but 'on the watery calm'
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused and vital warmth,
Throughout the fluid mass.

The next person is the first-begotten by the Spirit of God under the names of Brahmá, Hiraṇyagarbha, Sútrátmá, &c. He is mentioned as the first male, and described as the creator of everything that was created. This person of the Godhead agrees with the "only begotten Son of God", or rather of the Holy Ghost, as we read in Matthew, "for that which was conceived in her, is conceived of the Holy Ghost." He is spoken of by John the evangelist as the λόγος = Word, and Creator of all things. "In the beginning was the Word, the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made."

Hence the λόγος is regarded by Platonising Christians as one of the Demiurgic authors of the world, an agent or Aeon, employed by the Supreme Deity in the creation of the universe like Brahmá, although the majority of Christians will have the "begotten Son" to be co-eternal with the Father. The last person of the godhead—Viráj, must, according to the Bible, be either the image of god "in which created he him," *i. e.* Adam or Adima, agreeing with Svayambhuva Manu, the first man according to the Matsya and the Padma Puráṇas.

The authorities next in importance to Manu are those of the Puráṇas, which contain the historical, legendary, traditional, and mythological accounts of the Hindus, and which are invariably consulted by them in all matters concerning history, polity, law, jurisprudence, morality, and religion. The Puráṇas, however, are so blended with myths, fables and fictions, that it is hardly possible to separate truth from falsehood. The preceding account by Manu is sufficient for all purposes as on the authority of the

Vedas it is said to be uncontrovertible, and no authority contrary to it is to be deemed valid.

The Brahma Vaivarta, a comparatively recent and Vaishṇavite Puráṇa in which Kṛishṇa is extolled above all other gods, and identified with Náráyaṇa, makes Mahá Viráj the offspring of that god by his consort Rádhá in Goloka, and progenitor of Brahmá, Vishṇu, Śiva, and other gods. (*Vide* Aufrecht's analysis of the said work for his account of Viraj, "Radhae filius Kṛishnae pars sedecima et ejus progenies.)"

The following account of the nativity of Viráj is given in the third chapter of the Prakriti Khaṇḍa of the said Puráṇa:

"The egg remained in the water a whole age of Brahmá, and then on a sudden it burst into twain, from which issued forth an infant bright as millions of suns, a suckling babe, crying with hunger. The lord of the world being thus exposed in the water like a child abandoned by its parents, looked upwards like a helpless orphan. He the Great Virát, then swollen in bulk, more than the bulkiest object, became huger than the hugest body, in the same manner as an atom which on the one hand is minuter than the minutest particle, forms the hugest body on the other. He was the receptacle of innumerable worlds, he seemed the Great Vishṇu in his nature, and was a sixteenth part of the essence of Kṛishṇa. Every pore of the hairs on his body exhibited a world of worlds, which Kṛishṇa himself was unable to number. For it may be possible to count the grains of sand on earth, but not the worlds, the Brahmás, Vishṇus, and Śivas, that grew in his person. His body was composed of the universe stretching from the highest Empyrean to the lowest Tartarus, and called the mundane egg, with Brahmá, Vishṇu, and Śiva contained in it."

The same Puráṇa gives us two other accounts of the different minor or Kshudra Virájes, one of whom was born in a pore of hair in the body of the major and the others in every world which appeared in the pores of hair upon him. The seventh chapter of the said Puráṇa, describes the formation of the earth from the body of Viráj, in contradiction to that of Madhukaitabha as Aufrecht mentions. "Terra ex illuvie, quae in corpore Virájis in aqua stantis adhærebat, orta est."

The Matsya Puráṇa, which has been analyzed by Aufrecht in No. 95, of his Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum, gives the following account of Viráj in the third chapter.

"De creatione a Brahmane facta. Cui ut Sávitrim sive Satarúpám undecunque intueretur, quatuor (immo quinque) facies oriuntur. Eorum filius Manu Svayambhuvá (aliis nominibus Viráj sive Adhipúrusha appellatus) nascitur, a quo reliqui Manues descendunt."

That "Brahma the creator took Sávitrí or Śatarúpá for his wife, who bore Svayambhuva Manu, who was also called Viráj or the First Male, and

from whom the other Manus had descended." That "He the Great Brahma" divided his person in twain and became half male, and half female. This female was severally called by the names of Sávitrí, Satarúpá, Gáyatrí, and Brahmáṇí. That "the soul of the world, *i. e.* Brahmá passed a long time with her and in process of time begat Manu, who is likewise called Svayambhuva and also Viráj the first male." And that he on his turn produced fourteen others Manu, Svarochisva, &c., who had the patronymics of Vairájás or Svayambhuvas given to them. I omit giving the other accounts relating to the creation in this Puráṇa, as they coincide in almost every particular, except in the gradation of persons, with the account given by Manu.

The third chapter of the Srishṭi Khaṇḍa of the Padma Puráṇa also corroborates the account given in the Matsya Puráṇa, with regard to the identity of Viráj with Svayambhuva Manu springing from Brahmá, and taking Satarúpá to wife. Thus Brahmá then produced from his essence Svayambhuva Manu identical with himself, who became king for the preservation of the universe, and begot a sinless girl named Satarúpá, whom Svayambhuva took as his wife." In this Puráṇa Brahmá himself is said to have produced the other Manus, *viz.*, Brigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, &c., and not through Svayambhuva Manu as stated in the Institutes or the Matsya Puráṇa. But there is no mention here by whom he begot them. It mentions, however, of Brahmá's creation of another supernatural being before that of the Manus, who was called Rudra, and who was as brilliant as the midday sun, and had a formidable and bulky body, half male and half female. This person can be no other than Viráj, though he did not propagate the Manus as his race. Rudra is another name for Siva, who is acknowledged by the Sivites as Viráj in the Rudrayámala Tantra. In the Vishṇu Puráṇa, Vishṇu is said to be the first *purusha* or spirit, who with association with *pradhána* matter, becomes male and female for the creation of the world in the egg. This Vishṇu, says Wilson, is the same as the Brahmá of Manu which can never be the fact, as it is the popular belief, supported by the best authorities that Vishṇu is identical with Viráj.

The great epic Mahábhárata presents us with two striking instances of the manifestations of *Virát* and *Viśvarúpa* in the person of Kṛishṇa, who had given himself out to be an incarnation of Náráyaṇa, Vishṇu, or Viráj. In chapter 130 of the Udyoga Parva, he is mentioned to have assumed the first form, in order to intimidate the haughty usurper Duryodhana, who had plotted to arrest his person. "Think not oh! foolish prince," said he, "that I am alone:—the Suns, furies, Vasus and Rishis all accompany me. Thus saying he laughed aloud when lo! unnumbered spirits like flashes of lightning issued forth from his refulgent body. Brahmá appeared as burning on his forehead, and the Rudras shone forth from within his breast.

On his right arm were seated the ruling divinities of the world, and his countenance exhibited the images of Agnis, Ádityas, Vasus, Sádhyas, Indras, Aśvinas, Maruts, and Viśvedevás, or all orders of deities, with an innumerable train of Yakshas, Rákshasas, and Gandharvas. Arjuna, holding his bow and deadly darts, stood on his right hand, and Baladeva with his plough on his left. The sons of Páṇḍu appeared seated on his back, and his front showed the mighty warriors of the Vrishṇi and Andhara races. In his palm he held the discus, club, śakti, and other weapons. When behold! sparks of living fire, mixed with fume and smoke fled on all sides from his nostrils, ears, eyeballs, and the pores of his body. The assembly of mighty monarchs closed their eyes from fear, at the sight of the terrific cosmoform of Kṛishṇa. All were seized with fear save the sages, Rishis, Bhíshma, Droṇa, and Sanjaya, who remained fearless because of their faith in the godhead of Kṛishṇa, who had favoured them with clairvoyance [divya-chakshu]."

So in the Bhagavad-Gita—

"The mighty compound and divine being Hari, having, O Rájá, thus spoken, made evident unto Arjuna his supreme and heavenly form; of many a mouth and eye; many a wondrous fight; many a heavenly ornament; many an up-raised weapon; adorned with celestial robes and chaplets; anointed with heavenly essence; covered with every marvellous thing; the eternal God whose countenance is turned on every side! The glory and amazing splendour of this mighty being may be likened to the sun rising at once into the heavens, with a thousand times more than usual brightness. The son of Páṇḍu then beheld within the body of the God of Gods, standing together, the whole universe divided forth into its vast variety. He was overwhelmed with wonder, and every hair was raised on end. He bowed down his head before the God, and thus addressed him with joined hands."

Another part of this epic presents us with the macrocosm or Viśvarúpa of Kṛishṇa before the assembled deities and monarchs, in the Sabhá Parva on the occasion of the Rájasúya ceremony of the coronation of Yudishthira. In Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindus, page 30, I find Virája as a name of one of the six qualities of the subtle form of Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa, and meaning absence of human passions synonymous with Virága. Instances like this, however, can be multiplied to any amount in proof of the identity of Viráj with Kṛishṇa and Vishṇu, but I think those already deduced are sufficient for the purpose.

In the Gaṇeśa Purâṇa, Viráj is represented as incarnate in the form of Gaṇeśa, the god of the elephant head, for the purpose of destroying a certain demon. In chapter 62, called the Viráḍ-darsana, the following description of Gaṇeśa's person as Viráj is given.—"As the demon was thus

pondering in himself, he beheld before him the form of Viráj, touching the sky with his head, his feet rooted in Tartarus, his ear-holes containing the cardinal points, and huge forests forming the hairs on his body. The orbits of heavenly bodies appeared as circles on his person, and the wide seas looked as drops of sweat on his body, millions and millions of deities sporting on the tips of his fingers and nails, and the fourteen spheres of planetary bodies in the universe revolving in his belly. This being then snatched the demon and killed him in a trice, as children do bugs with their nails."

The Vishṇu Puráṇa, which is devoted to Vishṇu, represents that god as Viráj in the incarnations of Kṛishṇa and Baladeva. It says that the gods being persecuted by the demon Kañsa complained to Vishṇu of their grievances, who, in reply, told them that he will undertake to quell the arch-fiend by assuming his form of Viráj in his incarnation of Kṛishṇa at Vrindávana, and forthwith showed his *Virátrúpa*, which the gods hallowed and adored.

Now as regards his consort Satarúpá, [centiforma] the female personification of material force [śakti], as Viráj is the male prosopopœa of spiritual energy, I have to mention that the words hundred and thousand in the appellations of both are mere metonymies of determinate numbers for indeterminate ones by figure of speech, as both spirit as well as matter can assume an infinity of shapes and forms. This female, in the various authorities quoted above, is sometimes made to represent the wife of Brahmá, at other times of Viráj and lastly of Svayambhuva Manu. But Moore, in his Hindu Pantheon, takes her for the wife of Viráj purusha only, and says, on the authority of Colebrooke, that the notion of Viráj dividing himself into male and female forms occurs almost in every Puráṇa, and the colossal figure in the cave of Elephanta bears relation to this division and re-union of Viráj. The partition of the body into male and female halves may very likely lead us to suppose this person to be Brahmá whom Manu has represented to be divided into two epicine halves, as also Svayambhuva Manu, the first man or Adam of the Hindus, whose left half, [rib or side] gave birth to the mother of mankind. But we know for certain on the authority of Manu that Viráj was not the same with his progenitor Brahmá, nor identical with his progeny Svayambhuva, whom "Dárá Shikoh" says Sir William Jones, was persuaded to believe, and not without sound reason, to be no other person than the progenitor of mankind, to whom the Jews, Christians, and Muhammedans unite in giving the name of Adam.* Therefore Satarúpa, who is designated by the special title of Rajdáriká or wife of Viráj, in the Rudra Yámala Tantra, could not be the consort either of Brahmá or Svayambhuva, as represented in the confused accounts given of her in the different Puráṇas, the inconsistencies of which are so apparent,

and the absurdity of identifying a god with a man so evident, as not to require an explanation.

The perfect coincidence of the description of Rajdáriká with that of her husband confirms the belief of her being a co-partner of Viráj only, as will plainly appear from the following extract:

"She had millions of Vishṇus on her right arm, and a million of Brahmás on her left; a million of Śivas on her head, and as many Indras at her feet. Millions of moons shone in her nails, and as many suns in her eyeballs. Her worshippers addressed her saying "Save us, Oh! thou source of the world and consort of Viráj, that givest birth to millions of Brahmás, Vishṇus, and Śivas, in thy hollow bowels."

The difference of sex in the Hindu deities is assigned to the same reason, which Proclus mentions concerning the Greek and Roman divinities, in Timæus, p. 290. "The division of male and female comprehends in itself all the plenitudes of divine orders; since the cause of all staple power and identity, and the leader (χόρηγος) of being, and that which invests all things with the first principles of conversion, is comprehended in the masculine order. But that which generates from itself all various progressions and partitions, measures of life, and prolific powers, is contained in the female division." Here we see all the gods from the supreme being downwards not only having a female energy but inseparably joined with it, as in the person of Adonis in the Orphic hymns.

Mention of Virát-kshetra, the site of Viráj's nativity, the scene of his incarnation, and the field of his exploits is often made in some of the Puráṇas. The Adhyátma Rámáyaṇa describes the sanctity of the place in chapter 84, which has been noticed by Dr. Aufrecht under No. 74 of his Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum. The Bráhma Puráṇa mentions it to be situated at the confluence of eight streams, as Aufrecht says in p. 19 of the said Catalogue "ad Virája regionem, prope octo fluminum confluentem sitam, proficiscitur." In the Káka-rudra-samváda, it is mentioned as contiguous to Chola, Videha, Kerala, &c., and to be under the constellation Sagittarius, with Káṇchí, Karṇáṭa, &c. The Virát-bhúmi, or land of Viráj, is famed in the Puráṇas for its production of diamonds which are thence called Virátajas, and which justifies the supposition of its being situated near Golconda, celebrated also for its diamond mines. The place in the modern Geography of India is Berar, in the Deccan, and is called Berár, Borar, and Boráḍ, by the natives, and there is every reason to suppose this district to be the birth-place of Viráj, and more so, from the indisputable fact of the origination of all the early incarnations of Vishṇu having taken place in the Deccan, then known as the land of demons. The Virát-bhumi is also called the Matsya-desa, or fish country, in the Mahábhárata, an appellation which the inhabitants of Bagurá (Bogra), a district

in the north of Bengal, claim for this tract of land, because its streams teem with fish.

The accounts of the origin of the world, with those of its creative agencies, and created bodies given both by Manu and Moses, are mere allegories of the natural order of things, which require some explanation. In the chaotic state of things there existed only the eternal and infinite soul of god [Brahm] filling all the '*tohú wa-bohú*', the null and void, and overspreading the whole with the immoveable, inactive, and all-pervading essence of his inscrutable nature, his entity and intellect the source of power. For knowledge, says the father of modern philosophy, is power, and infinite knowledge therefore must be the fountain of infinite power. He, wishing to create the world, first created the air, represented as the first development of the all-encompassing soul in the form of the spirit, the main source of motion and force, to give mobility to inert substance. To this followed the production of water, the atomic principles of which are conceived in the bosom of ether, which being agitated by the force of air or spirit of "Nárâyaṇa," conceived the latent heat, represented as Brahmá or god of fire within its bosom. This heat in its turn gave birth to Vaiśvánara the vivifying fire. And lastly the combination of the triple principles of the spirit, gave birth to the mundane egg, or rotundity of the material world, which came next to be manifested in its present form which we call Viráj. How far these theories of the Ancient Hindus are correct according to the light of physical science and modern experimental philosophy I am unable to decide, but I am confident that some of them agree with the theories of the Grecian philosophers on the origin of the world. Thales, for instance, regarded water or fluid substance as the single original element from which everything came and with which everything returned. Anaximenes derived the origin of all material things from a single element, and according to his theory air was the source of life. Heráclitus of Ephesus regarded fire as heat as the primary form of all matter, and Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, conceived a supreme mind or intelligence (νοῦς) distinct from the visible world, to have imparted form and order to the chaos of nature.

The Vedánta holds Viráj to be the result of *Pañchíkaraṇa* or assemblage of the five elements, which for the sake of brevity I will quote from Ward's translation of the Vedánta Sára, Vol. I, p. 371.

"From the five subtile elements proceeded the subtile bodies. From these five subtile elements in proportions of five, arose the masses of solid matter; but each is distinguished by the name of the element which is most prevalent. In the solid mass of ether sound is found; in air is found both sound and touch; in fire sound, touch and form; in water, sound, touch, form, and taste; in earth, these four and smell. The qualities are

partly natural and partly artificial. The active principle dwelling in the collected sum of solid matter is called *Vaiswánara*, or he who is conscious of self-existence, and *Virát* as he is held forth, or displayed in all creatures."

But as the being under investigation is to be considered more properly as an intellectual and spiritual person or the sensible emblem of an ideal being, rather than any real personage of history, his nature and character are to be sought for more in works of philosophy, theology and divinity, than in any other, and we must therefore explore the Vedánta, the only metaphysical and theological school of the Hindus, for a true account of this supernatural being. It conceives three orders of incorporeal natures in the chain of beings from the supreme to the human soul. The first consisting of pure intelligence *(chit)* composed of the causal principles of nature called *Kárana Saríras*. The second of intellectual beings [chetanas] composed of subtile spiritual bodies called *Súkshma* or *linga Saríras*. And the third comprised of intelligent beings [chaitanyas] joined with concrete, gross or material bodies called *Sthúla Saríras*, in which Virát the god manifest in nature is included. Another definition of the demiurgic triads will have the last to be the product or Kárya Saríra; the second, that by which it is produced, *linga śaríra;* and the first, that from which the thing produced, takes its pattern, *i. e.* the *Kárana Saríra*, depicting them under the analogy of the archytype, architect, and the offspring, in which last position Viráj is taken to stand, who therefore is understood to participate of the entity and omnipresence [the chief attributes of the eternal and infinite soul] as far as he extends throughout the duration and bounds of nature.

To give a description of the theogony of Viráj, among the other persons of the triads, or, in other words, to show the distinction of that state of the divine soul from the other conditions, and the relation it bears to them in the order of succession, would require an exposition of the whole theodecy of the Vedánta system, which would be out of place here. I shall therefore content myself with giving a short account of these different degrees of divine personages, or rather the several denominations of these spiritual and psychological beings, in order to show the relation they bear to Viráj according to what I could gather about them, from the translation of the Vedánta Sára by Ward, Colebrooke's Essay on the Vedánta, and Röer's translation of the Upanishads.

The first order composed of pure intelligence *(chit)* and possessed of causal form *(Kárana Saríra)* and having the quality of purity or goodness only *(Satva)*, is comprised of three persons according to the general or particular modifications of these properties, styled totality *(Samashṭi)*, and speciality or individuality *(vyashṭi)*, in Vedánta terminology, *viz.* :—

1*st.*—*Brahm*, omnipresence or the unlimited essence of god in duration and space; called also *turíya* or quadruple, for its being the receptacle of the three orders and human soul *(jíva)*.

2*nd.*—*Prajñá*, omniscience, *i. e.* intellect or understanding devoid of action, whence it is termed inert *(niskriya)*.

3*rd.*—*Íśvara*, omnipotence, the active principle, or creative agency and causality of god.

The second order composed of intellectual beings *(Chetanas)* possessed of subtle spiritual bodies *(súkshma linga śaríra)* and having the quality of passion or affection *(rajas,)* comprises the three persons of

1*st.*—*Sútrátmá*, the undivided spirit or connecting soul of all subtle bodies, as Pope expresses it; "Diffused through all, yet in all the same."

2*nd.*—*Hiranya-garbha* or *Brahmá*, the creator of the Universal frame.

3*rd.*—*Taijasha*, the spirit united with the mind in intellection.

The third order composed of intelligent beings *(Sthúla Saríras)* possessed of concrete and gross bodies, and having the quality of foulness *(tamas)* is also comprised of three persons, according to the universality or individuality, manifestation or reticence.

1*st.*—*Vaiśvánara*, the universal soul latent in all bodies, as their prime automaton or moving principle and allied to material force.

2*nd.*—*Viráj*, the mundane soul obvious in nature as her formal cause.

3*rd.*—*Viśva*, the individual soul abiding in every gross body.

And lastly *Jíva*, the human soul endued with life and sensation.

Ward, in his translation of the Vedánta Sára, gives the following descriptions of these persons in the Godhead belonging to the threefold triads of the Deity:

"The active principle dwelling in the collected sum of solid matter is called wishwánara or, he who is conscious of self-existence, and Virát, as he is held forth or displayed in all creatures, &c."

Colebrooke, in speaking of them, begins with the last [Jívátmá], and says, "The soul [as a portion of the divinity] is infinite, intelligent, sentient, and true. It is made to act by the supreme Being, but in conformity to its previous resolutions: and those again have been produced by a chain of causes extending backward apparently to infinity." [*Vide* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 22.]

Dr. Röer, in the introduction to his translation of the Taittiríya Upanishad, gives the following compendious sketch from the Vedánta Sára.

"The cause of the world, according to Vedánta, the source of all reality, and strictly speaking of all reality itself, is *Brahm*, the supreme soul or spirit." "It consists of the three qualities of *satva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, which denote the three degrees of its existence, or of its power of manifestation, &c." "God in his relation to the totality of ignorance is omnis-

cient, omnipotent, &c., that is, he has all the attributes of the Creator and ruler of the world, and is called in this respect Íśvara [the ruler]". "God in his relation to special ignorance is the individual soul, the defective intelligence Prajñá." "Here again, the subtle body is either a totality or an individuality. The soul or god as pervading the totality, is called the *Sútrátmá* or Hiraṇyagarbha, as pervading an individuality, and Taijasha [the resplendent]. Both, however, are in reality one." Again, "From the subtle elements further proceed the gross elements, and from the gross elements the different worlds and different bodies &c." "The soul as abiding in the totality of gross bodies is called *Vaiśvánara*, Virát, &c., as abiding in an individual body Viśva." The definitions of some of these modes of the divine soul are differently given in different works, as for instance the Máṇḍukya Upanishad describes *Prájñá* as omniscience instead of ignorance, as stated in the Vedánta Sára. Thus, "His third condition is *Prajñá* [who completely knows] who has become one, whose knowledge is uniform alone, whose nature is bliss, &c." "He [the *Prájñá*] is lord of all: he is omniscient, he is the internal ruler, &c.," [*vide* idem, verses 5 and 6].

These quadruple conditions of divine spirit are incased in four different sheaths of the soul, which I give here in the words of Dr. Röer.

1st. "The intellect with the internal organs forms the intellectual sheath. 2nd. Mind, with the organs of action, the mental sheath. 3rd. The vital airs, together with the organs of action, for the vital sheath. 4th. The three sheaths when united are the subtle body of the soul &c." "The gross body is called the nutrimentitious sheath (Annamaya Kosha), and as it is the place where gross objects are enjoyed, it is called awake." All these four conditions of the soul are perceptible in four different states of human life, namely, the intellectual, in deep sleep, when the intellects are awake, notwithstanding the dormancy of the other faculties; the mental, in the dreaming state, when the mind acts in absence of bodily functions; the concrete, consisting of Vaiśvánara, Viráj and Vaiśva, in the waking state, when we perceive all sensible objects by means of external organs.

"The totality of the gross, the subtle and the causal bodies, forms one great world, and the soul from the pervader to the ruler is one soul." Hence these triple orders of intelligences, are of the same essence, inasmuch as they are all intellects, admitting only of the difference in point of boundlessness and limitation, otherwise called universality and individuality. They are modifications of the selfsame spirit of god and are equally objects of worship, and that of Viráj is the most important as the most conspicuous among them. Meditation of these modes of Brahma's existence is said to be the most rational and profound worship of god, and it is necessary to commence with the mode or state in which reflection first rises, and is concluded with the last result to which that reflection has attained.

It may perhaps not be irrelevant here to trace some analogies of the incorporeal natures treated herein, with those met with in European philosophy, although I am far from maintaining that they bear any exact similitude to each other. I find Virájism bears a great resemblance to Stahl's doctrine of Animeism, whose automaton or moving force of the world corresponds exactly with Vaiśvánara, the other name of Viráj, and answers to one of the demiurgoi of Plato, called nature by Lampsacus and the Stoics and Plastic nature by Dr. Cudworth. Viráj agrees in some respects with the Archæus of Paracelsus, and the Principium Hylarchicum of Henry Moore.

Some are apt to consider these theories, as also Virájism, to be allied to Pantheism, while on the other hand it can plainly be seen, that though the spirit of god is apparent to all as working in the universe, it is essentially separate from it, having had a separate personal existence before it was brought into being, and continuing to have a separate personal existence simultaneously with it. The words of St. Augustine "in illo sunt omnia," could not be construed in a Pantheistic sense, nor could that which Lucan says, "Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris," be taken in that sense. The angel in Genesis [xvi, 7-13] is called 'El roí,' 'God of sight,' or God manifest, and the word Immanuel, God with us, plainly refers to the manifestation of Viráj. The mystic doctrine of the Persian Súfís alludes to the manifestation of divine essence in the whole creation in the words "there is no real entity besides that of god."

The universality and individuality of the divine spirit, of which it is difficult to derive an idea from their definitions in the Vedánta, appear much to resemble the generality or particularity of the psychic fluid, which according to the doctrine of Quesne is said to be diffused alike through all nature, but differently exhibited according to the particular organisations of minds and bodies. The Hindu Theism, like every other system of Unitarianism, inculcates the unity, soleity, and monadity of the divinity, as it is well known by its maxim "Ekameváduitíyam," agreeing with the *μόνος θεός* of the Christians and the *hua wáhid* of the Muhammadans, but at the same time it speaks of the persons of the Trinity, only as so many manifestations and denominations of the same being, according to the distinctions of mere modes as maintained by Modalists, and illustrated by them by analogies drawn from nature, as the following: "Speciem ignis, splendorem et calorem: splendor ab igne nascitur, calor ab igne et splendore generatur. Splendor est de igne, et tamen sunt coeva. Sic tria in sole occurrent; ipsa solis substantia, radius et lumen, et tamen in his tribus est eadem lux: ut radius de sole nascitur, sic Filius de patre generatur, calor ab utroque progreditur, sic spiritus ab utroque spiratur." To each of these persons they ascribe a "character, *ὑπόστασις*, hypostasis," *i. e.* "Complexus notarum quibus personæ

divinæ inter se differunt," and take into consideration the internal and external relations which they bear to each other.

The nearest affinity which the Vedánta theology bears to any other, is that of Plato, where we have the same number of the orders of Demiurgic principles in the Jovial, Adonical, Dionysiacal trinities [Δῖος, Διονυσιακή, Ἀδωναική], from which many grades and degrees of gods are said to proceed, as the intellectual, supermundane, mundane, &c., but how far they agree with the Vedántic orders is a question which cannot be discussed here.

Before taking leave of my subject, I will add a few words in anticipation of the charge of Pantheism, which Virájism may otherwise incur from the ubiquity, universal pervasion, and similar attributes of the god. It must be borne in mind that Viráj fills the universe in spirit, while Pan the god of Pantheism is represented as filling it in substance, as Dr. Jardine says in his tract on Theism. "There are those who identify god with the universe, believing that he is immanent in all things, that he is the substance or inherent force which shines forth in the sun, organises the various forces of nature, lives in the animal and vegetable kingdom, and thinks in the human mind. This is usually known by the name of Pantheism." The Orphic hymn quoted below describes Pan, as materially and substantially diffused in nature like Viśvarúpa and not in spirit as Viráj.

> "I call strong Pan, the substance of the whole,
> Etherial, marine, earthly, the total whole,
> Immortal fire; for all the world is thine
> And all are but parts of thee, O power divine!"

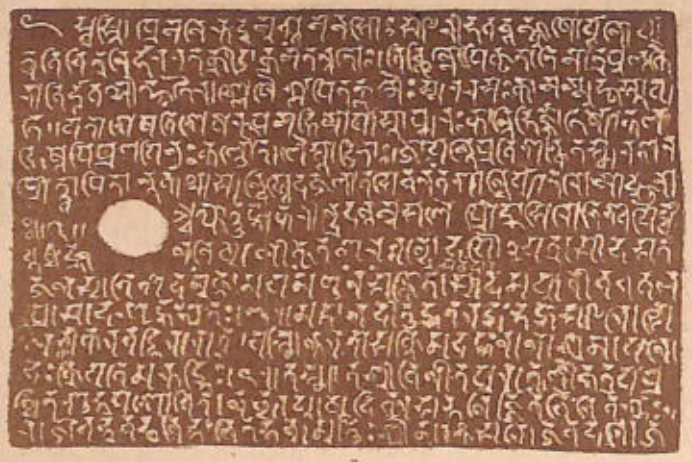
In a fragment of Epictetus, we find Chrysippus referring everything to Jupiter, and maintaining a rigid Pantheism in these words, that—"The world is, as it were, an animated body, and that god is the governing power, and the soul of the whole." And that "the world is one of the intelligent principles, governing in common with gods and men." Diogenes the Babylonian, in his book concerning Minerva, asserts that, "the world is the same as Jove and comprehends the divinity." Among the followers of Zeno, many assert this Pantheism, by saying "God is one, the universe and its soul."

The notion of the spiritual diffusion of Viráj throughout the whole expanse of nature occurs in the Orphic hymn to Protogonus, the firstborn Aeon, but nothing can be better descriptive of his nature and attributes, than what is given in Pope's Essay on Man, IX.

> "All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body nature is and god the soul."

And in Thomson's hymn at the end of his "Seasons."

> "These as they change, Almighty Father, these
> Are but the varied God, &c., &c."



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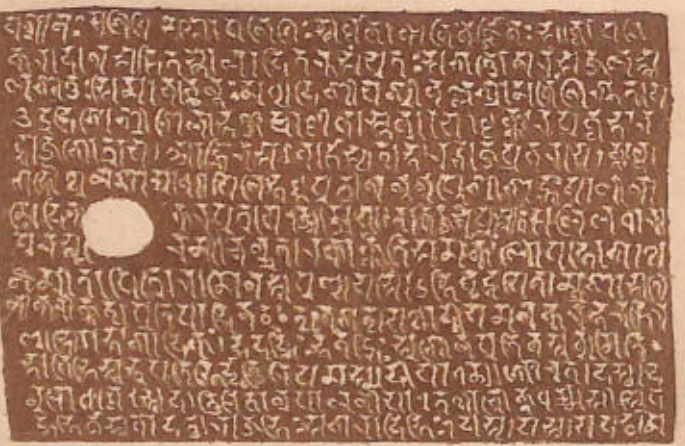

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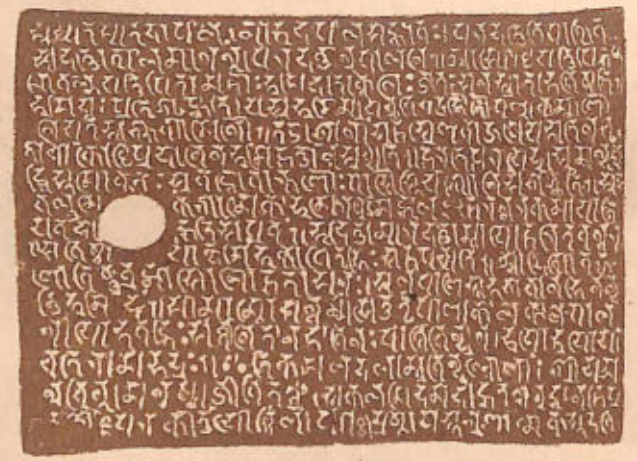

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Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

FACSIMILE OF A COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM CUTTACK.

Note on a Copper-plate Grant found in the Record Office of the Cuttack Collectorate.—By Bábu Rangalála Banerjea, *Deputy Collector, Cuttack.*

(With a plate.)

This document was found by me in an old box in the Record Office whilst engaged in drawing up a report on the condition of the records. The box contained a number of old deeds of grants in the Devanágari, Persian, Bengali, Marhaṭṭi and Uriyá characters; these were the remnants of a vast variety of such documents, said to have been filed by the original holders, before the Collector Mr. Kerr in 1810, when the province was settled for the first time. Up to this day applications are filed before the Collector, for a copy, or for the original, of one or other of these documents. Unfortunately no proper register has been kept with reference to these important records, and there is nothing to shew by whom the plates were filed before the Revenue authorities. The deed is inscribed on three oblong plates of copper, each measuring $8'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. The first plate has the inscription on one side only; the second, on both sides; and the third on the upper half of the inner side. The three were originally held together by a ring, for which the plates were pierced, the hole being eight-tenths of an inch in diameter. The ring is lost. The writing is in an antique form of the Kuṭila character.

The record commences with some very prurient poetry, describing the personal charms and Arcadian loves of the nymphs of Kaṭaka, the numerousness of its majestic elephants, the shining whiteness of whose tusks overshadowed the bright autumnal moon, and the freshness and coolness of the gelid breezes which stirred the waves of the Mahánadí, and allayed the langour of its love-sick maidens.

After this exordium the record goes on to state that in the glorious city on the banks of the Mahánadí, there lived a king named Janamejaya, and from him came a lord of men called Yajáti, whose fame had spread over the three regions of the universe, and whose prowess had, without any exertion, subdued his enemies. This panegyric is immediately followed by the well-known royal titles of the Gupta dynasty, adding the word "Trikaliṅgádhipati" (त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति), or "the lord of the three Kaliṅgas"; the name of Bhava Gupta and that of his successor, literally "the adorer of his feet", Śiva Gupta are then introduced, and after them follows the mandate of the latter to his courtiers, officers and other subjects to this effect, that he,

Śiva Gupta (not Yajáti) gives the village of Chandra in the Bisaya or fiscal division of Maraḍa in the province of Dakshiṇa Kośala, to one Gaṅgapáṇi, the son of Divákara and grandson of Ananta Bhaṭṭa, a Bráhman of the Bháradvája clan, for so long as the sun, moon and stars would continue to shine in the firmament. The edict then enumerates a number of Śástric quotations, as usual in such records, cursing the robbers of land given in gift, extolling those who preserve and protect such gifts, and expatiating on the shortness of human life, which is said to be as unstable as a drop of water on the slippery surface of a lotus leaf. The concluding verses are an eulogy on Champati Chhinchaṭa of the minister of war and peace of Yajáti, (not of Śiva Gupta), and then comes the date of the plate and the name of the engraver Mádhava. The date is the 9th of the waxing moon in Jyeshṭha, on the ninth year or Saṅvatsara of the reign of Yajáti.

The discovery and decipherment of this plate, establish two hypothetical points advanced by me in my paper on the Chaudwár plate, namely: 1st, that Orissa, or a part of it, was, during the Gupta rule, called after their mother-country "Kośala," and 2nd, that the Keśaris of Orissa acknowledged the Guptas as the Paramount Power.

In support of the first of these two points, we have in unmistakable terms the names of Dakshiṇa Kośalá or South Kośalá followed by that of the fiscal division of Maraḍa, and the name of the village Chandra. The last two names still exist in the district of Kaṭaka: the parganá of Hariharpur is up to this day called in common parlance Maraḍa Hariharpur, and there still exists in that parganá a village called Chandrá. The latter is written with á final long á, whereas that of the plate is a short one, but the difference is so slight, and such phonetic changes are so very common in Indian names, that it scarcely deserves a comment here. The village is still a Bráhmaṇ village of note.

As to the subordinate position of the Keśaris, the indication in the plate is plain enough. The gift is made in the name of the Guptas with the imperial and dignified designation of *Mahárájádhirája*, while Yajáti is simply called *Mahárája*, and his ancestor Janamejaya, a rájá only. The Śástras very distinctly enjoin that it is the sovereign only who has the power of giving land in perpetuity, even Sámantas or tributary kings, when making such gifts, must take the permission of the Paramount Power. The quotations above referred to prove this beyond a question; these mention the names of Sagara and Ráma, the emperors of India, as the givers of land. This law has much relaxed in the present iron-age, despite the injunctions of the Smṛitis.

A new link in the royal lineages of Orissa is gained by the reading of this monument, and of another which was found under ground in a place called Puran, in Parganá Sybir. According to the Mádlápánji and the

Vañśávalis, Indra Deva or Chandra Deva reigned in Orissa in 323 or 328, A. D. Two or three years before these dates, Orissa was occupied by the Yavanas, who held it for 146 years, after which Yajáti Keśarí expelled them, and founded the Keśarí or lion dynasty. This prince was said to have reigned 52 years, and he it was who brought back the image of Jagannátha to Puri, and laid the foundation of the temple-city at Bhuvaneśvara. Now, both these records are silent as to the parentage of Yajáti; but here the plates give it in plain terms, stating that Janamejaya was his ancestor, and he (Janamejaya) reigned on the banks of the Mahánadí, *i. e.* in Kaṭak Chaudwár. This is very probable, as the royal family was expelled from Puri by the Yavanas, who are said to have come in ships and landed near the sacred city. The astrologers of Orissa say that Chaudwár was founded by Janamejaya the great-grandson of Arjuna one of the heroes of the Mahábhárata; but this is evidently a confounding of names, for the plates simply say—

"राजा बभूव भुवि भावितभव्यमूर्त्तिः ।
श्रीमान् सरोजवदनो जनमेजयाख्यः ॥"

"There was a king of gentle mien named Janamejaya the lotus-faced." It does not describe him to be the extirpator of the Nága race, the son of Parikshita, and the lord paramount of all India reigning in Indraprastha or Delhi. The plates simply call him a rájá, having his chief city on the banks of the Mahánadí.

If these surmises be accepted as correct, we have here then the approximate date as to the time when Chaudwár was founded, namely, the earlier part of the first century of the Christian era, for traditionally Janamejaya was its founder; and he must have been some adventurer from the north-west; the Vañśávalis are silent as to the father of Haṭakeśvar Deva, the sixth prince in ascent from Yajáti, and presumably Janamejaya must have been his progenitor, for in the Puran plate, we find Bhima Deva was also born in the race of Janamejaya, and this prince reigned in 282—319, A. D. The following is his lineage:

A. D.	
143—194	Haṭakeśvara Deva: reigned 51 years.
194—237	Birabhuvan or Tribhuvan Deva: reigned 43 years.
237—282	Nirmala Deva: reigned 45 years.
282—319	Bhíma Deva: reigned 37 years.

It is almost superfluous to add here, that *the* Janamejaya of our plates, is not the Janamejaya Keśarí of the Vañśávalis: the latter reigned between the years 754—763 A. D., about 250 years after Yajáti.

Another noticeable fact regarding the endowment mentioned in this deed, is the probability of such grants having been made by the person

under notice, for, according to the palm-leaf records, this prince was celebrated for his piety and his munificence to Bráhmans, for he it was who rescued his native land from the hands of a foreign foe, restored the worship of Jagannátha at Puri, and commenced to build the sacred fane for the worship of Mahádeva in Bhuvaneśvara.

As regards the names of places in this plate: at the commencement of the declaration, the endower says that the village of Chandra, in the fiscal division (*Viśaya*), of Maraḍa, in the country (*Deśa*) of Dakshiṇa Kośala, is given in perpetuity; but with regard to the grantee, the declaration specifies that he was a Madhyadeśiya Bráhmaṇ, who came originally from the village of Śrivalla, and was residing at Silabhanjapati, a village in the country of Oḍra (Orissa). Now the question arises, if the country at the time bore the name of Dakshiṇa Kośala, which included the fiscal division of Maraḍa, and a village called Chandra; what was the site of Oḍra whose name occurs separately, as distinct from Dakshiṇa Kośala? If we recall to mind, however, that the Oḍra of old was not conterminous with the Orissa of modern days, including the three districts of Kaṭak, Puri, and Balasor, the difficulty disappears. Oḍra originally comprised very little, if any, besides the present subdivision of Khurdá. It was the original country of the Oḍ Chásás, and the name Oḍra was subsequently assigned to the whole tract from the Chilká Lake to the Vaitaraṇí River, and included the names of Kaliṅga, Kośalá, and Tilkala. We have its parallel in Bengal. Different portions of that province at one time bore the names of Puṇḍravardhana, Gauḍa, Barendra, Tamralipta, &c., which all gradually gave place to the single designation of Banga, though the latter was but a small portion of the main country in the delta of the Ganges.

The original country of the Bráhman who had the endowment from the royal hands of Yajáti Keśarí, calls for a few remarks. Dr. Hunter, speaking of the Bráhmaṇ migrations in Orissa, says: "The local legends and the palm-leaf records alike relate how about 500 A. D. the founder* of the long-haired or lion line imported ten thousand Bráhmaṇs from Audh and endowed them with lands around Jájpur on the sacred Baitarini river." But the record under notice and the Chaudwár one (which is evidently a very old grant) prove beyond a question, that the North-western Bráhmaṇs must have migrated to Orissa long before Yajáti Keśarí, for the plates give the names of three generations of the grantees, the names of their original and adopted countries and villages, &c. This record shows moreover, that the migration was not restricted to Audh Bráhmaṇs only. In this case, the grantee belonged to Madhyadeśa, which, according to Manu, is the country between the Himálaya and the Vindhyan chain, bound-

* Yajáti Kesarí.

ed on the east by Prayága (Alláhábád) and on the west by Vinasana (Kurukshetra).*

The site of Śrívalla or Valla must be searched for in the North-West for identification, while Śilabhanjapati occurs somewhere in Khurdá. Again, the Bráhmaṇs not only formed colonies round Jájpur, but had villages given them near Kaṭak Chaudwár in Maraḍa Hariharpur, in the subdivision of Khurdá, during the reigns of the founder of the Keśarí dynasty and his predecessors. There is every probability, however, of the Keśarís, who originated and sustained the revival of Bráhmaṇism in Orissa, having invited Bráhmaṇs from the North-West, even as their successors the Gaṇgávañśis brought them from the South; these two distinct streams of migration of the Bráhmaṇs are now blended together, unlike the Kányakubja and Vaidika Bráhmaṇs of Bengal, who never intermarry nor eat with each other.

The record is full of orthographical mistakes, but I thought it tedious to note them in detail; the reader will find them by comparing my reading with corrections with the facsimile of the plate. A few of the corrections have been shown in parenthesis.

Transcript.

ॐ स्वस्ति प्रेमनिरुद्धमुग्धमनसोः स्फारीभवच्चक्षुषोर्यूनोर्यै-
च विच्चिनिर्भररतक्रीडाक्रमं तन्वतोः। विच्छिन्नोऽपि कृतातिसाचपुलकै-
राविर्भवत्सीत्कृतैराश्लेषैश्चपितक्लमैः स्मररसः कामं मुजः स्याप्य-
ते ॥ यचाशेषविशेषरूपमहिमा यास्वप्सुरःकान्तिभिर्ज्ञातेर्वाकल-
हेष्वपि प्रणयिनः कर्णोत्पलैस्ताडिताः। जायन्ते प्रविशङ्कितस्मरशर-
प्रोत्तापितान्तर्व्यथा(थाः) सान्द्रखेदजलावसेचनवशाद्विर्यातरोमाङ्कुरा-
: । १ ॥ चत्युत्तुङ्गकरीन्द्रदन्तमुसलैः प्रोद्भासिरोचिश्चयैर्दो-
र्नध्वंसनिष्कलीकृतशरचन्द्रोदयैः सर्वदा। यचासीदसतो
जनस्य विशदं मुक्तामयं मण्डनं सङ्कीर्तास्वदमप्यतीव धवलं
प्रासादप्रकरापनः । २ ॥ महानदीतुङ्गतरङ्गभङ्गस्फारोत्थ (च्च)
लच्चीकरवद्धिरारात्। यस्मिन् रतासक्तिमदङ्गनानां श्रमापनो-
दः क्रियते मरुद्भिः । ३ ॥ तस्मात् श्रीविनीतपुरात्। लोकचय-
श्रितप्रश्रयश्रोवितानव्याप्ताष्टदिक्प्रसभनिर्ज्जितवैरिवर्गः।
राजा बभूव भुवि भावितभव्यमूर्त्तिः श्रीमान् सरोजवदनो ज-
नमेजयाख्यः । ४ ॥ यः प्रकाप्रविदारितद्विपघटः कुम्भस्थ-
स्थादुक्षसन्मुक्ताजालविभूषितं प्रतिरणं प्रथ्वीवधूरःस्थलं। च-

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राविर्भवत्सीत्कृतैराश्लेषैर्मिलितस्तनैः स्मररसः कामं मुजः स्याप्य-
ते॥ यत्राशेषविशेषरूपमहिमा यास्वप्सुरःकान्तिभिर्ज्ञातैर्यौवकल-
हेष्वपि प्रणयिनः कर्णोत्पलैस्ताडिताः। जायन्ते प्रविशद्भिरन्तरमरं-
प्रोत्तापितान्तर्व्यथा(थाः) सान्द्रखेदजलावसेचनवशान्निर्यातरोमाङ्कुरा-
ः। १॥ यत्युत्तुङ्गकरीन्द्रदन्तमुसलैः प्रोद्भासिरोचिष्णवै-
र्नाध्वंसनिष्फलीकृतशरच्चन्द्रोदयैः सर्वदा। यत्रासीदसतो
जनस्य विशदं मुक्तामयं मण्डनं सङ्केतास्पदमप्यतीव धवलं
प्रासादशृङ्गायतः। २॥ मत्तानदीतुङ्गतरङ्गभङ्गसुहृद्रोल्ल (च्च)
लच्चीकरवद्भिरारात्। यस्मिन् रतासक्तिमदङ्गनानां श्रमापनो-
दः क्रियते मरुद्भिः। ३॥ तस्मात् श्रीविनीतपुरात्। लोकत्रय-प्र-
थितशुभयशोवितानव्याप्ताष्टदिक्प्रसभनिर्ज्जितवैरिवर्गः।
राजा बभूव भुवि भावितभव्यमूर्त्तिः श्रीमान् सरोजवदनो ज-
नसेजयाख्यः। ४॥ यः शृङ्गायविदारितद्विपघटः कुम्भस्थ-
लादुल्लसन्मुक्ताजालविभूषितं प्रतिरणं शृण्वीवधूरःस्थलं। च-

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प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः॥"

क्रे चारुतरामराधिपशिरोरत्नाग्रजाल्लामला यथाश्वभुजर-
णवः समतया तद्वश्मिलक्ष्मीवधूः । ५ ॥ निर्द्दारितारिकरिकुम्भस-
मुद्भमन्मुक्ताफलप्रकरयुक्तनखाग्रधारः । तस्माद्जायतजग-
त्त्रयगीतकीर्त्तिर्हेलाविनिर्ज्जितरिपुर्द्दर्पतिर्यजातिः । ६ ॥ पर-
ममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
सोमकुलतिलकचिकलिङ्काधिपतिश्रीमद्भवगुप्तराज-
देवपादानुध्यातपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकचिकलिङ्काधिपतिश्रीम-
द्भाश्रिवगुप्तदेवः कुशली ॥ दक्षिणकोशलाया सरडविषयी-
यचान्द्रग्रामे । तद्विषयीयब्राह्मणानां पूज्यपादाकालाध्यासिनः
समाहृतसन्निवीतवर्णोद्धितसामवाधिकनियुक्ताधिकारिकद्दा-
ण्डप्रासिकपिशुनविधिकार(वेचिकाव)रोधजनराणकराजपुत्रराजवल्ल-
भादीन् सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथाऽस्माभिर-
यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्व्वबाधाविवर्ज्जितः सर्व्वापरि-
करादानसहितस्तालादितरुसंयुतः सगर्त्तोषरसजलस्थ-
लचतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः मध्यदेशीयश्रीवल्लग्रामविनिर्गताय
ओड्रदेशे श्रीशिलाभञ्जपाटीवास्तव्याय । उद्धारपूर्व्वभार-
द्वाजगोत्राय । आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजप्रवराय — —
— कौथुमिशाखाध्यायिने भट्टपूर्व्वानन्तनप्त्रे(त्रे) श्रीगङ्गापाणीना
म्ने दिवाकरपुत्राय । आज्ञाप्यानेति यज्ञः पुरस्तात् सलिलधारा-
पुरस्सरमाचन्द्रतारकार्कज्योतिः (क्षिति) समकालोपभोगार्थ-
म् मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये तामशासने-
नाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादितं इत्यवगत्य यथास्मदीयसृणकरभरहिर-
ण्यभोगभागादिक(कं) दद्द्भिः (भवद्भिः) सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ।
भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिरेतन्नियमस्मदीयधर्मगौरवादस्मद-
नुरोधात्खदत्तमिवाच पालनीया । तथा चोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे व-
ह्वभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । मामूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः ।
स्वदत्तात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने । आस्फोटयन्ति पित-
रो वल्गयन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नस्माता भविष्यति ॥
भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ
नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ तडागानां सहस्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च ।
गवां कोटिप्रदाने च भूमिहर्त्ता न शुद्धति ॥ हरते हारयेत्सद्य ऋत्व-
ङ्निस्तमोहतः । स वद्धो वारुणैः पाशैस्तिर्य्ययोनिं स गच्छति ॥ सु-
वर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं । हरन्नरकमायाति
यावदाभूतसंप्लवं ॥ स्वदत्तामपरदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ आदित्यो वरु-

णो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा सोमो ऽताशनः । प्रसूलपाणिश्च भगवानभिनन्द-
न्ति मूमिदं ॥ सामान्योऽयन्धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल-
नीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो या-
चते रामभद्रः ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियम-
नुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्धा न हि पु-
रुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ खदा यस्तु गुणात्मनस्तूदघेः * ।
येनात्यन्तसुरासुराधिपगुरुः प्रज्ञाभिमानैर्जितो राज्ञारोपितराज्यभा-
रमतुलं यत्नावदलीलया । यस्यासीन्नयविक्रमद्वयमपि प्रेयान्
सखा सर्वदा यः ख्यातो धृतसान्धिविग्रहपदः श्रीक्षिङटेश्वमती ॥
परमसाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलति-
लकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीयज्ञातिराजदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये
नवमे संवत्सरे (संवत्सरे) ९ ज्येष्ठ शित त्रयोदश्यां १३ (०) उत्कीर्णं
विज्ञानी माधवेनेति । ॐ ॐ ।*

TRANSLATION.

Om, be it so!

Where wanton pleasure is enjoyed to perfection by young people in the play of love's charming sport, with eyes expanded and minds enamoured and centred in love, although the pleasure was at times disturbed by their embraces, which caused horripilation, inarticulate sounds of lips and exhaustion—

where lovers of exquisite beauty, desiring to pick a quarrel with their loved ones, mention the beauties of Apsaras and thereby excite their jealousy, and are beaten by the maidens with the lotus of their ears, suffer from excessive internal pain occasioned by the arrows of undaunted Cupid,—and have horripilation from the rising of the thick sweat—

where by the shining pestle-like tusks of tall elephants which have made the rising of the moon redundant in dispersing darkness—where the brilliant ornaments of pearl of immoral people and the place of assignation at the top of their house are made exceedingly white—

where the lofty waves of the Mahánadí break each other, and cause bubbles to rise, and the air, carrying the particles of water, refreshes the ladies who have zealously pursued the pastimes of love—

——even there, in that glorious city, there reigned once a king named Janamajaya, whose white canopy of fame had spread over the three worlds, and penetrated the eight quarters—who conquered all his enemies with

* The last three feet of this stanza are missing.

force, who always meditated on the image of goddess Bhavya, was opulent, and prosperous, and whose face was as beautiful as the lotus.

He adorned in every battle the breast of the lady-like earth with pearls issuing from the foreheads of elephants torn asunder by him with his horn-weapon; the (white) dust raised by elephants in the sky and the stream of light of the adorned earth were as brilliant and beautiful as the jewels on the head of the king of gods, and appeared as the emblems of the glory of the king.

The king Yajáti was his son. His nails were always filled with heaps of pearls, when they were displaced by him from the foreheads of elephants which were like sealed caskets. He was praised by the three worlds, and he easily conquered his enemies.

Mahárájá Śiva Gupta Deva the prosperous, the virtuous, the venerable king, the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, the chief of the lunar race, lord of all lords, the venerable, the ardent follower of Śiva, and successor of Mahábhava Gupta Deva, lord of the three Kaliṅgas, chief of the Lunar race, lord of all lords, prosperous, venerable, an ardent follower of Śiva—prospers.

It is proclaimed in the village of Chandra to all Bráhmaṇs of the district of Maraḍa in South Kośalá and to all others that have assembled here, namely, those who are worshipful, those who observe prescribed times for their sleep, who are invested with holy threads, who observe the rules of their respective castes, chiefs of corporations, superintendents of employés, yeomen, ambassadors, legislators, guards of female apartments, sons and beloved wives of kings, &c.;—be it known to all of you, that I give, with water in hand, this village with all its treasure-troves, deposits, free from all incumbrances, with all rents, all trees, such as palms and others, saline soil, land and water, bounded in four directions, to Gaṅgapáṇi, the son of Dívákara and grandson of Ananta Bhaṭṭa, who has removed himself from the village Śrívalla in the Madhya-deśa (the middle country) and now lives in Śílabhanjapati in the country of Oḍra, who belongs to the well-known Bharadvája family, and who is a descendant of the threefold clan, Áṅgirasa, Várhaspatya, and Bharadvája, a reader of the Kauthumi branch of the Vedas, that he may enjoy it as long as the sun, the moon and the stars shine in the firmament, for the augmentation of virtue and extension of fame of my own and of my parents. This is engraved on this copper-plate. You all know this. Live with happiness, pay him as you used to pay me, the debts, the rents, taxes, gold and the royal shares in all usufructs. In compliance with our request and out of respect for us abstain from all violent deeds. Let all future kings preserve this our gift, as they would their own. For it is said in the holy writ: Lands have been given by many kings, such as Sagara and others; to whomsoever the land belongs for the time being to him belongs the fruit of the gift.

Let him not doubt of the fruit, thinking that they were presented by others. The merit is greater in preserving other's gifts than in making one.

The manes of fathers and grandfathers of the donor of lands are proud of him; they clap their arms and dance with joy, (exclaiming) "Such a son has been born in our family, and he will be the cause of our salvation."

He who receives lands and he who presents them, both are virtuous, and will ever remain in heaven.

The sin of the resumer of grants is not atoned for even by the excavation of a thousand tanks, the celebration of a hundred Vaja-peya sacrifices, and the gift of ten millions of cows. If any man, through intoxication or by mistake, takes or induces another to take with force any land which had been presented by any other person, he takes his birth among beasts and birds, and is tied with the noose of Varuṇa.

Should any man steal a single gold coin or resume land, even a square inch in area, he will dwell in hell until the dissolution of the world.

He who takes by force land which had been given by him or by any other person, becomes a worm in ordure, and rots there with his ancestors.

The sun, the moon, the god of water, the god the creator, the god the preserver, the destroyer and fire, praise the donor of lands.

"This common bridge of virtue ought to be preserved by you evermore": Rámabhadra repeatedly begs this of you.

It ought to be remembered that prosperity and life are as evanescent as a drop of water on a lotus leaf. And bearing this in mind let none destroy the glorious deeds of others.

S'rí Chhinchati of Champaṭi, the able statesman who excels the spiritual guides* of the kings of gods and demons in wisdom and knowledge, who easily bears the unequalled heavy burden of government placed on him by the king, who has both physical strength and knowledge in political science, who is a beloved friend of the king, renowned, and knows when to make war and peace (has assented to this).

This was engraved by the learned Mádhava on the 13th of the bright half of the month of Jyeshṭha in the 9th year of the prosperous reign of Mahárájá Yajáti, king of the three Kaliṅgas.

* S'rihaspati and S'ukra, the regents of the Planets Jupiter and Venus.

Metrical Translations from the Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám.—By P. Whalley, C. S., *Murádábád.*

I.

پر خون ز فراقت جگرے نیست که نیست
شیدای تو صاحب نظرے نیست که نیست
با آنکه نداري سر سوداي کسے
سودای تو در هیچ سرے نیست که نیست

There's not a heart but bleeds for thy disdain;
There's not a sage but has gone mad for thee;
And though for love thou giv'st no love again,
There's not a brain that from thy love is free.

II.

مي در کف من نه که دلم در تاب است
وین عمر گریزپاي چون سیماب است
بر خیز که بیداريِ دولت خواب است
بر خیز که آتش جوانيِ آب است

Drink, drink! Like quicksilver I see with ruth
Life from thee slide:
And false is fortune, hope a dream, and youth
Ebbs, like a tide.

III.

زآن پیش که غمهات شب خون آرند
فرماي بتا تا مے گلگون آرند
تو زر نگه ای عاقل نادان که ترا
در خاك نهند و باز بیرون آرند

Come and ere sorrows swarm up to harry us,
Idol mine, blithely the wine-cup we'll drain.
We are not gold that the rough hands that bury us
Ever should care to exhume us again.

IV.

ما لعبتکانیم و فلک لعبت باز
از روي حقیقتي نه از روی مجاز

بازیچه همي کنیم بر نطـع وجود
رفتیـم بصندوق عدم یکیـک باز

We are but puppets danced by juggling fate,
To trim the phrase no jot of truth I bate,
On Being's board we serve to dress a play,
And, played our little game,—we're packed away.

V.

از خالـق کردگار و از رب رحیـم
نومید مشو بجرم عصیان عظیـم
گرمست و خراب مرده باشي امروز
فردا بخشد بر استخوانهای رمیـم

Though steeped in sin, let no vain qualms be thine,
Nor fear to meet thy Maker. Death atones.
Die drunk and reprobate. His sun will shine
As bland as ever on thy rotting bones.

VI.

از آب و گلم سرشتهٔ من چه کنم
زین پشم و قصب تورشتهٔ من چه کنم
هر نیک و بدي که آید از ما بوجود
تو بر سر من نوشتهٔ من چه کنم

Earth, water,—such is the sum of us:
Monk, priest,—Thou hast made us the same,
Fame, shame,—all that may come of us,—
Thine is the honour,—and thine is the blame.

VII.

گر من زمیِ مغانه مستـم هستم
ور کافر و گبر و بت پرستـم هستم
هر طایفـهٔ به من گمانے دارنـد
من زآن خودم چنان که هستم هستم

I am drunk with old wine? So I am.
A rank libertine? So I am.
Let them think of me what they will,
I am mine: As I am, so I am.

VIII.

احوال جهان بر دلم آسان میکـــن
و افعال بدم ز خلق پنهان میکـــن
امروز خوشم بدار و فردا با مـــن
آنچه از کرمت سزد بما آن میکن

Lighten my cares and my sorrow,
Hide from my fellows my guilt,
Keep me happy to-day,—and to-morrow
Deal with me as Thou wilt.

IX.

فوجے متفکر اند درمذهب و دیـــن
جمعے متحیر اند در شک و یقین
ناگاه منادئے بر آیـــــد ز کمین
کاي بیخبران راه نه آن است نه این

Some trust their church or creed to bear them out,
Some pray for faith, and tremble at a doubt.
Methinks I hear a still small voice declare
'The way to God is neither here nor there.'

"*Further Proofs of the Polygamy of Kálidása's Heroes.*"—*By* G. S. Leonard, *Assistant Secretary, Asiatic Society, Bengal.*

Bábu Prannáth Pandit in a paper entitled 'Morals of Kálidása,' published in Part I, No. 3, 1876, of the Asiatic Society's Journal, has raised the question of the Monogamy of Kálidása's Heroes, from which Mr. Grierson of Rangpur has dissented, and in support of which opinion he has adduced some proofs. As I quite agree with Mr. Grierson on this point, I beg to produce some further proofs to show that the majority of Kálidása's Heroes practised polygamy.

I begin with Dushyanta, and adduce the following passages from the drama of Sakuntala, in which he is a principal actor, and where Kálidása author has not scrupled to declare the polygamy of his hero, like that of the majority of Indian Princes, both in ancient and modern times. In the first place Dushyanta's admiration of the surpassing beauty of the woodland maidens, *viz.*, Sakuntala and her two companions, and his comparing them with

the royal dames in his seraglio, plainly enough indicates his having more than one wife at home, thus:

"Dusha. Oh how charmingly they look! If the beauty of maids, who dwell in woodland retreats, cannot easily be found in the recesses of a palace, the garden-flowers must make room for the blossoms of the forest, which excel them in colour and fragrance."

In the next place we see that Sakuntala's female friends would not consent to her marriage with the king, unless he would plight his faith to love her more than the rest of his harem. Thus:

"Anusuyá (laughing). Princes are said to have many favourite consorts. You must assure us, therefore, that our beloved friend shall not be exposed to affliction through our conduct.

Dusha. What need is there of many words? Let there be ever so many women in my palace, I will only have two objects of perfect regard; the sea-girt earth, which I govern, and your sweet friend, whom I love.

Both. Our anxiety is dissipated."

With reference to the passage "*women in my palace*," there can be no room for supposing that the royal consorts alluded to, were concubines or sweethearts, as the word *parigraha* in the text bespeaks them to have been the Prince's partners, by *vinculum matrimonii*.*

In the 7th chapter of the story of Sakuntala in the 1st book of the Mahábhárata (and it must be borne in mind that the Mahábhárata is the ground-work of our poet's drama), Sakuntala makes Dushyanta promise the regency and succession to her issue, should she have any, in preference to those of his other consorts before she would consent to wed him. Thus:

"Sak. If this be right, then attend to my vow, the son to be born in me must be elected prince regent. If so it be, then let me be joined to thee. Be it so, replied the king, without any deliberation."

Nothing can be more explicit and plain of this hero's polygamy, than the love ditty of queen Hansamatí in Act V, whereupon Dushyanta smiling, says:

"I was once in love with Hansamati, I am now reproved for continuing so long absent from her.—Friend Mádhavya, inform the queen in my name, that I feel the reproof."

Again the speech of the chamberlain in the palace garden scene, plainly indicates the hero's plurality of wives.

Chamb. "—— mistaking the women in his apartments, and through distraction, calling each of them Sakuntala; then he sits with his head long bent on his knees."

Siva, the hero of Kálidása's poem Kumára Sambhava, is well known

* The words Avarodha, Suddhántar, are synonymous with γυναικωνῖτις, zenana, seraglio, and harem, where none but espoused wives are kept.

to have been a polygamist; for besides possessing Umá or Durgá, Kálí and Gangá, he is known, like amorous Jupiter, to have transformed himself into human shapes to enjoy the loves of a Kochiní, Bagdiní, and others. True it is, as Bábu Prannáth Paṇḍit says, "That throughout the seven cantos, there is no mention of the co-wifehood of Gangá, though that was well known to Kálidása," yet we find that both his consorts Káli and Gangá are mentioned by their names in the poem as accompanying their consort in his nuptial procession to Umá. (Book VII, Verses 39, 42.)

In the Raghu Vansa, Dilipa's polygamy has been shewn by Mr. Grierson by the word *antahpura-varga*, which is a mere pleonastic expression used by the commentator for the word *avarodha* in the text, (B. I, 32) which I give here in full from Stenzler's translation:

"Rex, etsi frequenti gynæceo gaudebat, hanc feminam prudentem atque Lakshmim præcipuas suas uxores existimabat."

The next hero of the poem, Raghu, from whom it derives its name, is expressly mentioned by the poet to be married to several princesses, nay, as many as stars of heaven, in beauty and number, as is described in Book III, Stanza 33.

"Deinde, statim post solemnem crinium tonsuram, pater ejus matrimonii cærimoniam peregit; atque principium filiæ, illum maritum optimum adeptæ, splendebant sicut Dakshæ filiæ, tenebrarum fugatori nuptæ."

Kálidása describes Raju's son Aja as a chivalrous Knight competing for *svayamvara* or marriage election, in which case the poet had no need of narrating his former marriage, mention of which may be found in the Rámáyana, and therefore the question of his polygamy cannot be determined.

Dasaratha, the son of Aja and father of Ráma, is a well known polygamist, as is admitted by Bábu Prannáth Paṇḍit, and Kálidása has had no hesitation in mentioning his numerous wives by their names, and the degrees of their attachment to the King. B. X. Stanzas 59—60. Thus:

"Dilecta ei erat Kausalyá, amata quoque uxor e Kekayæ familia orta; ideo rex Sumitram ab utraque honoratam videre optabat."

In short, most princes of the solar race may be shewn to have been polygamists, but as they do not form the heroes of our poet, it is unnecessary for me to give their names.

I have thus shewn by quotations from Kálidása's works that the majority of his heroes were polygamists. The grounds upon which Prannáth Paṇḍit appears to build his theory of the monogamy of Kálidása's heroes are shortly these,—The bridal benediction—the great attachment of certain kings to certain queens—and the excessive grief of some of his heroes on separation from their consorts. On these three points I would wish to make a few concluding remarks.

The fact is that Kálidása was no greater advocate for monogamy than he was for polygamy, nor did he attach any greater importance to the one than to the other, as is evident from the passages cited above, as also from the absence of a single expression in his works, giving preference to the one or other state. The benediction "Mayest thou gain the *undivided* love of thy husband," the blessing pronounced over Umá by the matrons, was only used in conformity with the general mode of well wishing to young brides, though the consummation of the *blessing* is one which rarely falls to the lot of any woman of this country.

The poet's description of the greater attachment of a prince to a particular consort, as in the cases of Sudaxiná and Indumatí, serves only to show the particular honor and regard due and paid to the *pát-ráni* or *pradháná mahishí*, whose offspring alone was entitled to succeed to his crown and throne.

Kálidása's long-winded elegies of woe at the separation of lovers, as in the cases of the heart-rending lamentations of Aja, Ráma, Rati, and Nala, are only descriptive of the excessive love and fondness that a lover might naturally have for the particular object of his esteem and affection in preference to all others. This can be proved by the following quotation from the poet himself.

"Nam apum examen, etsi innumeri flores verno tempore florant, præcipua Mangiferæ adheret."

So also the professed devotedness of the wanton Krishna to Radha, whom he addresses in the following enraptured strain, does not in any way prove the singleness of his love.

"Thou art my life, thou art my ornament, thou art a pearl, in the ocean of my mortal birth; oh! be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful."

The frantic lamentations of Pururavas and Dashmanta are but graphic pictures of distracted lovers, and bear no resemblance to the calm and constant love of a monogamist placed in the same circumstances.

The characters of Ráma in the Raghu, and Nala in the Nalodaya of the poet, are undeniably pure instances of monogamy, but such exceptions to polygamy are extremely rare.

Note on Khánjá Khán Garh in the District of Bardwán, Jahánábád Sub-Division, Bengal.—*By* Gour Dás Bysack, *Deputy Magistrate, late of Jahánábád.*

In the days of the Emperor Jahángír, Bangbara Khán, the founder of Koṭ Simulgarh, came to Bengal, and first settled twelve miles south of Bardwán in the village of Salímábád on the banks of the Damúdar. Many may doubt the authenticity of his advent to this country in the time of Jahángír. But from inquiry on the subject we find that Mukanda Rám Chakravarti, Kavi Kankana, wrote his celebrated work, the Chandi, during the latter part of Akbar's reign, *i. e.*, in the time of Rájá Mán Siñha's rule in Bengal, that this learned poet was a native of the village of Dámunyá, in the vicinity of Koṭ Simul, about ten miles north of Jahánábád, and that he received a sanad from Nawáb Khánazád Khán or Khána Khán, the son of Bangbara Khán. Rájá Mán Siñha ruled in Bengal from the year 1589 A. D., and left this country in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahángír (1604 A. D.). It is not likely that Kavi Kankan died immediately on returning to his native village Dámunyá from Arar-Brahmana where he composed his Chandi. It was while he was still living, and most probably after the death of Bangbara Khán, that Khánazád Khán, the son of Bangbara Khán, was dignified with the title of Nawáb, and was commissioned by the Emperor to rule in this country.

It has already been said that Bangbara Khán first fixed himself at Salímábád, but it cannot be admitted as a fact that he was the founder of that village. It is supposed that the village of Salímábád was either founded by Sulaimán, the last but one Afghán king of Bengal, or by some functionary of his. On looking into ancient records we are satisfied that the name of the village has ever been written and read as Salímábád. If it had been founded by king Sulaimán, it was but just to have it called after his name Sulaimánábád. There is sufficient proof also of its not having been founded in the days of the Emperor Jahángír (Salím). Sulaimánbád was in existence at the time of Kavi Kankan's composition of the Chandi. It is written in his work* that the owner of the village of Dámunyá was an inhabitant of Salímábád.† Now the Chandi was written in the days of Akbar when Bengal was in the

* সহর সোলিমাবাদ, তাহাতে মুজনরাজ,
নিবস নিয়োগী গোপিনাথ।
তাহার তালুকে বসি, দামুন্যায় করিকৃষি,
নিবাস পুরুষ ছয় সাত।।

† In those days one Gopi Náth Niyogí was the owner of the village.

hands of Rájá Mán Siñha. If we suppose that this town had been founded in the time of Jahángír, we cannot account for its existence in Akbar's days. At the time when the Emperor Jahángír sent Quṭb-uddín to kill Sher-Afkan, the first husband of Núrjahán, one Bangbara Khán by name is said to have assisted him in the atrocious deed. It seems that this person was the progenitor of the Khán family of Koṭ Simul. On his coming to Salímábád, he held the office of Tahsíldár or Collector of Revenue, and commemorated his name by the erection of a mosque* and the excavation of a long tank or jhil. The mosque is now in ruins, and the tank, too, for want of repair, is in a bad state. It is said that after remaining at Salímábád for some time, he went to Dashghara on the invitation of the Rájá† of that place. One day he started on a hunting excursion, and by chance reached a jungle on the west bank of the Damúdar, and here he was charmed with the natural scenery and longed to make it the place of his abode. In accordance with his wish, the whole jungle was cleared within a short time and a dwelling house was built on the spot. This primeval jungle had been full of Simul trees—*Bombax heptaphylla.* In the current language *Koṭ* means limit, barrier, or surrounding; the village was girdled with Simul trees and hence it was called *Simulkoṭ.*

Tradition has preserved a curious story about the settlement of Bangbara Khán at Koṭsimul. When Bangbara came a-hunting from Dashghara, he had a hawk with him. On coming to the forest of Koṭsimul, he let loose his hawk to attack an aquatic bird. In a few seconds the hawk was defeated in the contest. The Khán, therefore, thought the place to be sacred, and caused his mansion to be erected there. The early history of our land is full of legends in which it is difficult to distinguish the wheat from the chaff. Nothing in this country, not even the most trivial act or event, such as a migration from one place to another, or the selection of a particular site for a dwelling place, could be done or allowed to occur without invoking supernatural aid; every little circumstance or occurrence must be preceded by some superhuman cause or agency. Similar legends prevail at other places to account for their origin or for their names. This story of Bangbara Khán's selection of his place and abode may have

* It is said that there was in this mosque a stone bearing an inscription, but nobody knows where the stone is or has been removed to. The oldest Muhammadans in and about the Garh assured me that it was removed to the Masjid at Salímábád, which is near Chakdigi, eleven miles south of Mi'márí Station. Inquiry was made there, but no trace of the stone could be found. Some people, however, stated that the stone had been taken away from the new Masjid at Salímábád by one of the Collectors of Bardwán; but while at Bardwán, and even afterwards, I made careful enquiries, but could obtain no clue of the stone or the inscription it bore.

† Náráyan Pál was the Rájá alluded to.

been borrowed from, or given rise to, the legend of the origin of the name of Birbhúm: it will be found that a heron killing a hawk at some spot within that district led to the adoption of the name of Birbhúm; *vide* Annals of Rural Bengal, Appendix D, page 427. But it is forgotten that Birbhúm is but one of the 12 *bhúms** or districts in which part of Rádha was divided.

Tradition has it that after a few years the rule of Bangbara Khán became permanent in this country. The folklore on this point is, that the name of Bangbara Khán appeared on the Imperial coinage of Dihlí, and his name was beaten in the *naubat*. The fact is that, under the Muhammadan rule, even subordinate functionaries of the Government tried to assume, and in many cases did assume, independence when they came to the mufassal. And so it happened in the case of Bangbara Khán. It is probable that this Khán taking advantage of favourable opportunities which lay in his way, struck the coin and beat the drum in his own name. For this delinquency he was arrested by an embassy from the Dihlí Court. The Khán on his way to Dihlí put an end to his life, it is said by swallowing the diamond of his ring. The Imperial embassy returned to Dihlí with the dead body of the Khán. The Emperor was touched with remorse on seeing the serene face of the Khán, and asked whether he had any wife and children. The wife of the Khán and his son, then fourteen years of age, were summoned to Dihlí. On their arrival, the Emperor was moved with pity at the sight of the mother and her son Khánazád Khán, and gave him the title of Nawáb and deputed him to act in the place of his father. Nawáb Khánazád Khán, on returning to Koṭsimul, caused a moat to be excavated round his mansion, 70 feet in width and 30 feet in depth. The Garh itself measures 1060 feet by 890. There is an entrance on the west side of the moat. The moat is called Khánazád Khán Gaṛh, for it was excavated by Nawáb Khánazád Khán.

Bangbara Khán was descended of a Sayyid family. His birthplace was Barba, south of Dihlí, but his descendants have deteriorated to Bengali Musalmáns by intermixture with them, though in point of caste the Kháns are still esteemed superior. Tradition also preserves to us the story that Bangbara Khán was appointed Tahsildár over the Rájás of Dashghara, Bardwán, Birbhúm, Bishnpur, Máyapur, Goáḍi-Krishnagar, and Kaṭak. How far there is truth in this assertion it is hard for us at present to determine. No authentic history has yet been found of these several principalities except of those of Bardwán, Bishnpur, and Krishnagar.

* 1, Birbhúm; 2, Sainbhúm; 3, Sik'harbhúm; 4, Gopíbhúm; 5, Bámanbhúm; 6, Mánbhúm; 7, Barábhúm; 8, Dhalbhúm; 9, Singbhúm; 10, Tánbhúm; 11, Malbhúm; 12, Bhanjabhúm. *Vide* Blochmann's Geography and History of Bengal, Journal, Vol. XLII, (1873) p. 224.

Portions of the early account of the Bishnpur ráj appeared in the *Hindu Patriot*, when that paper was under the able editorship of the late Haris Chandra Mukerjee, and those numbers of the *Patriot* furnish the substance of the account given of the ráj by subsequent writers.*

The early history of Bengal is clear in regard to the one fact that the Bishnpur ráj dates from very ancient times, and that it had its existence long before the arrival of the Muhammadans in Bengal. The Rájás of Bishnpur were never subject to Muhammadan rulers. At intervals the Muhammadans invaded Bishnpur, and plundered and ravaged the country. Sometimes they experienced defeats, and fled, leaving behind them all their baggage and treasure in the hand of the victors. This state of things cannot properly be called subjection, and it does not appear probable that the Bishnpur ráj was within the fiscal jurisdiction of Bangbara Khán.

On the death of Khánazád Khán, he was succeeded in his office by his son Gardai Khán. After the death of Gardai Khán, we hear of one Ghází Khán passing his days at the place as a Zamíndár and Aimadár. In his time the importance of the Bardwán Ráj-family was well established, and he was a dependent Zamíndar of the Rájá of Bardwán, who gave him the title of Chaudhurí. It was in the time of Ghází Khán that the English got possession of Bengal.

At the beginning of the English rule, much of the heritage of the Khán family which they had held from the days of the Nawáb to those of the Chaudhurí, was transferred to other hands. The son of Ghází Khán was 'Abdur-Rahmán Khán, on whose death 'Alí Naqí Khán became the heir of the family property; he married a daughter of the Musalmán Rájá of Nágor in Birbhúm. 'Alí Naqí Khán departed this life at the age of sixty. While 'Alí Naqí was still living, the land survey and settlement of Bengal began. At the death of 'Alí Naqí Khán, his son Tafazzul Husain Khán was a minor of only four years of age, and on the death of the latter, his son Tasadduq Husain Khán became the heir. He is still living, enjoying his ancestral heritage. He has a little son, but no daughter. It is remarkable and worth noting that from Bangbara Khán to Tasadduq Husain Khán, no one had a brother or a sister. The family has hitherto continued and been represented by a single male scion in each generation, an occurrence as rare as it is singular, nay almost unprecedented in a genealogy consisting of so many as seven or eight generations. Very little is now left for the support of the family. They eke out a bare subsistence from the few acres of land in their possession.

* *Vide* also Col. Gastrell's Report on Bishnpur; and Grant's Vth Report.

Three Translations from the Ḥamâseh.—*By* C. J. Lyall, C. S.

I.

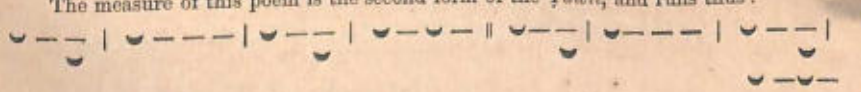
Ta'abbaṭa Sherrâ in praise of Shems son of Mâlik.

إني لمهد من ثنائي مقاصد — به لابن عم الصدق شمس بن مالك
اهز به في ندوة الحي عطفه — كما هز عطفي بالعجان الاوارك
قليل التشكي للمهم يصيبه — كثير الهوي شتي النوي و المسالك
يظل بموماة و يمسي بغيرها — جحيشا و يعروري ظهور المهالك
و يسبق وفد الريح من حيث ينتحي — بمنخرق من شده المتدارك
اذا حاص عينيه كري النوم لم يزل — له كالئ من قلب شيحان فاتك
و يجعل عينيه ربيئة قلبه — الى صلة من حد اخلق باتك
اذا هزه في عظم قرن تهللت — نواجذ افواه المنايا الضواحك
يري الوحشة الانس الانيس و يهتدي — بحيث اهتدت أم النجوم الشوابك

Lo now! I take my way with the boon of my praise in hand
to the son of the uncle of Stoutness, Shems the son of Mâlik:
I will gladden therewith his heart in the ring where his kinsmen sit,
as he gladdened mine with gift of goodly *arâk*-feeders.
Little he heeds the pain of labour that lights on him—
many his heart-stirrings, divers his ends and ways;
He journeys day-long in a waste, and at night-fall he enters another
unholpen: he rides bare-backed the steed of perilous deeds.
He outstrips the sweep of the wind as it drives in its course along
in a whirlwind, following swift on the heels of him who flees.
When the needle of sleep sews up his eyen, there wanteth not
a warder to watch, the heart of a wary man and bold.
He makes his eyen the scouts of his heart, to bid him where
to draw forth from its sheath the glittering sharp sword-blade;
When he shakes it in the breast-bone of a foeman, there flash abroad
the hindmost teeth in the open mouths of the laughing Dooms.
He deems the Wild the sweetest of friends, and travels on
where there journeys above him the Mother of all the clustered stars.

Notes.

The measure of this poem is the second form of the *Ṭawîl*, and runs thus:



v. 1. "Son of the uncle of Stoutness," a periphrasis for "a stout and valiant man"; the words father, son, and brother are frequently joined to qualities to denote the possessor of them: thus Ṭarafeh (Mo'all. 86) calls his sword *akhû thiqatin* "brother of faithfulness."

v. 2. "I will gladden his heart," literally "I will shake his side," *i. e.* with mirth and joy. "*Arâk*-feeders"—she-camels fed on the *arâk*, a shrub *(Salvadora Persica)* widely distributed in the sandy soils of the East; in Western India it is known as *Pîlû*.

v. 4. "He rides bare-backed the steed of perilous deeds" is explained as meaning that he encounters dangers with nought to protect him from them.

v. 8. "There flash abroad:" the word *tehellela* is used specially of the lightning. "Dooms," *el-menâyâ*, plural of *meniyyeh*, the Fates of men; it is probable that the pagan Arabs conceived of these as women, like the Fates and Norns of Roman and Norse mythology. 'Amr son of Kulthûm says (Mo'all. 8).

و انا سوف تدركنا المنايا مقدرة لنا و مقدرينا

And as for us—the Fates will surely reach us:
doomed are they to us and we to them.

v. 9. "The Mother of all the clustered stars" is variously explained; some say that it means the Sun (feminine in Arabic as in German), as the greatest of all the heavenly bodies: others that it is the Milky Way; to me it seems most probable that it means the Heaven, and that the solitude which is spoken of in the first half-verse is further described in the second by saying that the wanderer's only companion on his way is the turning Heaven.

II.

'Amr son of Ma'dî-kerib.

لیس الجمال بمیزر فاعلم و ان ردّیت بردا
ان الجمال معادن ومناقب اورثن مجدا
اعددت للحدثان سا بغة و عدّاءا علندا
نهدا و ذا شطب یقد البیض و الابدان قدّا
و علمت انی یوم ذاک منازل کعبا و نهدا
قوم اذا لبسوا الحدید تنمروا حلقا و قدّا
کل امریء یجری الی یوم الهیاج بها استعدا
لما رأیت نساءنا یفحصن بالمعزاء شدا
و بدت لمیس کأنها بدر السماء اذا تبدا
و بدت محاسنها التي تخفي و کان الامر جدا
نازلت کبشهم و لم ار من نزال الکبش بدا
هم یقذرون دمي و انذر ان لقیت بأن اشدا
کم من اخ لی صالح بوأته بیدی لحدا

ما إن جزعت وما هلعـــــت و لا يرد بكای زنـدا
البستـــه الذوابه و خلقت يوم خلقت جلدا
أغنی غناء الذاهبيـــــن أعد للاعداء عدا
ذهب الذين أحبهم وبقيت مثل السيف فردا

Comeliness stands not in brave attire,
though thou wrap thyself in a robe of *burd*:
Comeliness lies in a noble stock
and valiant deeds that bring renown.

I gathered to meet the chances of Time
a hauberk flowing, a swift strong steed
Stout and hardy, a groovèd blade that cleaves
helmets and bodies of men in twain:
And well I knew that on that day
I should have to fight both Ka'b and Nahd—
Men who, when they are arrayed in steel,
glitter like leopards in leather and mail.
Each man runs to the battle-stead
with what he has gathered ready therefor.

When I beheld our women flee
furrowing the hard earth as they ran,
And Lemîseh's unveiled face shone as though
it were heaven's full moon when it rises on high,
And all her loveliness, hidden before,
stood bare to see, and the case grew grave,
I stood forth to fight their chief: and needs
must I fight him—no escape therefrom.
They vowed that my blood should spill: and I
vowed, if I met then, to do my best.

How many a brother lief and dear
have my two hands laid to rest in the grave!
I wailed not, nor raised lament or cry,
for my weeping would profit naught at all:
I wrapped him round in his winding-sheet—
hard was I born on my birth day!
I stand in the stead of those dead men:
the foemen count me a host alone.
Gone are the men I loved, and I
lonely abide like sword in sheath.

Notes.

This poem is in the *Kâmil* (dimeter hypercatalectic) and is scanned thus:

⏑⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ‖ ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – | ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – | –

v. 1. "*burd*" a striped woollen stuff of el-Yemen, counted of great price.

v. 2. "a noble stock": *ma'âdin*, plural of *ma'din*, literally "mines": hence, the origin of a family or race.

v. 3. "a hauberk flowing": *sâbighah, dir'* being understood: a coat of mail that reaches to the ankles.

v. 4. "a grooved blade": ðû *shuṭub*. *Shuṭub* or *shiṭab* are the grooves on a sword made for the blood to flow off after a stroke. "Bodies of men" *abdân*: this may mean also "short coats of mail"; but here it seems best to take it in the more usual sense. The sword of 'Amr son of Ma'dî-kerib, called *eṣ-Ṣamṣâm* or *eṣ-Ṣamṣâmeh* ("the short and stout, compact and heavy"), which he inherited from the Ḥimyerite Kings, was one of the most famous blades of Arab legend.

After this verse comes another in some editions

وعثقفا تزما اذا يمنته الاقران صدا

And a straight spear-shaft that quivers when
I poise it, aiming it straight and true.

v. 8. "Furrowing the hard earth as they ran" *yefḥaṣna bil-ma'zâ'i sheddâ*. The verb *faḥaṣa* is explained as meaning "making holes in the earth like *afâḥiṣ*," plural of *uflûṣ* which is the nest of the Qaṭâ. But this sense seems inappropriate, as the swifter the flight the less impression would the runner's feet make on the ground; another reading is *yemḥuṣna*, from *maḥaṣa*, which means to run swiftly: also to glance, gleam, of lightning.

v. 11. "Their chief": *kebsh*, literally, "ram." This word is frequently used to denote the leader of a troop, as the ram leads the flock: *e. g.* in the Mo'all. of El-Ḥârith son of Ḥillizeh, v. 50.

حول قيس مستلئمين بكبش قرظي كانه عباء

Round Qeys, his men clad in mail with a *chief*
of el-Yemen, as though he were a hard white rock.

(*Qarað̣iy* means 'of el-Yemen', because that is the land of the *Qarað̣* or leaves of the *selem* [*Mimosa flava*, Forsk.] wherewith hides are tanned.)

v. 14. "Profit nought at all": *lâ yeruddu zendâ; zend* means a fire-stick, and the literal meaning of this proverbial expression is "will not bring as return so much as a fire-stick."

v. 16. This 'Amr was counted, in the battles of el-Islâm, as equal to a thousand men. "The Khalîfeh 'Omar" (we read in the Aghânî, XIV. p. 28) "sent to Sa'd son of Abû Waqqâṣ, his general in el-'Irâq, 'Amr son of Ma'dî-kerib and Ṭuleyḥah son of Khuweylid el-Asadî, and wrote to him 'Lo! I have sent to aid thee two thousand men.'"

v. 17. "Lonely abide as sword in sheath": *baqîtu mithla-s-seyfi ferdâ*. The loneliness is explained in two ways: first, because the sword has no companion in its sheath; and second, taking *es-Seyf*, "*the* sword," as meaning the incomparable blade *eṣ-Ṣamṣâm* which had no fellow or like.

III.

Ta'abbaṭa Sherrâ went forth to woo a woman of 'Abs, of the house of Qârib, who first inclined to him and promised to marry him; but when he again visited her, he found her averse from him. "What hath changed thee?" said he: she answered—"Verily the honour of being thy wife is great; but my people said to me: 'What wilt thou do with a man who will surely be slain to-day or to-morrow, and thou be left husbandless?'" And he turned away from her, and said—

قالوا لها لا تنكحيه فأنـــه ... لاول نصل ان يلاقي مجمعا
فلم ترمن رأى قتيلا و حاذرت ... ذ يمها من لابس الليل اروعا
قليل غرار النوم اكبر همه ... دم الثأر او يلقي كميا مُسفعا
يعاصعه كل يشجع قومـــه ... و ما ضربه هام العدى ليشجعا
قليل ادخار الزاد الا تعلة ... فقد نشز الشرسوف و التصق المعا
يبيت بمغني الوحش حتى الفناه ... و يصبح لا يحمي لها الدهر مرتعا
علي غرة او نهزة من مكانس ... اطال نزال القوم حتى تسعسعا
و من يغر بالاعداء لا بد انه ... سيلقي بهم من مصرع الموت مصرعا
رأين فتى لا صيد وحش يهمه ... فلو صافحت انسا لصافحنه معا
و لكن ارباب المخاض يشفهم ... اذا اقتفروه واحدا او مشيعا
و اني و ان عمرت اعام انني ... سألقي سنان الموت يبرق اصلعا

They said to her—'Wed him not! for this life is nought at all:
the first spear-point that he lights on perchance shall stretch him [dead.'
And she gave no whit of heed to wisdom, but feared to be
the widow of one whom Night enwraps, full of hardihead;
Little he slumbers or sleeps, and the heart of his intent
is to gain the blood of vengeance, or face a foeman grim.
There comes down to fight with him whom his tribe count their bravest [man,
but not to gain fame of valour does he smite heads in twain.
Little he stores of food beyond what shall stay his need:
his ribs stand forth with hunger, and his bowels cleave to his back.
He has lain in the wild beasts' lairs until they know him well,
and never through fear of him have they fled from their grazing [grounds—
He seeks not to take the hare or the deer by guile or spring:
long has he fought with men, grey is he and old therein.
And he who deals ever with warfare, it cannot but be that he
shall meet one day therein a fall from the hand of Death.
They see a man whose heart cares not to hunt the deer,
and if they could grasp man's hand, they would verily grasp his hand.

10 But he—the lords of fat camels grow lean through fear of him,
as they follow his track alone or girt with a company.
And as for me, well I know that, though I live long, at last
I shall meet the spear of Death flashing bare before mine eyes.

Notes.

The metre of this poem is the same as that of the first piece.

v. 3. "Little he slumbers or sleeps": *qalílu ghirári-n-naumi. Ghirár* is the beginning of sleep, drowsiness; the force of *qalíl* being to deny altogether, the phrase means that he sleeps not at all, nor does he ever suffer drowsiness to creep over him. "A foeman grim": *kemiyyan musaffa'á; kemiy* is one fully armed: *musaffa'* means stained or blackened with the rust of armour which is constantly worn. So er-Rabí' son of Ziyád says—

و مساعرا صداء الحديد عليهم و كانما طلي الوجوه بقار .

And stirrers of the flame of battle—upon them the rust of steel,
even as though their faces had been besmeared with pitch.

v. 4. "There comes down to fight with him": the person spoken of may be either Ta'abbata Sherrá himself (which seems best) or the warrior mentioned in the last words of the verse before.

v. 9. "They see" *i. e.* the wild beasts: verse 8 is a parenthesis, arising out of the second hemistich of verse 7. To grasp the hand is a sign of friendship and good will in Arabia as in Europe.

v. 10. "Fat camels": *makhád*, properly "pregnant camels," which were held to be the most delicate of flesh (see Ṭarafeh, Mo'all. 93).

Notes on, and Translation of, three Copper-plate Inscriptions from Sambalpur.—By Pratápachandra Ghosha, B. A.

In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society for November 1872, under the head of presentations received, the receipt was announced of a Copper-plate Grant consisting of three leaves, found in the Sambalpur District. The plates were presented to the Society by Capt. M. M. Bowie, then Deputy Commissioner of that district. The plates were found buried in an earthen vessel, at some depth below the surface in the Tributary State of Patná attached to the Sambalpur District. The inscription records the grant of a village named *Vakavedda* on a small rent to four Bráhmans of four different *gotras*. The grant was made on the 8th lunar day of the bright half of the month of *Ashaḍha* in the 6th year of the reign of *Janamejaya*.

The plates are in tolerable preservation. The inscription runs over three oblong tablets connected together by a solid copper ring. The first covering plate is inscribed on one side only, and the last has but two lines of inscription on the second side. The ring is surmounted by a round

seal with a thick border. The legend on it is unclear. It has been much affected by age, and the faint but rough relief impressions lead me to surmise that it had at one time a figure of *Rámachandra* seated on a lotus, and surrounded by lotus leaves and flowers. At the foot of the lotus throne there appears to be a kneeling figure, evidently of *Hanumána*, for it has a tail.

The character of the inscription is of the 12th century; the ऋ of the inscription, however, is of as ancient a form as is met with in the *Kutila* type. The vowel signs are nearly identical with those of the Bengali alphabet. It is, however, noteworthy to observe that the ancient forms of ङ, ष, भ and ङ्ग occur in this inscription. The व, न and ज are closely allied to the Bengali type. The language is Sanskrit, and the metre of the slokas which close up the inscription is in the long distich. The grammar on the whole is correct, but errors and omissions committed by the engraver are numerous.

The inscription opens with the simple auspicious "*Svasti*" in the style of a proclamation from *Mahábhava Gupta*, evidently a son or scion of the family of *Çiva Gupta*, the monarch of the three Kalingas. The place is then described, and the conditions of the grant are set forth; the annual rent being fixed at 8 *palas* of silver. A *pala* according to *Amara Sinha* is "*Karsha chatushtaya*", *i. e.* weighing 32 *tolás*. As usual, in granting the village its mines are also given away.

The second tablet describes the recipients who are all evidently Bhattas (heralds?) by profession. The first is of the *Kauchchha gotra*, which is not known in this part of the country. The *pravaras*, that is the *rishis*, allied to the family are *Angirasa* and *Varshayauvanáçva*, and those of next to kith and kin are *Yuvanaçva*, *Damvarisha* and *Angira*, professing the *Kauthama* section of the *Sámaveda*. These are all evidently *páçchatya Vaidika* Bráhmans, that is to say, the *Urias* of the Western clan. The first donee's name is *Dámáka*, the son of *Aiprali*. He came from a place called *Leraçringa* in the valley of the *Pampa*. The second is of the *Gautuma gotra*. The second, third, and fourth all belong to the *Kánva* section of the *Yajur veda*, the second comes from *Upaçringa*, the upper peak as contradistinguished from *Leraçringa* of the first donee. The third is named *Vásudeva*, the son of *Hrishikesha*, of the *Kashátreya gotra*. The fourth, though coming from the same valley as the first, is of the *Agasti gotra* and named *Kondadeva*, the son of *Rámaçarmá*.

After the description of the donees, the usual imprecations are fulminated against the resumption by the future princes of the lands and the usual quotations from the *Dharma Çástras* are added in which the donors of lands are praised, and their resumers are condemned as heinous sinners.

The engraver, an employee of the son of *Malládhara Datta*, the minister of the States, is a *Káyastha* of the *Ghosha* family.

The inscription closes with an eulogium on *Janamejaya*, whose name has been used in the plate. What this *Janamejaya* had to do with the grant is not at all evident from the inscription. The donor entitles himself as the king of the *three Kalingas*, a title not uncommon with the *Uria* kings of the 10th and 12th centuries to adopt (*vide* J. A. S. B., p. 21, 1869).

Until we can identify the *Janamejaya* of this inscription, it is needless to make an attempt at fixing the date of this grant. There is, however, one important point deserving of notice; in this plate mention has been made of the *Ghosha* family of the *Káyasthas*, a family which traces its descent from the days of the earliest of the *Vedas*. In the *Rigveda*, the twain *Açvinas* are said to have given a husband to the unmarried daughter of *Ghosha: Ghosháyai chit pitṛishade durone patim juryantyai Açvinávadattam.* R. V., i. 117, 7. Sáyanáchárya, however, says Ghoshá was daughter to Kakshivat.

Transliteration of the Copper-plates.

Plate I.

ॐ स्वस्ति मुरक्षीम समावासित श्रीमतो विजयकटका(त्) परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
राजपरमेश्वरश्रीशिवगुप्तदेवपादानुध्यातपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
जाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजद-
वः ॥ कुषली । तुङ्गातटविषयप्रतिबद्धवकवेद्ग्रामे तत्प्रतिनिवासि कुटुम्बिजनपदा-
स्त्रद्विषयीय यथाकालाध्यासिनः समाहर्त्तृ सन्निधातृ चाटभट पिशुन धिविका-
वरोधजन-राजवल्लभादीन् सर्व्वान् राजपादोपजीविनः समज्ञापयति विदि-
तमस्तु भवतां । यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्व्वबाधाविवर्ज्जितः ।
सर्व्वापरिकरकरादानसहितः साच सभुकः सगर्त्तोषरः । प्रसिद्धचतुःसिमा-
वच्छिन्नः प्रतिनिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः नानागोत्रप्रवरविनिर्गतब्राह्मणे-

Plate II.

भ्यो द्विजातिवरेभ्यः एककौण्डिन्यगोत्रः आङ्गिरस वर्षयोवनाश्वप्रवरः युवनश्वदम्भरिष-
दङ्गिर अनुप्रवरः सामवेदे कौथुमशाखाध्यायी पम्पासरसि विनिर्गतलेङ्गट्टङ्गावा-
स्तव्य भट्टपुत्र दामाकः ऐप्रस्तिसुतः द्वितीयो गौतमगोत्रः आङ्गिरसप्रवरः वार्हस्पत्यानु-
प्रवरः यजुर्व्वेदे काण्वशाखा उपगङ्गविनिर्गतखण्डस्वेचवास्तव्यभट्टपुत्रनोरपगण्डसुतद्वतीय-
श्चकपाचेयगोत्रः अर्चनानश्वप्रवरः श्यवोश्वन अनुप्रवरयजुर्व्वेदकाण्वशाखा-
ध्यायी कोष्कलङ्ग(?)विनिर्गत लेपतुङ्गावास्तव्यभट्टपुत्रवासुदेवः रिश्निकेशसु-
तः चतुर्थश्च अगस्तिगोत्रः । दम्भवाश्वप्रवरः त्रयानुप्रवरः ॥ च यजुर्व्वेद
काण्वशाखाध्यायी सकलिङ्गविनिर्गतः पम्पासरसि वा
स्तव्यः कोण्डदेवनाम रामशर्म्मसुतस्तेभ्यो द्विजातिवरेभ्यः सलिलधारा ·

पुरःसरः माचन्द्रतारकंचितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं प्रतिवर्षदातव्यरूप्यकाष्टपल-
करदानविनिश्चित्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पूण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये ताम्रशासनेना-
करीकृत्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगम्य समुचितभोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पूण्ययशोऽभि-
वृद्धये ताम्रशासनेनाकरीकृत्य प्रतिपादि इत्यवगत्य समुचितभोगभागकरहिर-
ण्यादिकमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भिः सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति भाविभिश्च भूपतिभिर्देवत्रियमस्म-
दीया धर्म्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधाच्च स्मदत्तिरेवानुपालनीया। तथा चोक्तं धर्म्मशास्त्रे। बहुभि-
र्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं॥ मामुद्दफलं
शङ्कावः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः। स्वदानात् फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने॥ षष्टिवर्षस-
हस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्॥
(अग्नेरपत्य प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूवाग्विसृर्यसुताश्च गावः।) यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च मही-
ञ्च दद्यात् दत्त्वास्यश्रेयस्तेन भवन्ति लोके॥ आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवर्णयन्ति पि-
तामहा। भूमिदाता कुलजाताः स नस्माता भविष्यति॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च
भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ॥ तड़ागानां सह-
स्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च। गवां कोटि प्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न गूच्छति॥ हरते हा-

Plate III.

रयते यस्तु मन्दबुद्धिः तमोवृतः। स बद्धो वारुणैः पाशैस्तीर्य्यग्योनीश्च गच्छति॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां। स विष्ठायां कृमि भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥
आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुर्ब्रह्मा सोमो हुताशनः। गृह्णपाणिश्च भगवानभिनन्द-
न्ति भूमिदं॥ सामान्योऽयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनियो भवद्भिः। सर्व्वा-
नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु-
लोलश्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजिवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा
नहि पुरुषैः परकिर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वरश्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्वत्सरे षष्ठे आषाढ़मासे सितपक्षेति-
थावष्टम्यां यत्राङ्कतोऽपि सम्वत् ६ आषाढ़ शुदि। लिखितमिदं शासनं महासान्धिवि-
ग्रहिश्रीमल्लाधारदत्तसुतप्रतिबद्धकायस्थकोदण्डेन वल्लभघोषसुतेनेति
अस्ति चौणीश्वराणामसलमणिमणिरुचामन्वयः कौस्तुभाभः शौर्य्यत्यागाम्बुराशिः

विरचितविधिवद्दानशुश्रीछताभः श्रीमान् जनमेजयाख्यस्तदग्रपतिसमः
छत्रगां भोक्तुकामः प्रख्यातद्वेश्विवर्गप्रविदलनपटुभूपतिः सोमवंशि॥

Translation of the Copper-plates.

Plate I. Amen! From the famous fortress of victory situated at *Murastíma* (?), the most venerable great ruler of rulers and Sovereign lord *Çrí Çiva Gupta Deva*, descended from whose feet the devout worshipper of *Maheçvara*, most venerable, great ruler of rulers, and Sover-

eign-lord, the Glory of the Lunar race, and King of the Three Kalingas, *Çrí Mahábhava Gupta Deva*, Lord spiritual and temporal, thus declares: All *Játs*, soldiers, spies, *Dhitrikás* (?), watches or guards, favourites of the Government, dependents on the foot of Royalty, and others, living at any time, in the village of *Vakaveddá*, in the confines of the territories in the valley of the *Tunga*, or in the allied countries in the vicinity. Be it known to you, that this village, with all its mineral wealth, free of all restraints, with the right of collecting all supernumerary taxes, with its mango and *mahuá* trees, with its excavations and salt lands, bounded by well-known boundaries on all its four sides, and restricted from the entrance of *Ját* soldiers, is given by us, for the settlement of the best Bráhmans, sprung from the principals of the different families, *viz.*:

Plate II. One of the *Kachchha* family, of the order of *Angirasa yuvanáçva*, and sub-order *Yavanaçva-Amvarisha-Angira*, student of the *Kauthhama* section of the *Sámaveda*, inhabiting the *Leṛaçringá* (Lera-chera ?) alluvion of the *Pampá* Lake, son of the venerable *Aiprali*, and named *Damaka*. The second of the *Gautama* family, of the order of *Angirasa*, sub-order *Várhaspatya*, student of the *Kaṇva* section of the *Yajur veda*, emigrant from *Upaçringa*, inhabitant of *Kaṇdakshetra*, and son of the venerable *Naropagaṇda*. The third of the Kashátreya family, of the order of *Archanáçva*, sub-order *Çvaboçvana*, student of the *Káṇva* section of the *Yajur veda*, emigrant from *Koshkaladda*, inhabitant of *Lepatungá*, offspring of the Bhattas, son of the venerable *Rishikesha*, (*Hṛshikesha* rightly) and named *Vásudeva*. And the fourth of the *Agasti* family, of the order of *Idhmabáhava*, sub-order *Chyava*, student of the *Káṇva* section of the *Yajur veda*, emigrant from *Tṛikalinga*, inhabiting the valley of the *Pampá*, by name *Koṇdadeva*, son of *Rámaçarmá*.

To these excellent Bráhmans, I, with the sprinkling of water, for the purpose of their possession, until the duration of the Sun, Moon and Stars, at the fixed rent of eight *palas* of silver per annum; for the sake of adding to the merit and fame of my parents, as of myself, execute this Deed of gift in the Copper-plate edict. Knowing that it is for the rightful possession (of the donees), and for the augmentation of the merit and fame of my parents, and as of myself, that this Deed of gift is executed upon this Copper-plate edict. Knowing this yourselves, you are to dwell there happily, taking rightful possession, levying, according to your respective shares, revenues, and receiving the gold and other minerals of the soil.

Let future proprietors of the soil, in due regard to our piety and renown, and for *our sakes*, maintain this grant, as of their own, as it is said in the *Dharma-Çastras* (jurisprudence) that *Sagara* and many other kings have made gifts of lands, but the merit (of the grant) accrues to him who for the time being is the proprietor of the soil.

Doubt not of your merit, O earthly kings! because these gifts by others have been made, for endless merit awaits on him that maintains, rather than on him who confers, the same. The donor of land rejoices in heaven for a period of sixty thousand years; but their resumers and their advisers, too, dwell in the regions of hell for an equal space of years. Gold is the first offspring of Fire; Earth is the favourite of *Vishṇu* and cows are the progeny of the Sun; therefore, whoever makes donations of gold, cows, and lands, these three kinds of donors do no more return on earth. Their fathers exult, and grandfathers laud (them), when their land-giving posterity thus bring about their redemption. Whoever receives a gift of land, and whoso makes a gift of it, both of them for their pious deeds ever ascend the heaven. The resumer of land is never absolved, though he should consecrate thousands of tanks, perform hundreds of *Vájapeya* sacrifices, and bestow ten millions of cows in charity. Whoever with an evil heart, dispossesses another or causes one to do such an act, being beset by darkness, he becomes fast entangled in the noose of *Varuṇa*, and degenerates into prostrate animals.

Plate III. Whoso resumes land, whether of his own giving, or given by others, becomes a worm of the dirt, and rots there with his forefathers. The sun, *Varuṇa*, *Vishṇu*, *Brahmá*, the moon, fire, and the glorious *Çiva*, all bless the giver of land. This common bridge of the piety of kings should always be supported by you. This is what *Rámachandra* most expects of all future sovereigns of the earth. Reflecting on the transitoriness of human life and fortune, which is like a drop of water on the leaves of a lotus, and knowing that "this world is a fleeting show", let none obliterate the acts of others.

This Copper-plate document is written, on the eighth day of the moonlit-fortnight of *Ashádha*, in the sixth year of the victorious reign of the most venerable, great ruler of rulers and sovereign-lord, the illustrious *Janamejaya Deva*, which to write in figure is *Samvat* 6 *Ashádha*, *Çudi*, by *Koi Ghosha*, son of *Vallabha Ghosha* of the *Káyastha* caste, in the service of the son of *Çri Malládhara Datta*, the Chief Minister of Peace and War.

There reigns the illustrious king of the Lunar race *Janamejaya* by name, who in purity and splendour resembles the carbuncle gem, in the family of the gemming lords of the earth. Whose valour and bounty are boundless as the ocean, and whose lawful gifts have made his name more glorious. He resembles the Lord of gods in saving the earth when in difficulties, and he is celebrated as a mighty vanquisher of the hosts of his enemies.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I. HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1877.

Notice of a pre-historic Burial Place with Cruciform Monoliths, near Mungapet in the Nizám's Dominions.—*By* WILLIAM KING, *Depy. Supdt., Geol. Sur. of India.*

(With two Plates.)

About eight miles W. S. W. of Mungapet (Palunçha Taluq), on the right bank of the Godávarí, and on the road to Hanamconda, I passed over the strange place of sepulture described in this paper. It is in the midst of, and overgrown with, forest and scrub jungle, and is quite out of the ordinary route of European travellers; but as the tombs have been opened and there are signs of excavation, apparently of other hands than those of despoilers, it is possible that this spot has been visited and described by some previous observer. The only notice I can find having reference to like places in the neighbouring country is that of Colonel C. L. R. Glasfurd (Report of the "Upper Godavery District, 1868,") who says: "But scattered here and there in the forests, and on the sides of hills, are found the remains of a race before whose antiquity even the ancient Hindu dynasties of the Peninsula of India must probably give way. I allude to the megalithic monuments of Indo-Scythic sepulture, consisting of cromlechs, kistvaens and cairns, which have been found in four of the six taluqs of this district." This account answers generally for the locality under description, except for the presence of some stone crosses, which in my experience of such burial-places in Southern India, are quite unique. Other ruder and perhaps more ancient remains (commonly

called Korumbar rings), in some respects similar to these, are frequent over parts of the Madras Presidency; but here in addition to the presence of large crosses, the tombs are all built of worked stones, and furnished with coffin-like cavities in place of the usual urns or earthenware chatties.

The place itself is called, by the people around, *Rákshasgudium* or 'the village of demons', whom they describe in the usual way as having been as tall as trees, unclothed, long-haired, and of a time beyond the ken of man. Situated close to the present village of Kaperlaguru, it consists of an assemblage of kists or huge stone boxes for the reception of the dead, (and, if the size of some of these be taken into consideration, of very honoured dead too). The numbers of inferior people who must have been employed to quarry, dress, and carry the stones, were not buried in this place; it was the necropolis evidently of the rulers, not necessarily the heroes, of the country, for many of the kists contain two or more receptacles of different sizes as for families.

The ground occupied is about half a square mile in extent, but it is difficult to be exact as to the area or even as to the number of tombs owing to the thick forest growth, and there were only a few hours at my disposal for searching the place. There are, however, about 150 tombs scattered irregularly along the crest and western slope of a low sandstone ridge, (lying mainly in a long W. N. W.—E. S. E. group) which is rather thickly crowded with kists near the northern end, where the high road crosses the ridge. In the more crowded portion of this ancient cemetery are four large cruciform monoliths, one lying flat on the ground at the extreme northern end of the place, and three a few yards south of the road, one of which is perfect and standing in a nearly upright position.

The crosses do not seem in their position to bear any very particular relation to the tombs near them, and are too large, supposing they are not in their original sites, to have been moved far from their first position. The northern-most cross is not lying near any kist, but the upright one and another (broken and dug down to its base) are placed close to two pairs of large tombs, though their position is not strikingly associated with either of these.* The fourth monolith is lying on the ground some fifty yards further south near a tomb.

The appended sketches (Plates XI and XII, figs. 1, 2) will show the style of these singular monoliths, which I think may be termed crosses, though they differ in many respects from all ornaments or sculptures of this class, while they are I consider of much more ancient date than the type from which nearly all crosses are derived.

The two crosses in the middle ground are facing about E.—W., but not exactly; that is, the proper face may be to the sun or the reverse, for

* (See Plate XII, Fig. 6.)

Fig: 2.

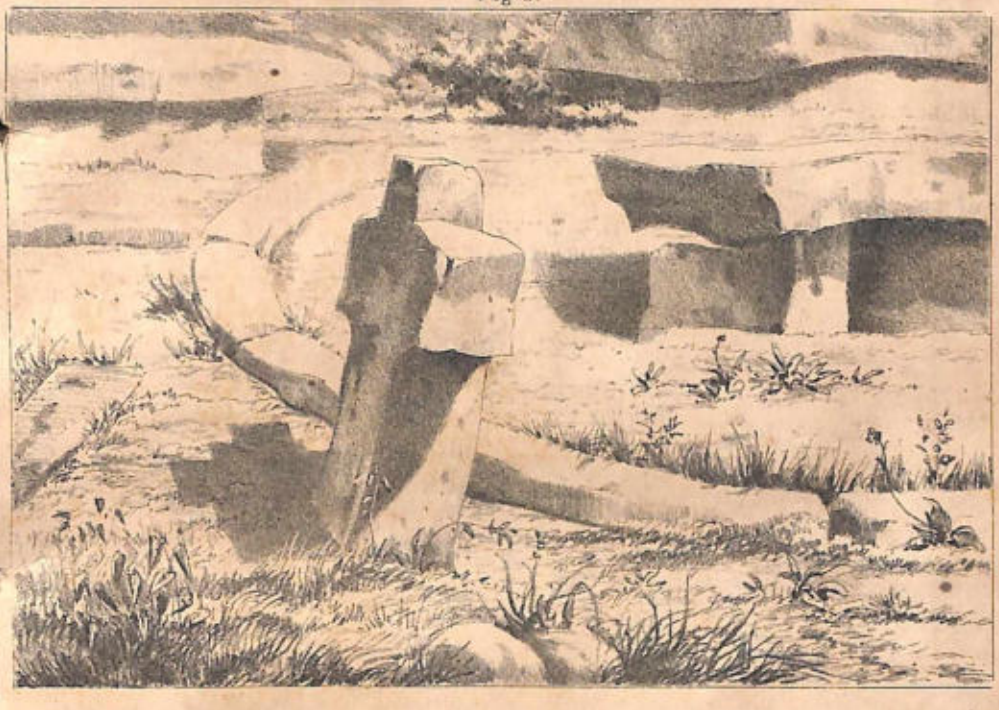


Fig: 1.

W. King del. J. Schaumburg lith.

Burial Places with Cruciform Monoliths, near Mungapet in the Nizam's Dominions.

Figs: 1 & 2. Elevations
Monoliths; on a Scal
a.a. Arms, b.b. Uppe

Fig: 6.

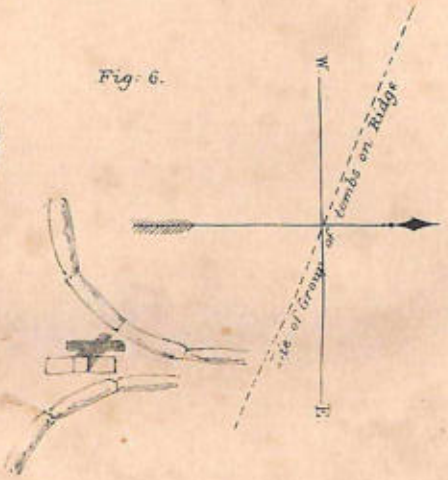


Fig: 8.

elative position of Kists & Crosses.
mode of placing walls of Kist in juxta-position.
section of Coffin.

W. King del.

S. Sedgfield lith.

Fig: 1.

Figs: 1 & 2. Elevations of Cruciform Monoliths; on a Scale of 1 Foot = ½ of an Inch.
a.a. Arms, b.b. Upper Limb, c.c. Lower Limb

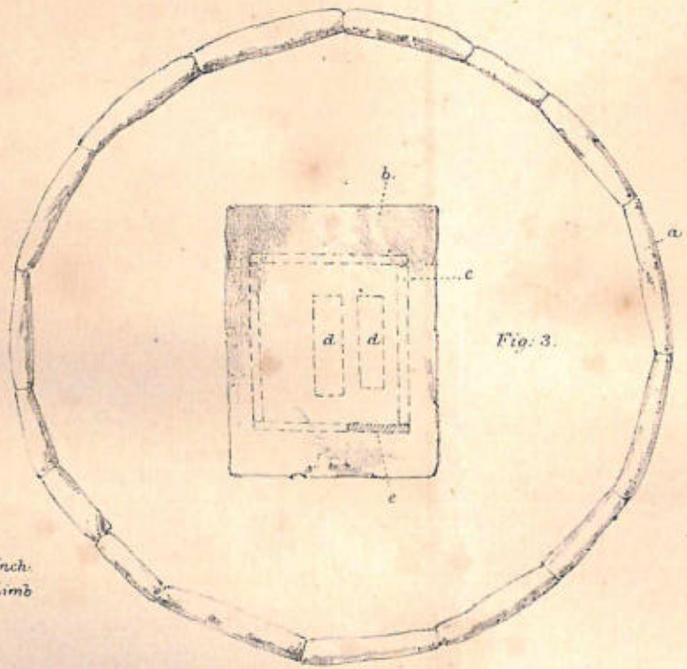
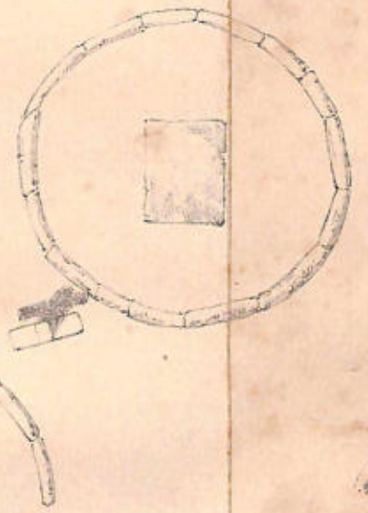


Fig: 3.



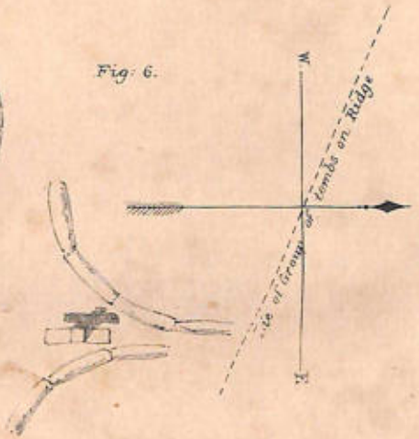


Fig: 6.

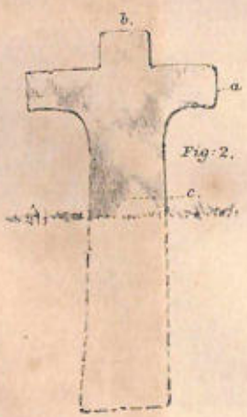


Fig: 2.

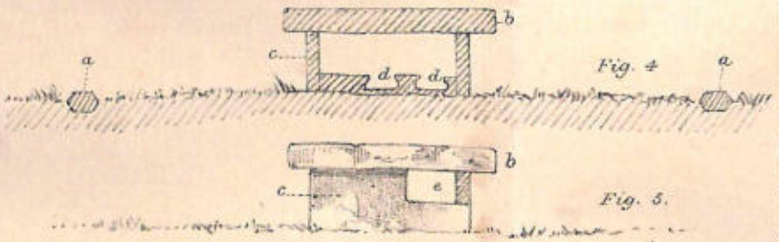


Fig: 4

Fig: 5.

Fig: 7.

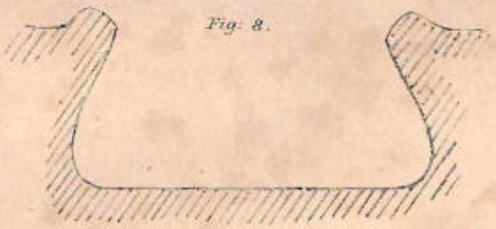


Fig: 8.

Fig. 3. Plan of largest Kist and Ring.
Fig. 4. Section of D° D°
Fig. 5. Elevation of Kist.
a. Ring b. Covering Slab c. Walls d Coffins.
e Entrance.

Scale. 1 Foot = ½ of an Inch.

Fig. 6. Diagram shewing relative position of Kists & Crosses.
Fig. 7. " shewing mode of placing walls of Kist in juxta-position.
Fig. 8. " shewing section of Coffin.

W. King del. S. Sedgfield lith:

BURIAL PLACES WITH CRUCIFORM MONOLITHS, NEAR MUNGAPET IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

I cannot say which is the front or back, as each cross is placed differently with regard to its neighbouring tombs. Some of the kists face the rising sun, others are at an angle with this position, or in other words, the entrances are always easterly though at varying degrees to the south or north of this.*

The distinguishing points in these monuments are the various breadth and length of the limbs, and the curved junction between the arms and lower limb.† The broken cross in the middle ground has been dug down to in order to expose the foot; its measurements are:—whole height, 13 feet; height to arm, 9′ 4″; width of lower limb, 3′ 2″; length of unbroken arm from centre, 3′ 8″; width of arm at end, 2′ 5″; width of upper limb, 2′ 1″; thickness of monolith, 1′ 8″. The neighbouring cross is smaller, but it stands 5′ 6″ over the ground, and from the proportions of the others its lower limb must be sunk in the ground for about 6 feet.

These monoliths are neatly dressed, without any ornamentation or inscription, and present a rather less weathered appearance than the kists, which were apparently only roughly squared and then hammered or chiselled on certain surfaces, though the style of tooling is the same in all cases.

Each tomb consists of four upright tooled slabs placed rectangularly, covered by another flat slab dressed at the edges, and the whole is generally encircled by a ring of rudely-dressed oblong stones meeting together at their ends, these being cut to give clean joints to the circle. The box or kist is built on the surface of the ground or, as it generally is, rock, there being no excavation or pit as is more frequently the case with the ruder Korumbar rings. One of the upright slabs is pierced for a small doorway large enough to admit a human body, and the sides of this entrance are cut or counter-sunk so as to allow of a slab or other closure being placed against the opening, though I did not see any loose slabs lying about which might have been used in this way. The covering slab overhangs the kist for more than a foot in width. (*See* Plate XII, figs. 3, 4, and 5.)

Most of the tombs are more or less broken and tumbled about, while their interiors have in many cases been torn up; but a few still show what the inner arrangements were like. There was or is a floor or basement slab, very often the size of the interior, in which were cut out or carved one or more long and shallow cavities with rimmed edges suitable for the reception of a corpse. The largest tomb contains two of these receptacles with room for a third; in another are three, one (ordinary size) on either side with a smaller hollow, possibly for a child, between; while there is only one small cavity nearly three feet long on one side of the floor of a further tomb.

* Possibly the fact of the entrance being to the north or south-east may have had reference to the time of death of the first tenant, according to the seasonal position of the sun.

† *See* Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2.

These coffin-like hollows are narrow at the opening, but widen out towards the bottom. They are not of much size, the largest being 5′ 6″ long, 1′ 6′ wide at mouth, and 11 inches deep; and this smallness probably indicates that the bodies were embalmed, more particularly as the cavities would seem to have been cut out as they were required, the floor slab having been placed when the tomb was built. Another point in favor of the view of embalming is, that the cavities are perfectly clean, not stained as they might have been in case of rapid decomposition of the corpse.

The kists are generally about 6 feet long by 5 feet broad and, with the overhanging roof, about 4 feet high; but some are much larger. The principal tomb is 9′ 6″ long, and 9′ wide, the covering slab being 14′ 8″ by 11′ 6″, with a thickness at the edge of 1′ 4″; the whole height from the ground being 5 feet. The circle enclosing this tomb is 37 feet in diameter, the stones forming it being some of them 8 feet long.

Generally, each circle of stones encloses one tomb; but there are exceptions, such as two kists within a single circle, and again, four of these arranged in a row inside of a long elliptical ring.

The covering slab and the sides of the kist are each of a single piece of sandstone, but many of these are now cracked, and in one instance I could not tell whether the upright slab were fractured or that one part of it had been cut to fit the other as is often the case in the facing of the great stone walls of some of the Telingána fortresses. The small door-way is most frequently cut out in the upper half of one of the wall slabs, generally at one side or the other, though in a few cases it is in the middle. There does not appear to have been any covering stone for the body cavities, indeed the raised rim of these would have required a covering with perhaps more carving than the builders could elaborate.

The stone used is in all cases a very coarse grey sandstone, the rock of the place itself, but I could not see any trace of quarries though such may have been overlooked in my difficult search through such jungle. This use of the stone of the neighbourhood is another point of difference between these relics and the ordinary Korumbar rings of S. India, the latter being usually constructed of stones other than the rock of the immediate locality.

Further examination of the slopes of the low hills in the neighbourhood of Rákshasgudium brought to light other sites of similar assemblages of tombs, but these are all very poor in the number and size of the kists, while there are no cruciform stones.

The history of this place of sepulture is of course lost in obscurity, but some attempt may be made to give it a place in the archæological record. Col. Glasfurd, as shown in the extract from his report at the beginning of this paper, attributes the remains observed by him in the Godávarí valley to a possible Indo-Scythic period, though I think he uses this

term in a sense to which it cannot be applied, for though there is sufficient evidence of a Hindu occupation of the country, there is little or none as to a previous Scythian one, the prior occupation having by all accounts had its derivation from the north-eastward instead of from the north-west The mistaken use of the term Scythic may, however, be due to its being a general term for the pre-Aryan occupation of Europe, and thus adopted for the like period in India. Col. Glasfurd's Indo-Scythic time would then be the period to which I also am inclined to attribute the Rákshasgudium remains, namely, to later pre-Aryan times. Or, a narrower limit might be given in a Hindu-Kolarian period; for these tombs—supposing as I do, that they were erected by a people of the Kolarian family—are of a higher order of building than was usual with them, evidencing a later stage in the history of the people who erected tombs of this kind, and this burial-place may have been in use long after the Aryan occupation.

The absence of any inscriptions or incised ornamentation whatever would seem to place the Rákshasgudium kists and monoliths in an earlier age than that of such inscribed buildings or stones as are now extant in the adjacent country, which are either of Buddhist or Telingána workmanship. I do not remember noticing any inscriptions on the Buddhist caves of the Godávarí or Kistna valleys, but such are frequent in the Telingána ruins of Warangal and in the chain of large reservoirs extending northwards from Pakkhal tank, which last, according to the inscription on the bund, dates back some 1700 years.

It seems necessary, therefore, to look for a period whose people were less civilized than the Telingánas and who probably did not possess a written character, in fact, for a pre-Aryan race, and the remnants of this I think exist still in the few and scattered tribes of the Godávarí valley coming under the general name of Kois, who do not, however, acknowledge any acquaintance with the remains under consideration.

There seems little doubt but that these Kois are related to the Kols of Bustar and the country north-eastward by Katak, and that they are thus of the Kolarian family. This country, in the Godávarí valley, is scattered over with cromlechs and kists somewhat of the same general type as those of Rákshasgudium though of much ruder form. But, as this family of people is tracked northward, the architectural character of these becomes improved, their occurrence more frequent, and the popular theories concerning them more intelligent, until in Chutiá Nágpur, the Larka Kols or Hos, as described by Colonel Dalton, are found still making use of and erecting sepulchral and monumental collections of stones, always of ruder form, however, than the relics in question.

Without, however, taking into consideration the peculiarities of style, tooling, and mode of burial evidenced in the Rákshasgudium tombs, there

is a very general resemblance between them and the other sepulchral ruins scattered over the country above indicated and even as far south as the Kávarí river, which ruins are doubtless the relics of pre-Aryan races, an early branch of whom, is possibly now represented in the small degraded tribe of Yanadis* of Sriharicotta, and a later branch by the more civilized though still low Kois and Kols of the north.

Here at Rákshasgudium, however, we have the most improved form of the type burial-place, the placing of the corpse in a horizontal receptacle, and the unique cruciform monuments, all of which are evidences of civilization, possibly of the highest form at which the Kolarian people had arrived when their country was inundated by the great Aryan wave.

It is at the same time very remarkable that in the part of the country where I would have it that the evidences of the highest phase of civilization of the pre-Aryan exists, we have now only a very degraded remnant of the race with no knowledge of the ruins in question. May I suggest on this, that the Kois of the present day possibly had no direct ancestors living here at the time of the Aryan invasion, or are they the returned residue of so much of the race as was driven outwards by the invaders, or perhaps the after outspreading of those branches of the race who were never touched in the fastnesses of Sambalpur and Chutiá Nágpur by the wave of conquest, while the more refined tribes then existing became gradually absorbed into, or amalgamated with the new race.

A great difficulty in tracing out the age of these remains, presents itself in the cruciform character of the monoliths; for I believe these are unique in the pre-historic sepulchral remains of India, and it might naturally be expected that a like though rougher form of the same type should occur among the ruder examples of similar places in the neighbourhood, while at the same time it is necessary to face the apparently much easier solution of the problem that the monoliths and even the cemetery itself may be of very early Christian origin. It is, however, more probable that a more refined section of the pre-Aryan people should have had one burial-place with special monuments for their greatest families, than that a single early Christian cemetery should have been planted far inland, in the centre of heathendom without a trace of the cross being left in the countries outside.

As stated in the commencement of this paper, it is very possible some previous observer may have seen this place and recorded his observations; but I am unable to learn of such, while my means of reference to any previous literature on the subject is very small. At the same time, I must

* The Yanadis frequent the country around Pulicat Lake (Madras): and I saw, in 1863-64, two of these people producing fire by the manipulation of pieces of wood, on a rainy day, within 200 yards of a modern village.

acknowledge reference to Col. E. T. Dalton's paper on the 'Rude Stone Monuments of Chutia Nagpur and other places,'* and, more especially, to Mr. R. N. Cust's paper on the 'Non-Aryan Languages of India.'†

Postscript.

My attention has been drawn to Mr. Mulheran's notices,‡ of cromlechs and stone crosses in the Godávarí valley, which bear out my supposition that these had been visited by some previous explorer. I think the burial-place referred to by Mr. Mulheran as at or near Katapur§ is clearly that of Rákshasgudium, but I have not seen the locality called Malur. It is worthy of notice that the Rakshasgudium crosses are not always to the right of the cromlechs, for it is difficult to say—See Plates XI, fig. 2, and XII fig. 6,—to what cromlechs any particular cross belongs.

Mr. Mulheran does not make out a clear case for either a Christian or even a Buddhistic origin of these crosses and cromlechs: though I agree with him that their origin is extremely puzzling. The crosses in question are not so clearly of a Latin form as Mr. Mulheran would imply; and had they been Christian, I think they would have been placed more conspicuously as appertaining to a particular tomb, or set of tombs. I am not aware of any case of a memorial Christian cross being placed opposite the corner of a tomb, as in this locality. I know, in Ireland, of pagan places of burial or memorial‖ having been christianized by the addition of christian ornaments or signs, and such might have been the case at Rákshasgudium: but the complete isolation of the place is against this view; the monoliths themselves evidence more labour than could have been effected by a stray Christian fold, or by wandering missionaries; there are no inscriptions; and the proportion of the monoliths are essentially different to those of any Christian cross. It is also not known that any such form of monolith or cromlech exists now near any Christian remains in India.

Col. Walker's remark,¶ as to the doubtfulness of the hypothesis of the cromlechs being the work of a "stone-implement using race," is just with regard to the cromlechs of Rákshasgudium; for these are, I think, evidently in their tooling the work of men who used iron implements.**

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XLII, Part I, No. 2.

† Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, Jan. 1877.

‡ Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, April and June, 1868.

§ My camping place at the time of my visit was at Katapur.

‖ An Irish cross with figure of our Saviour: but the head of the figure is loose in a cut hollow of the upper part of the cross, and this head has small rams' horns for ears, clearly a head of Jupiter Ammon. Close to the Round-tower of Ennistymon, west of Ireland.

¶ Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, June 1868, p. 151.

** Regarding these cromlechs and crosses *vide* Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, for August, 1877; Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV, pp. 305, 306; and Ferguson, Rude Stone Monuments, pp. 486-89. Ed.

Notes on the Rangpur Dialect.—*By* G. A. GRIERSON, C. S., *Rangpur.*

Rangpur is and always has been a border country. With the Koch State and the Bhútan Dvárs on the north, the wild tribes of Asám on the east, the advancing tide of Aryan civilization, and subsequent Muhammadan conquest pressing on from the west, and, worst of all, the hated Vangála from the south, it is but natural that these conflicting elements should have left deep traces of storm and turmoil on the inmost life of the people. The district itself long formed a part of the *Kraun'cha* or Koch Bihár kingdom, and being particularly exposed to invasion from all sides, it is covered with sites of battle-fields, and abounds in legends relating to national heroes. The people themselves have a legend that they are descended from a remnant of the Kshatriyas who escaped the destroying axe of Paraśu Ráma, and it is possible that a few of such families may have settled on this debatable ground, and have found a new home and a new Ganga on the banks of the Brahmaputra. They say that the Kraun'cha Himálaya takes its name from those recreant *(Krukta)* warriors who abandoned their father's faith, pure in its Vedic simplicity, for the dread gods of the dwellers of the mountains; and they point to their caste names and their strange religion in confirmation of the theory. Be that as it may, it is certain that Rangpur contained Hindu colonists at a very early period of Indian History. The name of one of its rivers—the Karatoyá—is even mentioned in the Mahábharata, and the Lohityá, a portion of the Brahmaputra, which borders the extreme east of the district, is also alluded to (*Bhíshma Parvan*, 376).

As usual, little attempt seems to have been made to proselytize the aboriginal inhabitants. The Hindu, while probably the most receptive, is the least missionary religion in the world. The wild savages were allowed to retain their demon worship, their "Hudum Deo", and their rites of almost Tántrik obscenity, and were formed into a caste of *Dásas* with their own customs (flesh-eating, widow marriage, polygamy, and even polyandry), their own gods and their own language. In process of time, other and even lower castes were formed, *Chaṇḍálas* and *Bhúmi-mális* for instance, and the Dásas taking up the name of their former *Rája-putra* masters, called themselves, or were called by their humbler brethren, *Rája-vaṁśyas*. Such is the story of the Rájbamsí caste, which now includes within its bond sixty per cent. of the Hindus of Rangpur.

In such a legendary history it is of course impossible to fix dates, or even to assign eras for these changes. The earliest king whose name I have found mentioned in local songs is Mánik Chandra, a *baniya* by caste. Of course he is stated to have lived in the *Satya Yuga*, which gives no era

whatever; but I think it will be evident from a perusal of the epic poem called Mánik-Chandra-Rájár-gán, that he must have lived at a very early date, considerably before the Muhammadan invasion under Sháh Ismá'íl Ghází, A. H. circ. 850, of whom an account was given by Mr. Damant, in Vol. 43 of the Journal. No character is more popular than Ismá'íl Ghází in this district, and the popular songs teem with allusions to him; and yet the epic poem above-mentioned contains no mention of him or of any Musalmán whatever. I therefore conclude that this epic must have been originally written, or rather composed, for it has been unwritten till lately, before Ismá'íl Ghází's time, and, as it makes Mánik Chandra a king of the good old days, "when saints were many, and sins were few," he must have lived a considerable time before the Musalmán invasion.

This invasion was another important factor in forming the character and language of the people. Rangpur was for years the battle-ground between the Kraun'cha Hindus, and the invading Yavans from the west. We have traces of this existing in the topographical nomenclature of the present day: there are *Maghal Bachá* where a Hindu General escaped from the enemy, and *Maghal hát*, where one of the numerous treaties of peace was signed, and several other similar names throughout the country. But perhaps the most pregnant sign of the magnitude of the forces which were insensibly moulding the condition of Rangpur for future centuries is the existence to the present day of a vast dyke extending right across the district from east to west.

It was built to aid the defenders in withstanding Musalmán invasion. South of it, and when that became untenable, south of another farther north, were conquering foreigners, bearded strangers, bringing a new language and a new religion, and armed with all the hatred for the Káfirs which a strange language and a strange religion can give. For years the rule over the populace south of these dykes was the occupation of conquerors and not the colonization of immigrants, and that region has never since rebounded from the oppression. The Parganas south of the south dyke, are the most backward in Rangpur, and the despair of its rulers. They abound in moderately wealthy Muhammadans, descendants of the followers of Ismá'íl Ghází and his compatriots, but the ra'iyats are a tribe of fetish be-ridden savages worthy of the pen of a Burton or Cameron. Too ignorant to betake themselves to the refuge of the law, their sole idea on seeing a stranger is, that he is come to extort more money from them, and thereupon they run into the jangals and hide themselves. They do this not only when the stranger is a native official, but even when he is a European. I myself have gone into villages, and have had the greatest difficulty in finding a man who was brave enough to speak to me. I would not wish it to be thought, that what I have just written has been exaggerated: it is

merely a copy, and in some parts a verbatim copy, of district reports: and it is fully borne out by my own observations.

As might have been expected, this tract forms a rich mine for the investigator into aboriginal folk lore.

The people, Muhammadans and Hindus alike, worship two gods, the *Buṛhí Deo*, and *Hudum Deo*. The first is a bamboo set up in the earth, to which are hung half a dozen rags and perhaps an old bottle or two. The worshippers have no distinct reason for cultivating it, except a vague idea, that if they do not, some undefined evil will probably befal them; and so they do pújá to it, by attaching to it any old refuse they may find in their house.

The other is a kind of Indra, worshipped only by women, and only in the time of drought. They set up a plantain tree at night at a cross-road, and dance naked round it singing songs of the most horrible obscenity.

Such is the state of those who live south of the dyke. That of those on the north side presents more favourable aspects. While the former country was occupied by a foreign army, the latter was held by a people who fought for themselves and their religion with a certain amount of success. Northern Rangpur was never effectively held for any length of time by the Muhammadans, and the result is that the greater part of its population is Hindu at least in name. Although degraded, the people are not so degraded as their brethren of the south. It is true that they follow few of the customs of Hindus born nearer the source of Aryan civilization in India, situated so far to the west,—but one thing has been ineradicably stamped in their character, they know that their ancestors fought for their religion, whatever it is, and were able to retain it. There has thus been begotten amongst them a sort of local patriotism, which, if it has occasionally been a bar in the way of attempts made to help their progress, has at the same time had an effect which cannot have been otherwise than invigorating.

It may sometimes have tended to patriotism in a "parochial" sense, but it has taught the people to think for themselves and to act for themselves, and, above all, to see that under the English *Ráj* there is a reign of law which is the same for the poor man and the rich.

I have been engaged for some time past in collecting the folk-songs of Rangpur, and nowhere is the difference between these two belts of country more easily perceived than in a comparison of them. Those of the northern tract are often semi-religious lays with subjects taken from the Mahábhárata or Puráṇas, but with an individuality about them, in their language and character, which stamps them with their owners' names. Some of them are really ambitious productions, with snatches of poetry in

them which might please even a fastidious taste, and one already mentioned deserves special notice. It is of considerable length, about seven hundred and fifty verses, and has been handed down by word of mouth for generations in a family of *Yogins*, who make their living by singing it and other songs. It is a kind of epic, and describes the life of two ancient kings of Rangpur, who lived in the *Satya Yuga*, named MÁNIK CHANDRA and GOPI CHANDRA. I have been fortunate enough to obtain a copy, taken down from the Yogins as they recite it; and I hope at some future date to be able to give a full account of it. Amidst much that is puerile and exaggerated, it contains many true touches of poetry, and gives some valuable information as to the customs of the country in bygone days. It has of course undergone many changes in its passages from mouth to mouth, but from internal evidence, as I have already said, I believe it to have been originally composed before the Musalmán invasion.

This and other northern country songs, it should be noted, are remarkable for their hatred of the *dakshiṇa deśa*, from which the evil-mind Vangála comes.

The songs of the south are, on the contrary, either short erotic lyrics, of which the less said the better, or hymns sung in honour of *Hudum Deo* or at the Kártṛika púját, which surpass even them in obscenity. Destitute alike of wit and of poetical feeling, they can do nothing but disgust the most unimpassioned and impartial investigator.

I propose now to give a short sketch of the grammar of the very peculiar dialect spoken in Rangpur, with a few specimens of the songs which are best adapted to illustrate my remarks thereon.

THE ALPHABET.

The Alphabet of course is nominally the same as that of Bengálí, but it contains sounds which are, I believe, unknown to that language.

For instance there is a liquid, generally a substitute for a regular रिल् *ril* (*e. g.* मैजाम for मरिल्लाम), which is much more nearly the Tamil lingual *l* than any other sound with which I am acquainted. It is sometimes heard at home in the London streets, when in the morning the milkmen cry "*milk*."

With regard to the pronunciation of ordinary letters it must be remarked that—

(1.) An initial र् *r* is almost always elided, and generally a following अ *a* vriddhied into आ *á*. Thus रन्धिते *randhite* "*to cook*" and रव *rava* "*voice*" are always pronounced आन्धिते *ándhite*, und आवो *á-o* respectively. Sometimes a reverse process takes place and a र् *r* is supplied where not required. A good example is रिविनिउ एजेण्ट् *revenue agent*, which is pronounced इविनिउ रेजेण्ट् *iviniu rejeṇt*.

ল् *l* and ন् *n* are interchangeable at pleasure, especially when initial, or forming the last syllable of a word. In some parts of the country the people seem to have lost all power of pronouncing ন্ unassisted by a subsequent conjunct letter. Thus বানাইল *báná-ila*, "*he made*" may become বালাই *bálána* or বাল্লাল *bálála* or বানাল *bánála*. লক্ষীপুর *Lakshmípura* becomes নখিপুর *Nakhipur*.

(3.) Aspirated are interchanged with unaspirated letters, and *vice versa*. Thus দৈবকিনী *Daivakiní* is also pronounced দৈবখিল্লী or দৈবখিনী *Daivakhilí* or *Daivakhiní*.

Similarly যে *je* and ঝে *jhe*, who. গর্ভ *garbha* and গর্ব *garba*, a womb. বাধা *bádhá* and বাদা *bádá*, hindrance. বোঝা and বোজা *bojhá* and *bojá*, a burden. ঝেনা and বিনা *bhená* and *viná*, looking away.

(4.) The vowels ই *i*, ঈ *í*, and এ *e*, are freely interchangeable. For examples, see above.

(5.) With regard to other letters—

(*a.*) অ *a* can take almost any vowel sound, except that of *a* in "America." As an extreme instance I give করিয়া *kariyá*, which is pronounced কৈরে *kaire* or rather *koire*, having done.

(*b.*) ই *i* is frequently omitted, the consonants on each side forming a conjunct. Thus, বান্ধিতে or বান্ধ্‌তে, *bándhite* or *bándhte*. It is also sometimes inserted between the members of conjuncts.

(*c.*) Single medial surd letters are elided optionally. Especially খ *kh*, also ব্ *b*, ভ্ *v*, and য্ *y*.

E. g., সই *sa-i* for সখি *sakhi*, দেও *de-o* for দেব *deva*, পিয় *pia* for প্রিয় *priya*. Compare *Vararuchi*, II. 2.

(*d.*) ছ্ *chh* is always pronounced as a dental স্ *s*. আছে *áchhe*, is, becomes আসে *áse*. Compare *Vara.*, II. 41, for a reverse example.

(*e.*) স্ *s* is never pronounced as a dental, but always as শ্ *sh*, the reverse of *Vara.* II. 43.

(*f.*) জ্ *j* and য্ *y* are often pronounced as *z*, and this not only in Arabic and Persian words, but in such words as যন *zan*, when, for যখন *jakhan*.

(*g.*) Similarly ফ্ *ph* sometimes becomes *f*.

(*h.*) ব্ *b* sometimes becomes ম্ *m*. For example see the verb paradigms.

(*i.*) As in ordinary Bengali, য্ *r*, and ব্ *v* interchange with জ্ *j* and ব *b* respectively. র্ *r* also interchanges with ড় *ḍ*.

(6.) Conjuncts. I know of no rule under which these can be brought. They are made and decomposed *ad libitum*. য্ *y* and ব্ *v* at the end of a compound are pronounced as in ordinary Bengálí. র্ *r* at the end of a compound is generally detached, as in পরান *parán* for প্রাণ *práṇa*. *Vara.*, III. 62. Sometimes, however, it is dropped, as in পিয় *pia* for প্রিয় *priya*. Compare *Vara.* III. 3. At the commencement of a compound it has little effect beyond strengthening the letter underneath. *E. g.* পুষ্করিণী *pushkariṇí*

a tank, becomes पुष्काणीं *pushkárṇṇí*, which is pronounced almost like *pushkáṇṇí*. *Vara.* III. 50.

A noticeable exception to the rule of separation is the preposition प्रति *prati*, which becomes पति; see *Vara.* II. 7, and *Hema-Chandra's* sútra *Praty-ádau ḍaḥ* according to which the *prákṛit* form is *paḍi*, and not *pati*. Also, as regards the elision of र *r*, see *Vara.* III. 3. Other compounds can only be settled by comparison and selection.

Nouns.

The following are the terminations, in the declension of nouns:—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nominative	— or ए	रा, गुला
Objective } Dative }	ओक, क	गुलाक
Instrumental	हाताय	गुला हाताय
Ablative	थने, ठाँइ	गुलाथने, गुलाठाइ
Genitive	र	गुलार
Locative	त	गुलात

Thus बालक a boy is declined—

Nom. बालक or बाल्के
Obj. बालकोक or बालकक
Inst. बालक हाताय
Abl. बालकथने or बालकठाँइ
Gen. बालकर
Loc. बालकत
and similarly in the plural,
बालक गुला, &c.

Adjectives.

These call for no remarks. They are without gender or inflection, except when used as substantives.

Pronouns.

As might be expected, their forms are many for each person. The most common are as follows:

First person मुइ, मइ, मोँ, हामि, आमि, हामरा.
Second ditto तुइ, तइ, तोँ, तुमि.
Third ditto ईं *this* ओ, *this* or *that*. ताँ or तैं or ताञि *that* or *he*.
Relative याँ, or याँइ or याँञि, *who*.
Interrogative काँ, or काँइ or काँञि, *who?*

Samples of Declension.

Nom.	मोँ	I	हामि or हामरा
Obj.	मोँक, मोँके	me	हामाक, हामाके
Inst.	मोँर हाताय़	by me	हामार हाताय़
Abl.	मोँर थने, or ठाँइ	from me	हामार थने or ठाँइ
Gen.	मोँर	of me	हामार
Loc.	मोँत	in me	हामात

Similarly are declined तोँ *you*, नोँ *that*, योँ *who*, &c.

इँ, *this*, is declined as follows:

इँ, इँमाक, इँमार हाताय़, &c.

The plurals of all these words follow the analogy of substantives.

The two most interesting forms amongst the above, to my mind, are हामि and हामरा. The first is the missing link between the Bengáli आमि and the Hindi हम, both of which are plural honorific forms. हामरा is interesting as showing the process by which in almost every language, plural honorific forms supersede the usual singular. हामरा is the plural of हामि, which is itself a plural form. हामि, however, by constant use has acquired a purely singular sense, and thereby ceases to be honorific, and a fresh plural of a plural has to be coined to supply the deficiency. I may mention that तोमरा is also used in a similar singular sense for "*you*" in the north-west of the District.

Another point worth noting amongst these pronouns, is the characteristic ending in आंइ, आञि, or आंय़, which are all local variations of the same sound. This is the characteristic ending of most of the *sarva-namám*, mistranslated "*pronouns.*" Thus we have सब्बांय not सब्ब meaning "*all.*"

It is worth enquiring into, how numerals in so many languages came to have not only original Aryan pronominal inflexions, but pronominal terminations showing the most manifest signs of, and being the result of modern phonetic decay. Such an enquiry, however, would necessitate discussing the whole theory of pronominal declension, a task which I willingly leave to more competent hands. What I have set myself to do is to record facts, and to leave others to draw inferences from them.

I here give specimens I have collected of the commonest pronominal forms, in the form of a "Philological Harp."

Pronoun.	Place.	Time.	Manner.	Quantity.
Determinative.				
this	*hither*	*now*	*thus*	*this much*
ई, एंइ, एंइना, हेंइना, एंइं,	इत्ति, एत्ति, एटे, एठे, एइटे	एला, एखने, हेखने, एवेला	एदान्, एइदान्, हेदान्, हेमन	एत, हेत.
	here			
	हित्ति, हेत्ति, हेटे, हेइटे,			
Demonstrative.				
that	*thither*	*then*	*in that way*	*that much*
तां, तांय, तांञि, ओ, ओंइं, ओकेना.	उत्ति, ऊत्ति, ओटे, ओठे, ओइटे,	सेला, सेखन्, ओवेला	ऐदान्, सेदान्, ओदान्, सेमन्,	अत, तत, सेत,
	there			
	सित्ति, सेत्ति, ऊत्ति,			
Relative.				
who	*whither*	*when*	*how*	*how much*
यां, यांइ, यांञि, झांय.	*and*	येला, झेला	येदान्, येमन्, झेदान्, झेमन्	यत, झत.
	where			
	यित्ति, येत्ति, यत्ति, येटे.			
Interrogative.				
who?	*whither?*	*when?*	*how?*	*how much?*
कां, कांय, कांइ, कांञि	*and*	कोन्वेला, कोन्सम	केदान्, केमन.,	कत.
	where?			
	कुत्ति, कोटे			

Verbal Forms.

Prefatory. As will be seen the main scheme of the Rangpurí conjugation is founded on that of classical Bangálí. To bring this out more clearly, I shall give the two paradigms in parallel columns. As usual in local dialects, the so called non-honorific or, in reality, singular form, is preferred to the honorific plural form usually found in the books.

In book-Bangálí there are few irregular verbs. The two commonest examples are **याओन** *to go*, and **आइन** *to be*. The former has its past participle **गिया** and **गेल** instead of **याइया** and **याइले**, and the latter has its Imperfect tense **छिलाम** instead of **आछिलाम**.. The regular forms are, however, sometimes used in poetry, and I have remarked that the peasantry of Bard-

wán and the neighbouring districts occasionally use those of याओन in conversation. In the northern half, however, of Rangpur the regular forms are the rule and the irregular the exception. Indeed in conversation, याक्किनु and not क्किनु is always used.

PARADIGM.

The verb पेटान to strike.

	Book form	*Rangpur form.*
	Present.	
1st person	पेटाइ *I* or *we strike*	पेटाओं
2nd „	पेटाइस	पेटाइस्
3rd „	पेटाय्	पेटाय्
	Present Definite.	
1st „	पेटाइतेछि *I am* or *we are striking*	पेटाइतेचों
2nd „	पेटाइतेछिस	पेटाइतेचिस्
3rd „	पेटाइतेछे	पेटाइतेचे
	Imperfect.	
1st „	पेटाइलाम् *I* or *we struck*	पटानु
2nd „	पेटाइलि	पेटाइले or पेटाइलु
3rd „	पेटाइल	पेटाइल
	Imperfect Definite.	
1st „	पेटाइतेछिलाम् *I was* or *we were striking*	पेटाइवार नागिचिनु or पेटाइतेचिनु
2nd „	पेटाइतेछिलि	पेटाइतेचिलि
3rd „	पेटाइतेछिल	पेटाइतेचिल
	Perfect.	
1st „	पेटाइयाछि *I* or *we have struck*	पेटाइचों
2nd „	पेटाइयाछिस	पेटाइचिस्
3rd „	पेटाइयाछे	पेटाइचे
	Pluperfect.	
1st „	पेटाइयाछिलाम् *I* or *we had struck*	पेटाइचिनु
2nd „	पेटाइयाछिलि	पेटाइचिलि
3rd „	पेटाइयाछिल	पेटाइचिल
	Aorist and Conditional.	
1st „	पेटाइताम् *I* or *we used to strike* or *should strike*	पेटाइताम्
2nd „	पटाइति	पेटाइते
3rd „	पेटाइत	पेटाइत

Future.

1st Pers.	पेटाइब *I* or *we shall strike*	पेटाइम or पेटाइमु or पेटाऔं
2nd „	पेटाइबि	पेटाबु
3rd „	पेटाइबे	पेटाइबे

Imperative.

1st „	पेटाइ *Let me* or *us strike*	पेटाऔं
2nd „	पेटा	पेटा or पेटाओ
3rd „	पेटाउक	पेटाउक

INFINITIVE AND PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

पेटाइते *To strike* or *striking*	पेटाइते

VERBAL NOUN.

पटान *a striking*	पेटान

CONJUNCTIVE PAST PARTICIPLE.

पेटाइया *having struck*	पेटाय्या &c., &c.

ADVERBIAL PAST PARTICIPLE.

पेटाइले *having struck*	पेटाइने

GERUND.

पेटाइवा *striking*	पेटाइवा
पेटाइवाके &c.,	पेटाइवाक
&c.	&c.

Inceptives and potentials are formed by the genitive of the gerund, and not by the infinitive, with नागन and पारण respectively. Thus पेटाइवार नागौं *I begin to strike.* पेटाइवार पारौं *I can strike.*

With reference to the above Rangpurí forms, I would mention that in the course of my reading I have met many of them in plays, in the conversation of persons who are not supposed to inhabit Rangpur. I do not for a moment pretend either that the forms I have given are all necessarily peculiar to Rangpur, or that I have by any means suggested all the possible varieties. I have only given the forms usually current amongst the lower orders of the District.

OTHER MISCELLANEOUS GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

I have already shown one point of resemblance between Rangpurí and Hindí in the word "I" चामि.

There is another form of the genitive, which may, I believe, be connected with the well-known Hindí suffixes का, के, and को, signifying "*of.*" It is met in the books, or rather in the grammars, in the genitive of आपनि

"*your honour*" आपनकार, meaning "*of your honour*," while आपनार means "*of one's self.*" This is exactly reversed in Rangpurí, where आपनकार is almost always used when the speaker wishes to say "of one's self." In this dialect, however, the suffix कार, which I believe to be a sort of double genitive, is not confined to आपनकार. I find it used in common conversation, in such phrases as दुइ दिन कार रास्ता हेँटे एनुं "*I came on foot a journey of two days*"; काल कार जन्य थुवो "*put it aside for to-morrow.*" Curiously enough, when in Tirhut in the year of the famine, I was thrown much amongst uneducated classes, I noticed, amongst other forms in which a relationship to Bangálí might be traced, a similar use of the word कार and instead of का, which then not having been in Rangpur, I could not understand.

I now proceed to give some examples of Rangpurí folk songs.

I have used the Deva-Nágarí alphabet, and not the Bangálí, as I believe they will thus be accessible to a wider number of readers. As the three sibilants are freely interchangeable, I have for the sake of uniformity followed *Vararuchi* II, 43, and have written a dental स *sa* throughout. I have not, however, been able to carry out this rule rigidly in the case of some compound letters. For similar reasons I have represented both ब् and व् by व्.

The first story is a kind of nonsense verse, not unlike some of our nursery rhymes at home. Although I do not know any exact European parallel, it is quite possible that such an one may exist, and I have given it in the hope of the analogy being pointed out.

I do not know why it is called a *Gorakh Náther gán.* It appears to have no connection whatever with Krishna. It is a great favourite amongst the people, who delight in hearing it sung, and go into fits of laughter at the absurder impossibilities related.

गोरख नाथेर गान ।

कानें कानें कथा कय ।
तिन गाँथो तार इलाम पाइ ॥ १ ॥
दुइ गाँथो तो भांगा चुरा ।
एक गाँथो तो मानुसे नाइ ॥ २ ॥
थे गाँथो खानत मानुस नाइ ।
तातें वसिल तिन जन कामार ।
दुइ जन तो जानें ना ।
एक जन तो वनाइ ना ॥ ३ ॥
थे कामार टा वानाइ ना ।

सेइ वाल्लाने तिन खान कोदाइल्ल ।
दुइ खान तो भांगा चूरा ।
एक खानत तो मुड़ा नाइ ॥ ४ ॥
ये खान कोदाइल्लेर मुड़ा नाइ ।
ताके दिया खुरिने तिन टा पुष्कर्णि ।
दुइ टा तो धुला धुसर ।
एक टा तो जल्ले नाइ ॥ ५ ॥
ये पुष्कर्णिते जल नाइ ।
ताते नामाइने तिन खान जाल ।
दुइ खान तो फारा छिरा ।
एक खान तो घाप नाइ ॥ ६ ॥
ये जाल खानेर घाप नाइ ।
ताके दिया मारिने तिन टा रुइ ।
दुइ टा तो झापेया गेन ।
एक टा तो पाइने ना ॥ ७ ॥
ये रुइ टा पाइने ना ।
ताके निया गेन कालीगञ्जेर हाट ।
ताके विक्रि करिने तिन काहन कारि ।
दुइ काहन तो पाइने ना ।
एक काहन तो दिने ना ॥ ८
ये काहन कारि दिने ना ।
ताते किलिने तिन टा पातिल्ल ।
दुइ टा तो भांगा चुरा ।
एक टा तो तला नाइ ॥ ९ ॥
ये पातिल्ल टार तला नाइ ।
ताते खान्दिने तिन जन वामनेर भात ।
दुइ वामन तो खाइने ना ।
एक वामन तो पाइने ना ॥ १० ॥
ये वामन तो पाइने ना ।
ताके मारिने तिन टा चचोर ।
दुइ टा तो नागिने ना ।
एक टा तो चचोराइने ना ॥ १ ॥

इत्यादि ।

A SONG OF GORAKH NATH.

(1.) Let me whisper a tale in your ear. I got a present of three villages.

(2.) But two villages were all waste land, and in the third there was not a single man.

(3.) In the village in which there was not a single man sat three blacksmiths. But two of them did not know their business, and the third did-not make anything.

(4.) The blacksmith who made nothing, made three spades. But two of them were broken and good for nothing, and the third had no ferule for the handle.

(5.) With the spade which had no ferule, he dug three tanks. But two of them were filled with dust, and the third had no water in it.

(6.) In the tank which had no water in it, he set three fish-nets. But two were in rags and tatters, and the third had no meshes.

(7.) With the net which had no meshes, he caught three *ru-is* (a kind of fish). But two jumped away and escaped, and the third he could'nt find.

(8.) The *ru-i* he couldn't find, he took off to Káliganj market, and sold it for three káhans* of *kaoŕis*. But two káhans he didn't get and one they didn't give him.

(9.) With the káhan of *kaoŕis* they didn't give him he bought three earthen cooking pots. But two were broken and worthless, and the third had no bottom.

(10.) With the pot which had no bottom, he cooked rice for three bráhmaṇs. But two didn't eat any; and the third didn't get any.

(11.) And the bráhmaṇ who didn't get any, gave him three slaps. But two didn't touch him, and the third waṣn't a slap, &c.

The next song is a curious and characteristic production of the tiger-haunted northern half of the district. It tells how the Tiger-god *Sonáráy Ṭhákur* destroyed an army of Mughuls.

व्याघ्रेर देवता

सोनाराय ठाकुरेर गान।

बाघे सब नाम लइया डाके रे,
ओ ठाकुर सोनाराय, बाघ सब डाके
बाड़ी २ बेड़ाय ठाकुर हरि नाम दिया॥ १

* A *gaṇḍa* = 4. 20 *gaṇḍas* = 1 *paṇ*. 16 *paṇs* = one káhan = 1280.

हरिर नाम दिया ठाकुर चलिया पथे याय ।
यत मोगलेर फाज घाटात नागाल पाय ॥ २
यत मोगलेर फौज जिज्ञासिले कथा ।
मनेर गौरवे ठाकुर दोगदोगाइले माथा ॥ ३
कमरेर पटिका खसाइ ा ठाकुरके वान्धिया ।
धाकाइते २ नैले आगत करिया ॥ ४
धाकाइते धाकाइते नैले कोट सालेर घरे ।
वाइस मोन पाथर दिले तार चुकेर उपरे ॥ ५
छोट मगल उठे वले वड़ मगल भाइ ।
कालिकार वन्धन दादा चल देखिते याइ ॥ ६
नोनाजिल मगल जाति करिल खान । ७
सिठा जले मगल जाति करिले भोजन ।
वन्धन देखिते मगल करिल गमन ॥ ८
कतेक दुर छाड़ि मगल कतेक दुर याय ।
आर कतक दुर गेले कोट सालेर लागाल पाय ॥ ९
कोट सालेर घरे याइये मगल भुलकी मेरे चाय ।
वाइस मोन फेलाइयाछे तोमार नाइ सोनाराय ॥ १०
छोट मगल उठे वले वड़ मगल भाइ ।
ए वन्धन भाल नय दादा चल वाड़ी याइ ॥ ११
वाड़ी याइया वान्धि आमरा सात खानि घर ।
से घरे थाकिले वाघक नाइ डर ॥ १२
चिनिवार ना पारिली वेटा मगल छाड़ जाति ।
तोर मगल मेरे याय निसा भाल राति ॥ १३
अरनेर किनारे ठाकुर मारे डाक ।
एक ठेलाय चलिया आसिल विसा स एक वाघ ॥ १४
विसा सय वाघ आसिल तिसा सय उठ ।
छेट मुख हइये आसिल वनेर भालुक ॥ १५
घर २ वाघगन वाटार पान खाओ ।
एइ वेटा मगलेर साते वाद साधिया देओ ॥ १६
एतेक झड़मुड़ि वाघ उठिल निल पान ।
गायेर ठेलाय भाइङ्गे फेलाय घर सात खान ॥ १७
घर भाङ्गिया वाघ हइल कातर ।
नम्फ दिया सन्धाइल वाघ वाड़ीर भितर ॥ १८
मगलेर भाइये गिछे अन्नसालेर घरे ।
नागाइल पाइया मोछड़ाय घाड़ झड़मुड़ि वाघे ॥ १९
मगलेर वेटि गिछे जल भरिवार ।
वाघक देखिया तार नदी सातरिया याय ॥ २०
मत्स्य वले तार घड़ीयाले खाय ।
वाजि केन वा ठाकुर मोक एत ताप देय ॥ २१

बाम हस्ते धरि मोगलक मारे एक पाक।
माटित पड़िया मोगल करे बाप २॥ २२
काजि केन वा ठाकुर मोक एत ताप देय।
धनेर किङ्कर ना मुइ मनेर किङ्कर।
चड़नेर घोड़ा बेचे सेवा करिम तोर॥ २३
सइ दिन सोनाराय ठाकुर दिये गेल देखा।
नर लोक पुजे ताक पाइया परिखा॥ २४

इति॥

A SONG OF SONARAY ṬHAKUR.

All the tigers roar forth his name.

"Oh Ṭhákur Sonáráy." All the tigers roar forth his name.

(1.) From house to house the Ṭhákur wandered, uttering the name of Hari.

(2.) He uttered the name of Hari as he went along the way; and he met the whole Mughul army on the road.

(3.) The whole Mughul army asked him a question: but in the pride of his heart, the Ṭhákur only shook his head.

(4.) So they undid their waistbands and tied up the Ṭhákur, and with blows they thrust him on before them.

(5.) They thrust him on into their prison, and tied a twenty-two maund stone upon his chest: (and left him there).

(6.) The little Mughuls got up and said to the big Mughuls, "Brothers, come, let us see our prisoner* of yesterday."

(7.) Both the classes of Mughuls went to bathe.

(8.) They ate their breakfast (and drank) sweet water, and then went off to see their prisoner.

(9.) The Mughuls went on, and on, and on, and arrived at the prison.

(10.) When they arrived at the prison, they peeped carefully in. "He has thrown off the twenty-two maund stone, your Sonáráy is not there."

(11.) The little Mughuls got up and said to the big Mughuls, "Brothers, this binding up was not good. Let us go home.

(12.) "Let us go home and build seven houses. If we keep inside them, there will be no fear of the tiger."

(13.) (The Ṭhákur said unto himself) "Ye scoundrels, low-caste Mughuls, ye could not recognize me. Your Mughuls will be killed one this night.

* Lit. "tying up."

(14.) The Ṭhákur went to the edge of the wood and gave forth a roar, and with one bound there came twenty hundred tigers.

(15.) Twenty hundred tigers came, thirty hundred camels, and with heads down came wild bears.

(16). "Hurrah, Tigers; take some betel and *pán*. We have revenge to take upon those scoundrelly Mughuls.

(17.) The tigers rushed up tumultuously and took the *pán*: and with one spring of their bodies they destroyed the seven houses.

(18.) The tigers got tired with breaking down the houses, so they jumped into the inner apartments.

(19.) The Mughul's wife had gone into the cook-house. When the tigers saw her, they tumultuously twisted her neck.

(20.) The Mughul's daughter had gone to fetch water. When she saw the tigers, she jumped into the river and began to swim. The fishes said "A crocodile is eating her."

(21.) She said, "Oh Ṭhákur, why are you afflicting me so to-day."

(22.) He caught the Mughul by the left arm, and gave him a blow. The Mughul fell on the ground crying "Báp, Báp."

(23.) He said, "Oh Ṭhákur, why are you afflicting me so to-day. I'm not a slave of my wealth but I am of my life. I'll sell my riding horse and be your slave."

(24.) On that day Sonáráy Ṭhákur made himself visible, and men now worship him when they fall into temptation.

The third specimen is a song describing the birth of Krishṇa. It is by far the most popular song amongst the Hindus of the district. It is not extant complete, but I have been able to collect many pieces of it and to repatch them into something like the original song which no doubt originally existed. I have been able to produce a pretty fair text; as there is hardly a line of which I have not obtained two or three copies. Considering the great distances from each other at which the places were whence I obtained the fragments, it is wonderful how they agree; especially as it is not customary for the reciters to possess written copies, or even to be able to read them if they did. Bábu Hariś Chandra Rái of Ulipur in this district was able to give me three extensive fragments, which were of great assistance to me. They gave me, in fact, the main thread on which to string the other smaller fragments I had collected.

No doubt the story was originally continued further than I now give. In fact, I have some short pieces on Krishṇa's later life which favour such a theory: but unfortunately they are not nearly numerous enough, as far as I have yet been able to see, to justify me in giving any more at present.

As it is given here, the story ends abruptly. Perhaps, at some future time I may be able to extract more of the same kind of gold from the rich mine of material yet lying by me unexamined.

किष्टेर जन्माष्टमी।

उग्रसेन महाराजा तिरिजगते जानि ।
तांर घरत् उवजील कन्या नाम देवखिनी ॥ १
कार घरत् दिसों कन्या योग्य नाइ वर ।
रूप आछे रतन आछे परम सुन्दर ॥ २
हेन् काले चलिया आइल् नारद् मुनिवर ॥ ३
मुनिक् देखिआ राजा करिल सम्भासन ।
वसिवार दिल मुनिक् उत्तम सिंहाशन ॥ ४
पांथो धोवार् आनिया दिल् झाड़ित करि जल ।
कप्पुर ताम्बुल दिल मीठा भरि पान ।
राजा कैल भाल् चैल मुनि ठाकुर इति आगमन ॥ ५
मोर घरे बाड़े कन्या नामे देवखिनी ।
रूपे गुने बाड़े कन्या परम सुन्दर ।
कोन स्थाने दिम विवा जुग्य ना पाइ वर ॥ ६
हेन काले गुनिया कैल नारद् मुनि वर ।
गोकुल नगरे आछे वासु देवेर घड़ ।
सेइ स्थाने देखो विवा दैवक सुन्दर ॥ ७
दैवखिनी वासुदेव दुइ सम सव ।
सेइ स्थाने देखो विवा दैवक सुन्दर ॥ ८
ताक सुनिया दैवक राजा हरसित हैया
नारदक पाठाइया दिया वसुदेवक आनिल धरिया ९
नाना राज्येर राजाक आने सम्भासिया ।
रो-भाट ब्राम्हन तारा आसिल विस्तर ॥ १०
चारि गचि रास कला आइनाय गाड़िया ।
सोनार घट चाइलन वाति दिया लइल धरिया ।
आटेर लगन चाइर करिया देवखिनी विवा ॥ ११
वसुदेव देवखिनीक शुदया एकस्तर ।
नानामत करे दान राज राज्येस्वर ।
हस्ति घोड़ा दान यतेक किछु कर ॥ १२
पत्तमेते करे दान कन्यार छय माथो ।
तैंसे करिले दान एक सत्त नाथो ॥ १३
ताक पाछत करे दान कन्यार छय भाइ ।
तैंइसे करिले दान एक सत्त गाइ ॥ १४

ताश पाछत करे दान कन्यार हय जेठो।
एकटा गाभी करिले दान तारथो नेठु खाट॥ १५
तार पाछत करे दान कन्यार हय जेठाइ।
तैंसे करिले दान चरका काटा नाठाइ॥ १६
तार पाछत करे दान कन्यार हय आजु।
दान नाइ दछिना नाइ खालि हाकु दाकु॥ १७
तार पाछत करे दान कन्यार हय मामा।
तैंसे करिले दान भाङ्गा गाइनेर सामा॥ १८
हेन काले गुनिया कइल मुनिवर।
कंस तोर मरन देखि दैवखिनीर उदर॥ १९
ए बोल सुनि कंस राजा मने बड़ दुःख।
हस्त खड्ग लइया याय काटिवे दैवखि॥ २०
सात पाच राजा ताके राखिल धरिया।
हेन काले मुनि गोंसाइ बुजाइल आसिया॥ २१
गो वध वामन वध दानेते पलाय।
तिरि वध करिले पातक सङ्गे चलि याय॥ २२

दैवखि वसुदेव गेल गकुल नगर।
सप्त सन्तान जनमे तांर वचरे वचर॥ २३
जन्मे २ वसुदेव किष्टेर आराधन करे।
मेद किष्ट जन्म नइल दैवखिर उदरे॥ २४
मासेर मेसे चान्देर दिने दैवखिर पाइल ऋतु॥ २५
गिला आमला खइया चलिल सिनाने।
पुर्न रूपे पन्ने देखा दिल खीहरि॥ २६
ओ दैवखि ओ दैवखि दैवखिनी राइ।
तोमार गरभत खानिक मागि ठांइ॥ २७
दैवखिनी वले आज कि हइल परमाद।
चतुर पासे देखि हासि घोड़ अन्धकार॥ २८
रविर तापेते हासि पन्त देखि दुर।
ना जानि कोन देवे डाके उराउर॥ २९
तुमि केन चिन्त माता दैवखि सुन्दरी।
मारिव तोमार ऐरी आसि खीहरि॥ ३०
एक दिनकार निसियेगे एड़िव गदाधर।
सवंसे वधिव राजाक काय्य कत बड़॥ ३१
मैल वले मारिवे राजा ताक गनिवार पारि।
वधिव राजा कंसासुर तबे कतइ घड़ि॥ ३२
पुनर्व्वार स्नानेते चलिल दैवखिनी।
माटि रूपे गरवे वास खइलेन खीहरि॥ ३३

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२२ वामन = ब्राह्मण, तिरि = स्त्री। २३ वचर = वत्सर। २६ सिनाने = स्नाने। २८ परमाद = प्रमाद। ३० ऐरी = वैरी।

ए पारत् स्नान करे सत्येर दैवखिनि ।
ओ पारे स्नान करे यसोदा रोहिनि ॥ ३४

यसोदा वले ॥

सइ वलों परानेर सइ सइ से कथों तोक ।
माझत नदी जमुना ना चैले कुंये दिनु हय कोल ॥ ३५
एवोल्ल सुनि जमुना नदी छाड़िया गेइल वाला ।
दुइ सइ कोलाकुली करे जलेर उपरा ॥ ३६

यसोदा वले ॥

सइ सइ परानेर सइ से कथों तोक वाणी ।
कय दिन कय मास तोमार गरभ खानी ॥ ३७
कथा सुनि दैवखिनी लागिल कान्दिवार ।
तुइ किना जान सइ भाइ से हामार पर ॥ ३८
सात दिवसे सात छोचोयाक पठाचे यम घड़ ।
बारेर हय दस मास दस दिन मोर हइल वचर ॥ ३९

यसोदा वले ॥

सइ वलो परानेर सइ सुन सत्य करि ॥ ४०
आमार घड़े यदि कन्या हय पुर्नवान ।
तोमार घड़े पुत्र हइले ताक करियो दान ॥
दुइ भने सत्य सोदा करिल ऐ स्थान । ४१
एक सत्य दुइ सत्य सत्य से तिन वार ॥
एइ सत्य भङ्ग चैले पाछत भालाइ नाइ ।
दुइ भने सत्य सोदर करिल ऐ ठांइ ॥ ४२
छांटु पानित नामिया दैवखिनी छांटु करिल सुद ।
छिया पानिते नामिया दैवखिनी दिल पञ्च डुव ।
कुवाटे नामि दैवखिनी कि सुवाटे उठिल ॥ ४४
भिजा वस्त्र छारिया सुपन वस्त्र पड़े ।
काखर कुम्भ नइल काखर उपरे ।
दुइ भने चलिया गेइल दुइ भनार घड़े ॥ ४५
स्नान करिया दैवखिनी मन्दिरे दिलेक पांयो ।
दिने दिने वाड़िया गेइल गाभो पाभो ॥ ४६
चेन काले चले आइसे श्वसुर घड़े घड़ ।
डगरिया चले चकिया निसाचर ।
एइ मते गेल चर राजार दरवार ॥ ४७
पञ्च पासे आछे राजार ए पञ्च पात्तर ।
नाजीर उजीर आछे राजार बेयुल्लिस सास्तर ॥ ४८
डाण्डि कांसी तासा पित्तल वाजिचे सानाइ ।
एनसिङ्गा करनाल वाजे लेखा जोखा नाइ ॥ ४९

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३५ परानेर = प्राणेर । ४१ पुर्नवान = पुण्यवान । ४५ काखर = कक्षेर । ४८ पात्तर = पात्र, सास्तर = शास्त्र ।

राजा बले वाजनीया बेटा वाइज खेमा कर।
कि खपर निया आइल चर बलुक उत्तर॥ ५०
हस्त जोड़ चर बेटा करे नमस्कार।
देखिचि दैवखिर गरभ मुइ गदाधर॥ ५१
कथा सुनिया कंस राजार टाटा पैल माथ।
हेट मुण्ड हइल राजा मुखे ना बेराय राथो॥ ५२
बियान बेला जल दिया राजा करिल स्नान।
पञ्च पात्तर खइया राजा बसिल देथोयान॥ ५३
राजा बले पात्तरगन कोन बुद्धे तरि।
हासाक बधिते जन्म नइबेन हरि॥ ५४
नाजीर उजीर बले राजा लोहार बान्द गड़।
हस्ति घोंड़ा राख राजा नोक नखर॥ ५५
एतेक थाकिते राजा कारसे बापक डर।
पात्तर बले महाराजा पराने थास डर॥ ५६
तोमार बैनक दैवखिनीक आनिया बान्दि कर।
ए सिसु हैले हइला पाटासों जम घड़॥ ५७
ए बोल सुनिया कंस हरसित मन।
चर चर बलिया राजा डाके घने घन॥
डाक मथे चर बेटा दीघेल दरिसन॥ ५८
हस्त जोड़ो चर बेटा करे नमस्कार।
कि कारने महाराजा तलप हामार॥ ५९
सेइ चरक पाचिल राजा चचेर टिप दिया।
थाहारे चलिया चर गकुलक नागिया॥ ६०
एक आज्ञा ना पाय चर दुथो जे आज्ञा पाय।
हस्ते सेल बरसा निया दिग दउरे धाय॥ ६१
दउर पाड़े कंसेर चर ना बान्धे माथार केस।
गकुल नगरे याया हइल परबेस॥ ६२
गकुले थाया चर किराइया दै।
नागिचे राजार दरवार ना हबे भालाइ॥
बसुदेव दैवखि जमुना हथो पार॥ ६३
ठाकुर बलाइ बले मधुर बचन।
मिठाइ जल चर करह भोजन॥ ६४
मिठाइ रइल जले चरक भोजन कराया।
बसुदेव दैवखिनीक आगोत करिया।
राजार दरबारत उथरिल गिया॥ ६५
हस्त जोरे बसुदेव करे नमस्कार।
कि कारने महाराजा तलप हामार॥ ६६
राजा बले थो बसुदेव

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५० खेमा = क्षमा, खपर = خبر। ५८ दरिसन = दर्शन। ६१ दिग = दीर्घ।
६२ परबेस = प्रवेश।

पुरान नारद मुनि कैछे बारे बार
भागिना भागिनी हछे मरन हामार ॥ ६७
दुइ भने थाक बन्दि गड़ेर भितर।
भुमिष्ठ हइले बाइलाक पाठामों जम घड़ ॥
कथा शुनि देवखिनी नागिल् कान्दिबार ॥ ६८
भाइ गोचोइलुं परानें दोसर एक खानी झिउनारी।
कन्या दादा नाशुलु गोचर मरुक दादा तोर छाति चोड़ा
तोर माउग चैया थाक राड़ि ॥
आपनें टलुक दादा तोर माथार पागरि ॥ ६९
कंस राजा बले चर तोर बापेर माथा चाचो।
ढेका दिया देवखिनिक गड़ेर भितर नेचो ॥ ७०
देवखिनी बले भाल मन्द कथा कय् लो कोन जन। ७१
चर तो उठिया बले बसुदेव तोर पति।
के तोक बलिबे मन्द राजार भगिनी ॥ ७२
तखन बसुदेव देवखिनी।
कैल बन्दी ना २ करिया सन्दि ॥
आसि सचोन लोहा दिया बान्दिलेन गड़ ॥ ७३
बाहिरेर परकास नाइ उपरे ब्रह्म जाल ॥ ७४
कान्दि २ देवखिनी करिल सयन।
सिचोरे बसिया खपन देखादल् नारायन ॥ ७५
कि कारने कान्द माचो तोमरा दुइ जन।
तोमार गरभे बास नइल प्रभु नारायन ॥ ७६
एक दिनकार निसियोगे गड़िम गदाधर।
सबंस बधिम राजाक कार्य्य कत बल ॥ ७७
मकुले जनमिते हामार हैछे हामार मन।
इन्द्र आदि देवगन आसिबे जने जन।
निन्द्रा छिल देवखिनी पाइल चेतन ॥ ७८
उठ २ बोले प्रभु साथार छतर।
आज निसा काले परातक् काले देखिनुं खपन।
हामार गरभे बास नइछे नारायन ॥ ७९
मकुले जनमिते तार हैछेछे मन।
एइ बोले बलिया गेइल इन्द्रेर भूवन ॥ ८०

देवगन बलिया किछु डाके घने घन।
हस्त जोरे देवगन करे नमस्कार।
कि कारने मछाप्रभु तलप हामार। ८१

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६७ कैछे = कहियाछे। ६९ गोचोइलुं = खोचोइलुं। ७५ परकास = प्रकाश।

॥ किछु वचने देवगन ॥

गकुले जन्मिते तोमार हैयाछे मन ।
सवे आसिया कर झड़ वरिसन ।
एखन सुन देवगन तोमार इछल मन ॥ ८२
वाघोयाय पुटि वाघो नइया चैल परनेर साजन ।
चल्लिस पुटि सिल लइया इछल सिलावती साजन ॥ ८३
वार मेघ लइया इछल इन्द्रेर साजन ।
सिंह नाद छलि डाके मेघेर गरजन ॥ ८४
सात राइत नघो दिन झड़े गकुल भितर । ८५
सटुकनाले वरसे मेघ वज्र लागे सिला ।
गाछ विरिक भाङ्गिया विरिकेर उड़ाय धुला ॥ ८६
खीफल पड़े नेङुर भाङ्गिया वागाय मारे नोर ॥ ८७
कंस राजार चर पलाइया गेइल गिरिर माचार तल ।
पाइक पालाय धनको पलाय करिया नोड़ा नोड़ि । ८८
एक पाइक पालाइया गेइल चालुयाइर काछे ।
ढाल तलओयार त्यज्य करि खेतेर थुवरा वाछे ॥ ८९
आर चर पालाइया गेल कांट पोलातिर काछे ।
मातार पागड़ि काड़िया छोओयार टिके मोछे ॥ ९०
माजगेक वचने साघो साघो दुयार चापि धर ।
आर भांड़ चाकरि करे माग छय तार साघो ॥ ९१
भेंड़ोल करिया पुसिस विरद वाप साघो ।
ढाल तलओयार भांगिया गड़ाइस काचि दाघो ॥ ९२

दिन करिले सेमन तेमन रात्तिर इछल निसि ।
देखिनीर छाइला इछल ना जाने परसि ॥ ९३
उवजिल वरन काला । गलाय वेनेर माला ।
नाकेर सुर वांसीर आंघो ॥ ९४
मानिक सटुक माते । खीफल कमल हाते ।
डाइने लक्खी वामे सरखति ॥ ९५
हालिया दुलिया याय । युगल नेपुर पाय ।
गले सोभे सुर्णमय माला ॥ ९६
इन्द्र गेल ऐरावते । छचि चाइल पुष्प रथे ।
वसुमति करे नाभिच्छेद ॥ ९७
माय वले पुत २ । देखाघो वाछार चान्दमुख ।
कैन छाइला अवागिनीर घड़े ॥ ९८

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८२ वाघो = वाद्य । ८६ विरिक = वृक्ष । ८८ गिरिर = गटिर । ९२ विरद = दृढ । ९४ आंघो = रव ।

एखन कंसेर चरे । वाड़ी घरे नटीया नड़े ।
आचरिया मारिवे सिखेर तले ॥ ९९
आन्धार घड़त उवजिल किष्ट दुइल जोनाकिमय् ।
ओदर हते भुमि पड़िया माग्रेर सने कथा कय् ॥ १००

॥ किष्ट वले ॥

हामाक गरभे वास दिया मा वड़ पाइला दुःख ।
रविवार दिने मा येमन चन्द्रमुख ॥ १०१
सीघ्र करिया माथो गकुल चलाचो कंस जिवार नय् ।
हाय् वलिया दैवकि वालिसे मारे घाचो ।
के आर डाकिवे मोक वुलिया वलाइर् माचो ॥ १०२
जय् रे दे जयरे धनि सवे आनन्दित ।
विद्याधरि करे नाच गन्धर्व करे गान । १०३

॥ किष्ट वले ॥

पिता गे वचन मोर धर ।
हामाक वदलेया आइस नन्द घोषेर घड़ ॥ १०४

॥ वसुदेव वले ॥

पत्तम पाइक आगे हाते धनुसर ।
तिन चिफला आगे वापु देखिते नागे डंर ॥ १०५
उल्लमान सुरमान आगे झार सव्द खाड़ा ।
आर वांसयार खापुयार आगे आगे घने घन ॥ १०६
ढाली सवे आगे वापु ढाल करि कान्दे ।
वन्धुकटि सगांज आगे वन्धुक लइे हाते ॥ १०७
नेपस्सु पाइक आगे राजार घड़ेर पाचे ॥ १०८
गड़ खाइया आगे वापु एला आगमन ।
कंस राजार विसास सादाइ आगे घने घन ॥ १०९
हस्ति पिठे माउत पहरि घोड़ा पिठे जीन ।
आट भाइ भेउर वाजाय् आगे राव दिन ॥ ११०
पड़या पण्डित आगे वापु तोमार कारन ।
तोक लइया आचोयाल किष्ट केमने करिम गमन ॥ १११
ए वोल सुनि आचोयाल किष्ट चरसित मन ।
निन्द्रा आलि वलिया किष्ट डाके घने घन ।
डाक मध्ये निन्द्रा आली दिल दरिसन ॥ ११२
हस्त जोड़ निन्द्रा आली करे नमस्कार ।
कि कारने महाप्रभु तलप हामार ॥ ११३
तोक वोलाचों निन्द्रा आली वचन मोर धर ।
कंस राजार पुरि सहित अचैतन्य कर ॥ ११४

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१०५ पत्तम = प्रथम । ११३ पुर्नेर = पुष्पेर ।

ए बोल शुनि निन्द्रा आली बले थाक २ ।
ओहिली कुहिली निन्द्रा दिलेन डारिया ॥ ११५
पत्तस पाइक निन्द्रा गेल हले धनु सर ।
तिन चिफला निन्द्रा गेल देखिते लागे डर ॥ ११६
उरमान शुरमान निन्द्रा गेल झार सब्द खाड़ा ।
झार बांसयार खापुयार निन्द्रा गेल सब भाड़ुया ॥ ११७
बन्धुकटि निन्द्रा गेल बन्धुक नएया हले ।
ढालि सबे निन्द्रा गेल ढाल नएया कन्धे ॥ ११८
गड़ खाएया निन्द्रा गेल एला आगमन ।
कंस राजार विश्वास मादाइ सेओ निन्द्रा गेल ॥ ११९
हस्ति पिठे साजत पहरी घोड़ा पिठे जीन ।
आट भेउरिया भेउर बाजाय सेओ परिल निन्द्र ॥ १२०
एओ सब पड़ुया पण्डित निन्द्रा गेल ।
एके एके राज पुरी अचेतन हैल ॥ १२१
किष्ट बले पिता गे ओ हामाक लइया चल ।
तखन घड़ हने हैल वाचिर झड़ वातास गेल ॥ १२२
सादर शरनेते आगत याय मछेखर ।
देव गन्धवर साते जमुनाय दिल वालुचर ॥ १२३
देखिया जमुनार ढेउ प्राने लागे बड़ भय ।
किरपे एइ जमुना हबो मोरा पार ॥ १२४

॥ किष्ट बले ॥

आगे बापु शृगाली हय पार ।
हाटु पानि हबार नय हामाक कोले जमुना हबो पार ।
हबो बापु मनत ना करिबो भय ॥ १२५
अनेक पुनर फले आसि चबों तोर घड़े ।
देखो निया गोपेर घड़े शुनरे गुननिधि ॥ १२६
गुननिधि नइया कोले । वसुदेव नामिल जले ।
स्नान करिल यादुमनि ॥ १२७
थाकिया पितार कोले । झाप दिया पैल जले ।
वसुदेव हालाय जमुनार पानी ॥ १२८
वसुदेव जल हालाया चाय । किष्टेर नागाइल नाइ पाय ।
विषाद मने गुने ॥ १२९

॥ वसुदेव बले ॥

सात पुत्तेर सोके तनु हइल जर २ ।
ए सोने ना बाचिबे देवकि कि आर ॥ १३०
डाकिया बले खीइरि एबे बाप खान करबों ।
कान्दिया बेकुल केन हइस तोंरा ॥ १३१

दस मास दस दिन माओर ओदर आचिनु ।
तन खाइया दुद ना खाओं मुद ।
जल स्नान करिया देउा करिया देओ सुद ॥ १३२
जैल छांखाया पाइल । कोखाय तुलिया नइल ।
कुति गेइल सइ ओ सया ॥ १३३

॥ वसुदेव वले ॥

अनेक पुर्नेर फले । किंतु आमिछे मोर घड़े ।
आन देखि तोर मइामाया ॥ १३४

॥ नन्द वले ॥

मोर घड़े छैचे आइला । नाम थुचि मइामाया ।
रुपे गुने वड़ विद्याधरी ॥ १३५

॥ किंतु वले ॥

एक कन्या दान कैले । कोटि पुरुस उद्धार हवे ।
कि करिम तोक खीहरि ॥ १३६
खीहरिक निले कोले । दुइ चक्षु झेन रतन जले ।
मइामाया़क वदल दिया ॥ १३७
कोन वा गरवासुरे ।
गरवे दिचे ठांइ ॥
तांर वा पराने कत धरे ?
वदल करि गेइल घड़े ॥ १३८

झड़ वातास गेइल ।
कंसेर घर घिड़िल वाड़ी । दुत मुखे जानाइल असनि ।
चरे राजार गोचर ॥ १३९
तोमार छैयाछे भागिनी । दुत मुखे वार्त्ता सुनि ।
राजा चलिया आइल सीघ्रगति ॥ १४०
वार करे मइामाया । घोवार पाउत आछार याइया ।
उड़िया छइल तांय आकास कामिनी ॥ १४१
उड़िया याय मइामाया । तांय से याय कैया ।
सोनेक मामा कँओ तोमाक धरे ॥ १४२
तोमाक वधिवे ये । गोकुलात वाड़े से ।
देख याइया नन्द गोचायालेर घड़े ॥ १४३

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१३३ तन = स्तन ।

कथा सुनि कंस राज आनन्दित मन ।
चर चर बलिया राजा डाके तन खन ॥ १४४
मछापात उठिया राजाक जानाइल उत्तर ।
तोमार भिव आछे राजा काली दह सागर ॥ १४५
काली दहेर कुले कुले उनकुटि नागेर घड़ ।
सेइ बुद्धे मारिम छाइलाक कार्य्यं कत चल ॥ १४६
॥ इति ॥

THE BIRTH OF KRISHṆA.

1. Ugrasena was a great king, renowned throughout the three worlds; and in his family was born a damsel named Devakí.

2. "Into what house will I give the damsel? I cannot find a worthy suitor. She hath beauty and she hath jewels. She is fair to look upon."

3. About this time the most excellent saint Nárada came on a visit to her father.

4. When the king saw the saint, he made obeisance and gave him a splendid throne to sit upon.

5. They brought water in a vessel for him to wash his feet, and also gave him camphor and betel and pán of the kind known as *míṭha bhari*. Then the king said, "Thy arrival here, Reverend Sir, is propitious.

6. "In my house there is growing up a damsel named Devakí. She is growing both in beauty and in virtue, and is exceedingly fair to look upon. Where shall I give her in marriage? I cannot find a worthy suitor."

7. Nárada thereupon proceeded to make astrological calculations, and then said to the king, "In the city of Gokula is the house of Vasudeva. There give thou thy daughter Devakí in marriage.

8. "Devakí and Vasudeva are a perfect match for each other. In his house give thou her in marriage."

9. On hearing these words, king Devaká was pleased, and despatched Nárada with an invitation to king Vasudeva.

10. He also invited with great honours the kings of the various (neighbouring) countries; the *Ro-bhát* Bráhmans came in crowds.

11. They planted four Rám plantains in the court-yard (for the marriage seat). They filled the house with golden offering dishes and lamps with shades,* and they shortened the eight days preparatory ceremonies of Devakí's marriage to four days.

12. They set Vasudeva and Devakí sitting together, and the kings of

* *Lit.* Lamps which can be carried about.

the earth began to make presents of horses and elephants, each to the best of his ability.

13. First the mother of the bride made her present. She gave them a hundred ships.

14. After her the bride's brother made his present of a hundred cows.

15. After him her father's eldest brother made his present. He gave only one cow, and it had a short tail.

16. After him his wife made her present. She gave the reel of a spinning wheel.

17. After her the bride's grandparents made their present. But they gave no present and no offering; they gave nought but hurry and bustle.

18. After them the bride's maternal uncle made his present. He gave the iron ferule of a broken rice pestle.

19. At this stage of the proceedings the excellent saint, after making astrological calculations, said "Oh Kamsa, I see thy death in the womb of Devakí."

20. On hearing these words, King Kamsa became extremely sorrowful in heart. He took his sword in his hand and would have slain Devakí.

21. But five or six kings caught hold of him and held him back, while the reverend saint came up to him, and remarked as follows:

22. "Slaughter of a cow or of a Bráhman may be expiated by gifts, but he who slayeth a woman, with him travelleth his sin."

23. Devakí and Vasudeva went to Gokula, and there each year she had a child to the number of seven.

24. At each birth Vasudeva worshipped Kṛishṇa, and finally Kṛishṇa took up his abode in Devakí's womb.

25. At the end of the month, on a moonlight night, Devakí showed signs of pregnancy.

26. She took *gilá* fruit and *ámlá* fruit and went to bathe; and on the way Holy Hari made himself visible to her in his full form.

27. "Oh Devakí, sweet Devakí, I ask for a little place within thy womb."

28. Devakí said, "To-day what dismay is mine. On all sides I see nought but a terrible darkness.

29. "The sun is hot, and the way seemeth long. I know not what God addresseth me from the sky."

30. "Fear not, Devakí, my gentle mother. I will kill for thee thy enemy—I the Holy Hari.

31. "One day, within the limits of a single night, I will protect thee

from the Club-bearer. I will slay the king with all his family. Truly a valiant act.

32. "The king will die saying, 'I am killed'. That I can prophesy. I will kill Kamsa the Asura. Short will be the time it will take me."

33. Again on another occasion Devakí went to bathe, and in the form of dust the Holy Hari entered into her womb.

34. On this side of the river bathed the chaste Devakí. On the other side bathed Yaśodá and Rohiní.

YAŚODÁ SPAKE.

35. "Friend, Friend, Friend of my soul, I say unto thee, did not the Yamuna flow between us, I would clasp thee in my arms."

36. When the river Yamuná heard these words, he left the sands of his bed, and the two friends embraced each other where the water had just been flowing.

YAŚODÁ SPAKE.

37. "Friend, Friend, Friend of my soul. Friend, I say unto thee a word. How many days and how many months art thou with child?"

38. When Dēvakí heard these words, she began to weep. "What, dost thou my friend not know? My brother is my foe.

39. "On seven days hath he sent seven children of mine to Yama's abode. Other women remain pregnant for ten months and ten days, but I have been a year with child."

YAŚODÁ SPAKE.

40. "Friend, Friend, Friend of my soul, hear the vow I make unto thee.

41. "If a holy daughter is born unto me, and if thou hast a son, do thou give him unto me." The two friends thereupon swore to observe this promise.

42. "One vow, two vows, the third time a vow. If this vow is broken, may evil befal us." The two friends thereupon swore to observe the promise.

43. Up to her knees in water Devakí purified herself, and up to her breast in water she dipped herself five times.

44. At a bad *ghát* she dived, but it was at a good *ghát* that she arose from the water.*

45. The two friends exchanged their wet clothes for dry, and each lifted a water jar on to her hip, and went to her own house.

* That is, Krishna entered into her during the dive.

46. After concluding her bath, Devakí went home to her palace, and day by day, her body and limbs waxed in size.

47. At this time the startled goblins of the night, the Asuras, came and wandered through every house and palace, and thus the scouts of King Kaṁsa approached his presence chamber.

48. On his five sides, the king had five servants round him. The Sheriff and the Prime Minister and forty-two books of law.

49. They played upon brazen and copper gongs and goglets and clarionets. There is no counting the number of war trumpets and cymbals.

50. The King said, "Oh musicians, cease playing. Let the scout tell the news he brings."

51. The scout folded his hands and made obeisance. "Your humble club-bearer hath seen that Devakí is pregnant."

52. When King Kaṁsa heard these words, he was as it were thunderstruck. He bent his head and did not utter a word.

53. Early in the morning, the King bathed himself with water and sat down in the hall of audience with his five servants.

54. The King said, "My servants, by what device can I escape? Hari hath taken birth to destroy me."

55. The Sheriff and the Prime Minister said, "Oh King build a fort of iron. Environ it with elephants, horses, men-at-arms, and an army.

56. "As long as that exists, no one's father wilt thou fear." The servants then proceeded, "Oh King thou feelest fear within thy soul.

57. "Take thy sister Devakí and fasten her up. When this child is born, we will send it to Yama's house."

58. Kaṁsa on hearing this was pleased in mind, and called several times for his scouts; and while he was yet calling, they made their appearance.

59. A scout clasped his hands and made obeisance. "Wherefore hath Your Majesty summoned us?"

60. The king addressed that scout with expressive eyes. "Go, oh scout, to Gokula."

61. One order of the king was as good as two to the scout. He took his spear and spear-head into his hand and ran by the shortest way.

62. As he ran, the scout did not even stop to tie up his hair. He went straight to, and entered, the city of Gokula.

63. The scout arrived at Gokula and swore an oath. (He said to Vasudeva) "The King's council is assembled and ill it bodeth thee. Vasudeva and Devakí, ye will have to cross the Yamuna."

64. The Holy Kṛishṇa then addressed them with a sweet voice, "Give the scout sweetmeats and water to eat."

65. The scout até sweetmeats and water (to satiety), and left some uneaten, and then he placed Vasudeva and Devakí before him, and produced them in the King's council.

66. With hands clasped Vasudeva made obeisance, saying, "Wherefore hath the great king summoned me?"

67. The King said, "Oh Vasudeva, Nárada, the saint of old, hath told me time on time, that my death lieth in the hands of my sister's children.

68. "Ye two shall remain prisoners in my fort, and when thy child cometh into existence, I will send him to Yáma's abode." But Devakí, when she heard these words began to weep.

DEVAKÍ SPAKE.

69. "My Brother, I have lost my second self. Thou hast not let one single daughter of mine remain before thee. Brother, may thy horses and thy elephants die, and may thy wife become a widow; may thy págarí fall of itself from off thy head."

70. King Kaṁsa said to the scout, "(Why art thou standing idle?) Art thou looking for thy father's head. Thrust Devakí into the fort."

71. Devakí said, "Who speaketh these words to me, evil and yet good."

72. The scout arose and spake, "Vasudeva is thy husband. Thou art the sister of the king. Who shall speak ill of thee?"

73. Then they bound Vasudeva and Devakí, and instantly made preparations.

74. And with eighty maunds of iron they built a fort. Outside, it was closed and over it an iron net.

75. Weeping Devakí laid herself down to sleep, and sitting by her head Náráyaṇa showed himself to her in a dream.

76. "Why, my mother, why do ye both weep? In thy womb the lord Náráyaṇa hath taken up his abode.

77. "One day, within the limits of a single night, will I protect thee from the Club-bearer. I will slay the king with all his family. Truly a valiant act."

78. "I have determined to be born in Gokula. All the gods from Indra downwards will attend at the ceremony." Then Devakí awoke from sleep.

79. "Awake, awake my lord, the crown* of my head. This night, just before dawn I dreamt a dream. Náráyaṇa hath taken up his abode in my womb.

80. "'I have determined to be born in Gokula,' saying these words he left me and went to heaven."

* Literally "umbrella."

81. Kṛishṇa summoned the gods urgently, and they came, and made obeisance to him with hands clasped, "Wherefore, Oh Mighty Lord, hast thou summoned us?"

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

82. "I have determined to be born in Gokula. Come ye all, and raise a storm of wind and rain. Hear ye now, oh gods, my resolution."

83. They took fifty-two times sixteen scores of winds and clothed themselves in them. Śílávatí was dressed in forty times sixteen scores of hail-stones.

84. Indra clothed himself in twelve clouds, and they roared like unto the roar of a lion or of an elephant.

85. For seven nights and nine days the storm raged in Gokula.

86. The clouds poured forth in streams. The hail began to fall like thunder-bolts.

87. Plants and trees were broken. The trees flew about like dust. The *Śríphala* tree fell, and the tiger ran away with a broken tail.

88. The scouts of king Kaṁsa fled and hid themselves under the *máchás** of the householders. The messengers and the archers fled, running at the top of their speed.

89. One messenger fled to where the ploughmen were. He laid aside his sword and shield and took to weeding the field.

90. Another scout ran into the house of a woman fresh from child-bed. He took the págarí off his head and with it began to cleanse the child.†

91. He said to the wife, "Mother, mother, close the door. Who again will enter (such) service (as mine), may his wife be unto him as his mother.

92. "I would sooner turn a beggar, and support an old father and mother, and break up my sword and shield, and fashion them into scythes and hatchets."

93. As the day has been, so is the night. Devakí hath a child and the neighbours know it not.

94. He is born of a dark complexion, with a garland of wild flowers round his neck. The tune of his nostrils is like the melody of a flute.

95. A pearl coronet on his head, a *Śríphala* and a lotus in his hand. On his right standeth Lakshmí, on his left Sarasvatí.

96. He tottereth as he goeth. His feet wear a pair of anklets. Round his neck a glorious golden wreath.

* A kind of bamboo divan.

† *Lit.* 'Ano fæces detergens.'

97. Indra cometh on his elephant Airávata. Sachi cometh in her chariot of flowers. Mother Earth cutteth his navel string.

98. The Mother saith "My son, my son. Show me the moon-face of my child. Why hath he come into the house of a luckless one?

99. "Even now Kamsa's scouts invest each house and room. He will dash thee to death upon a stone."

100. In a dark room Kṛishṇa is born, and he shineth pure and radiant as the moon-light. As he issueth from her womb, and falleth upon the ground, he speaketh unto her.

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

101. "I have dwelt in my mother's womb, and have given her great pain. It is true it is a Sunday, but my mother's face is pale as the Moon.

102. "Speedily my mother, come to Gokula, Kamsa must not escape." But Devakí exclaimed, "Alas!" and struck the pillow with her arm, saying "Who will call me Kṛishṇá's mother?"

103. Every one rejoiced and gave vent to cries of victory. Vidyádharas danced, and Gandharvas sang with joy.

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

104. "My Father, hear my words. Make me a changeling in the house of Nanda the cow-herd."

VASUDEVA SPAKE.

105. "The first man-at-arms waketh and watcheth with bow and arrows in his hand. My child, when I see trident-bearers watching, my heart faileth me.

106. "Ulmán and Surmán wake and watch, and their voice is mighty. Other staff-bearers and spear-bearers wake and watch in all directions.

107. "My child, shield-bearers wake and watch with shields upon their shoulders. Gun-bearers wake and watch with guns in their hands.

108. "Nepsu the man-at-arms waketh and watcheth behind the palace.

109. "My child, the fort and moat are all awake. Every one is now present. Faithful old servants of King Kamsa wake and watch around.

110. "On the backs of elephants mahauts watch. On horseback sit watchmen ready. Eight trumpeters sound bugles night and day.

111. "My child, scholars and teachers alike wake for thee. How, Kṛishṇa, my Son, can I take thee away."

112. Kṛishṇa heard these words with delight, and began to call for the goddess of sleep: and while he was yet calling, she appeared.

113. With hands clasped the goddess of sleep made obeisance. "Wherefore hath My Lord called me?"

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

114. "I tell thee Sleep; and pay thou heed unto my words. Cast thou the city of Kaṁsa into an oblivious sleep."

115. The Goddess of Sleep replied, "Remain at ease," and she let loose *Uhilí* and *Kuhilí*, her two sleep-slaves.

116. The first man-at-arms fell asleep, in his hand his bow and arrow. The three trident-bearers fell asleep, terrible as they were to look upon.

117. Urmán and Surmán of mighty voice fell asleep; and so did the villain staff-bearers and arm-bearers in all directions.

118. So did the gun-bearers with their guns in their hands, and the shield-bearers with their shields on their shoulders.

119. The fort and moat fell asleep, every one as he had come; so did the old and trusted servants of king Kaṁsa.

120. The mahauts slept on their elephants and the guards upon their horses. The eight trumpeters also slept.

121. Also all the scholars and teachers fell asleep. One by one the whole capital became inert and senseless.

122. Then Kṛishṇa said unto his Father, "My Father, take me away." And as they got outside the fort, the rain and storm ceased.

123. For the sake of the All-mother of the universe, Maheśvara went in front. Gods and Gandharvas accompanied them, and sandy islands rose in the Yamuna.

124. When Vasudeva saw the Yamuna's waves, he became filled with terror, saying, "How can I cross the river?"

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

125. "See Father, in front of us even jackals have been able to cross. The water will not reach thy knees. So take me in thy bosom and pass over.

126. "Let not there be fear in thy mind, My Father. I have come into thy house, the fruit of thy many pious deeds. Home thou art of all the virtues. Hear my words and place me in the cow-herd's house.

127. The father took the abode of virtues into his bosom and descended into the water. Holy Kṛishṇa bathed.

128. And Vasudeva searched for Him amidst the waters of the Yamuna.

129. He searched in the water, nor could he find Kṛishṇa. He became sorrowful in heart.

VASUDEVA SPAKE.

130. "Devakí hath wasted away of grief for her seven former children; and now when she heareth of this, she will surely die."

131. The Holy Hari cried to his father, "I am bathing. Wherefore art thou weeping with distracted mind?

132. "For ten months and ten days was I within my mother's womb. I have not been suckled by her, and I have bathed to purify myself from the taint."

133. He searched in the water and found him. He took him into his bosom saying, "Where are my Friend* and her husband?"†

VASUDEVA SPAKE.

134. ‡"The fruit of many virtuous actions, Kṛishṇa, hath been born in my house. Bring forth and show me thy Mahá Máyá."

NANDA SPAKE.

135. "In my house hath been born a daughter. I have called her Mahá Máyá. In form and virtues is she truly beauteous."

KṚISHṆA SPAKE.

136. "If thou givest one damsel, Oh Nanda, thou wilt give salvation to a thousand generations. Thou shalt see, what I, the Holy Hari, can do for thee."

137. He took the Holy Hari to his bosom, his eyes glistening like two diamonds; and gave in exchange Mahá Máyá.

138. What woman that beareth child hath given place in her womb to one like Him. Or what pangs did Vasudeva suffer as he returned home after exchanging his child.

139. The rain and storm ceaseth and Kaṁsa's scouts, again surround the house, and send the news to the king by the mouth of a messenger.

140. "A daughter hath been born to thy sister." When the king heareth the news, he hasteneth (to the fort).

141. Forth he draggeth Mahá Máyá. He dasheth her upon a washerman's stone, and forth she riseth in the air in the form of a celestial female.

142. Away flieth Mahá Máyá, and as she goeth she saith, "Hear me, uncle. I say unto thee what concerneth thee.

* Yaśodá.

† Nanda.

‡ We must now suppose that Vasudeva has crossed the Yamuna and has met Nanda, whom he is now addressing. Mahá Máyá is of course Yoga Nidrá, who took birth as the child of Yaśodá.

143. "He who will slay thee, waxeth strong in Gokula. Go forth and see him in the house of Nanda, the cow-herd."

144. When King Kamsa heard these words, he was pleased, and on the spot summoned his scouts.

145. His Prime Minister arose and made reply, "On the ocean at Kálídaha is a friend of thine. On the shores of Kálídaha is the house of Unakuṭi the Nága.

146. "He will smite the child upon the breast. Truly a valiant deed."

The concluding poem is an interesting account of the twelve seasons. It is supposed to be the soliloquy of a woman of the Bedhya caste during the absence of her husband on a peddling tour. The Bedhyas here, as in other districts, have the reputation of being half gipsies, half thieves. Their ostensible means of livelihood is a petty traffic in *hámáku* (a kind of Rangpurí tobacco prepared for chewing), camphor, cloves, and other spices which they sell to women. I have ventured in this case to attempt a metrical paraphrase, instead of a literal translation. The original is so extremely compressed, and so full of allusions to agricultural life, that it would be almost unintelligible without a full commentary.

The piece partakes more of the nature of a Bháná or dramatic monologue (Cf. Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus, Vol. II, p. 381), than of any other species of Sanskrit composition with which I am acquainted. The reciter's husband, Nílá Bedhya, has gone on a voyage down the Ganges to the southern regions, where the tide ebbs and flows, and he is absent a whole year. She describes each month how she looks forward to his return, in simple but feeling language. It is a great relief to come to it after the eternal *viraher anala* of the orthodox book-school.

In the month of *Pausha*, she hints that advances have been made to her by some rich neighbour, who offers to make her his *dásí*; not at all an uncommon occurrence in this district, where women are bought and sold and stolen like cattle. The arguments used are curious enough, and characteristic. The seducer says, "You had better come to me. You are alone and have no friends. This is the cold month of *Pausha*, and you will surely die. You will have no one to burn your body, and it will be thrown away into the fields to rot. So thick will be the winter mists that even the vultures and the jackals will not see your body to devour it."

In Mágha and Phálguna, every one who can bear a hand is hard at work in the fields. Jute is being cultivated, and the *a-uś dhán*, one of the main food staples of the district, is being planted. The very fishermen are hard at work, building low embankments round the rapidly drying pools, and subse-

quently baling out the water to catch the tiny fish which swarm therein. Thus the only people left at home are the *guru mahás'aya* of the village school, and the pupils who are supposed to be under his care. The latter yield to the temptations of the cool spring season, as school-boys do all over the world, and, relieved of the supervision of the elder branches of the family, run truant and riotous throughout the village. Great is the damage done by them, and great the rage excited amid the elders on their return from their day's work; and, as no parent can see anything but good in his own offspring, the unfortunate *guru* is made the scapegoat for all the mischief done. The boys certainly have been naughty, but it is equally certain that it is the *mahás'aya's* fault. This forms the subject of the episode related under the month of Phálguna.

In Vaiśákha, the wife remembers that there is rejoicing in every home, while she alone is miserable. The *paḍá*, or thatch covering, of the rice-stores of the past year is first broken in this month. While everything is happy, she can do nought but think of her husband, and be tortured by jealous suspicions as to his conduct in the far country.

At the commencement of the rains, when storms are prevalent, and her heart is anxious for the wanderer tossed about amidst the tidal waters of the Sundarbans, the happier women of the village gibe at her and give her false news of the death of her husband.

At the height of the rains, the *Komḍa*, a large fish-eating bird which haunts the banks of the Brahmaputra, utters its loud *tub, tub*, the livelong night. The people say that it is a ghost who is speaking, and every one considers it an omen of ill-luck when he hears it.

In Bhádra, the Tál fruits ripen and fall to the ground. They lie there, and apparently decay, but if opened even after many days, they will be found to contain a clear transparent kernel of great delicacy. The wife is led to compare this wonderful power of retaining its beauty and freshness, with her own comeliness, and to fear that before Nílá returns, she may be an old and haggard woman.

The rest of the monologue, I hope, explains itself, and so I introduce it without further preface.

नीलार वारमासि गान।

॥ अयहायण ॥

एदत अयहायन मासे खेते पाका धान।
केह काटे केह माड़े केह करे नवान॥ १
करक करक नवान दिया गाविर दुद।
घरे नाइ अभागीर पति नवानेर किवा सुख॥ २

परेर मानिक साधु देखिले हबे कि ।
तोमार घरे आछे अमूल्य धन परे लुटे खाइबे ॥ १८
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे जैष्ठ मास ॥ १९

॥ ज्यैष्ठ ॥

एइत जैष्ठ मासे गाछे पाका आम ।
घरे आछे यार साधु तार बड़ आराम ॥ २०
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे आसाड़ मास ॥ २१

॥ आषाढ़ ॥

एइत आसाड़ मासे गाङ्गे भड़ा पानी ।
तोर साधु पड़े मल्लो उजानि भाटानी ॥ २२
ये दिन मरिबे मोर प्रानेर निज पति ।
आउलाइ्ये माथार केस छिँड़िब गज मति ॥ २३
राम लक्षन दुइ खुट सङ्ग भेङ्गे हबे चुर ।
दिने दिने सखिन हबे सिँतेर सिन्दुर ॥ २४
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे सावन मास ॥ २५

॥ श्रावण ॥

एइत सावन मासे आउसे पाका धान ।
कोँड़ा पछिर डाके आमार सरीर कम्पमान ॥ २६
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे भाद्र मास ॥ २७

॥ भाद्र ॥

एइत भाद्र मासे गाछे पाका ताल ।
नारी हय्ये एरप यौवन राखिब कत काल ॥ २८
यत पारि यौवन तत दिन राखि ।
राखिते ना पारि यौवन बिस खाइय्ये मरि ॥ २९
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे आखिन मास ॥ ३०

॥ आश्विन ॥

एइत आखिन मासे दुर्गार अष्टमी ।
फुले जले करे पुजा विधवा रमनी ॥ ३१
करक ९ पुजा माङ्गे निब वर ।

एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे पौस मास ॥ ३

॥ पौष ॥

एइत पौस मासे पुस्से अन्धकार ।
मैसे मांस ना खाइवे सकुन खगाल ॥ ४
नाखाइले २ मांस छाड़े पाये माटी ।
तबु ना छैव आमि पर पुरुसेर दासी ॥ ५
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे माघ मास ॥ ६

॥ माघ ॥

एइत माघ मासे गरले छाड़े सित ।
तुलार ओड़न, तुलार पाड़न, तुलार सियरर बालिस ॥ ७
एइत मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे फालगुन मास ॥ ८

॥ फाल्गुन ॥

एइत फालगुन मासे बसन्ते बचे बाओ ।
सुखाइल आमार अष्ट तालुया गिला करिल राओ ॥ ९
माकुया भाइ मारे साङ्ग बान्धिया चारि आइल ।
सिस्य यदि कुभाजन हय गुरुये खाय गाइल ॥ १०
केमन तोमार गुरु चाते दिछे खड़ि ।
नागाइल पाइले ताहार मुखे मारि झाटार बाड़ी ॥ ११
सुन सुन ओहे कन्या सुन सचचरि ।
तोमाते आमाते कथा गुरु केन तुलिस ॥ १२
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे चैव मास ॥ १३

॥ चैत्र ॥

एइत चैव मासे चैताली परव ।
घरे आछे यार साधु तार बड़ गौरव ॥ १४
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे बैसाख मास ॥ १५

॥ वैशाख ॥

एइत बैसाख मासे गृहस्थ भाङ्गे पुड़ा ।
नौलार यौवन देखि ए जाली कुमड़ा ॥ १६
गुया लया पान लया अछले बान्धिव ।
पुरुसेर धन आमि यतने राखिव ॥ १७

मोर साधु विदेसे गिछे फिरे आसुक घर ॥ २२
एइ मास भाँड़ानु नीला ना पुरिल आस ।
हाँसिते खेलिते आइल सम्मुखे कार्त्तिक मास ॥ २३

॥ कार्त्तिक ॥

एइ कार्त्तिक मासे वरिसार शैल मेस ।
वानिज्य करे नीला साधु फिरे आइल देस ॥ २४

इति ॥

NILA'S SONG OF THE YEAR.

Agraháyana = November-December.

Here comes the month of *A'ghan* with its fields of ripening *dhán;*
Some men reap, and some men thrash, and others hold *nabán.*
Yes, let them feast on rice and milk: their winter crops are home,
But what care I. My heart's own lord in countries far doth roam.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting cometh *Paush,* in turn to play his part.

Pausha = December-January.

"When *Pausha* comes, the wat'ry mists conceal the flowers sweet;
"Who dies in *Paush,* no vulture nor jackal him can eat."
But let them eat, or eat they not, the earth my bones will claim,
Not e'en for life, would I become another's slave in shame.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting cometh *Mágh,* in turn to play his part.

Mágha = January-February.

And next comes *Mágha* dreary. Oh, the shivering in bed.
Cotton quilts, and cotton blankets, cosy pillows for the head.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Phálgun* comes, in turn to play his part.

Phálguna = February-March.

Lo, *Phálgun* with his winds of spring: and *Nilá* now would cry,
"My Love, the wind hath made my lips and tongue all chapped and dry.
"The Fisher-brethren ply the trade from which they take their name;
"And when the boys are naughty, the *guru* gets the blame."

"Then, Sir," I'ld ask with mocking smile, "what *guru* tutored you* ?
"Oh, if I only had him here, I'ld birch him black and blue."
"Nay, hush, Good Wife," the Good Man said, a smile upon his face,
"Whene'er you speak of gurus learned, 'tis you should ask for grace."
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Chaitra* comes, in turn to play his part.

Chaitra = March-April.

Now comes the month of *Chaitra*, with its *charak pújá* gay.
Happy the woman there, whose lord is with her on the day.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Bais'ákh* comes in turn to play his part.

Vaiśákha = April-May.

And then comes glowing *Bais'ákh*, when the granaries they break,
And it is my Nílá's beauty, that the bloomy melons take.
My husband takes his betel-leaf, and wraps it in his cloth.
"A man's sole wealth it is," he says, "to lose it I'ld be loth."
My Good Man dear, for other's wealth do not your wife forsake:
But think of your dear pearl at home, which others fain would take.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Jyaishṭha* comes, in turn to play his part.

Jyaishṭha = May-June.

See, here comes merry *Jyaishṭha* with the mangoes on the trees:
If now my Lord were but at home, how I should live at ease.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Ashádh* comes, in turn to play his part.

Ashádha = June-July.

Ashádh is come. The *Ganga* 's full.—What words fall from thy mouth ?
"Thy husband dead and drowned beneath the tides that fill the south."
If e'er my Life's Dear Lord should die, I'll loose my braids of hair,
And break the necklace round my neck, all strung with jewels rare.
I'll dash to atoms two fair shells,—a *Rám* and *Lakshman* pair,
And dark will be the *Sindur* line that separates my hair.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Srábaṇ* comes, in turn to play his part.

* *Khaḍi* is the chalk which is put into the hands of children, when they are learning the alphabet.

S'rávaṇa = July-August.

Here comes the month of *S'rábaṇ ;* the *a-uś* is in the ear ;
The *Komḍá* calls, and, at his voice, my body shakes with fear.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Bhádra* comes, in turn to play his part.

Bhádra = August-September.

With *Bhádra* all the *Tál* fruit are ripening day by day
A woman I, how long shall I, keep my youth fresh as they.
Long as I may I'll keep my youth,—a woman's all, say I.
And when my youth is gone from me, I'll poiṣon take and die.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Áśvin* comes, in turn to play his part.

Áśvina = September-October.

Here comes the month of *Áśvin*, with dread *Durgá's Ashṭamí.*
With flowers and water will I make a widow's heart-felt plea.
Let others worship as they will : I too will ask a boon :
That my dear husband far away, may homeward travel soon.
The month is filled, but not the hope that fills so full my heart.
Laughing and sporting *Kártik* comes, in turn to play his part.

Kárttika = October-November.

And with the month of *Kártik*, the yearly round is o'er,
And Nílá dear, his traffic done, is welcomed home once more.

In conclusion I would plead guilty to, I fear, many inaccuracies in the preceding translations. Many of the words used are devoid of meaning even to the singers. They have found them in the song, and it is not their business to alter things written in the *Satya Yuga*. Sometimes they are unable to explain whole passages, saying, "It is a *Satya yuger kathá*, how are we to know it." For other words they have a traditional meaning, which I am fain to accept for want of a better. For instance, I am told that तोनाजिल्ल, in the Tiger song, means "both", and have translated it so, because I fail to trace the derivation of the word. There are several gentlemen throughout the district who take an intelligent and lively interest in its dialect, but even their help has been sometimes ineffectual in unravelling a Gordian knot.

Notes on the Bhars and other Early Inhabitants of Bundelkhand.—By VINCENT A. SMITH, B.A., B.C.S.

(With one plate.)

The origin, history and fate of the Bhar* tribe have long afforded material for speculation and enquiry to students of local antiquities and history in the eastern districts of the N. W. P. and Audh, but hitherto no attempt seems to have been made to trace the westward extension of the race, or to collect any information concerning it in the districts west of Alláhábád and Banda. The following notes are the result of observations and enquiries made in the Hamírpur District during the last two years, and, incomplete and fragmentary though they are, they will I hope be found to supplement usefully the information previously collected by observers in the eastern districts and to throw some light on the history of the Bhar tribe.

The Census returns of 1872 give the total number of Bhars in the N. W. P. as 243,462, and of Ráj Bhars as 13,481, the grand total being 256,943 : the district details† show that the tribe is now almost exclusively confined to those eastern districts which were formerly included in the Province of Benares and in the kingdom of Audh : the census figures may not perhaps be perfectly accurate, but they certainly indicate correctly in a general way the distribution of the tribe throughout the N. W. P.

It will be observed that not a single Bhar is recorded as residing in any of the Bundelkhand districts ; it is, however, well known that the Bhars were once numerous in Banda, and the information which I have collected proves that in former times they lived in every part of the Hamírpur District, and were even found in the Jhánsí District west of the Dhasán River : how much farther west they may have extended I have at present no means of judging, but it is evident that the tribal movement has been from the west eastwards, and it would therefore appear that the answer to the question 'who were the Bhars'? should be sought, not, as has hitherto been done, in the localities where they have been driven to bay, but rather in those western regions from which they emigrated.

The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamírpur District is attested by the traditions, which will be presently described, and by local names in every pargana. A few examples of such names out of many may be of

* The name is usually spelt 'Bhar', but the spelling 'Bharr' would more accurately represent the pronunciation.

† Details are :—

RA'JBHAR.—Jaunpur (256) : A'zamgarh (316) : Gházípur (5,631) : Gorakhpur (1,464) : Bastí (5,814). Total 13,481.

BHAR.—Meerut (22) : Badáon (14) : Agra (130) : Kánhpur (1248) : Alláhábád

interest; thus, the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Parg. Sumerpur) is Bharuá, and in the parganas of Maudhá, Panwárí-Jaitpur, Jalálpur, and Ráṭh, respectively, we find localities named Bharsawán, Bharwárá, Bharkharí or Barkharí, and Bhanraurá Kherá, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition.

There seems to me to be little doubt that the Bhars are a non-Aryan race, and are the congeners of the Gonds, Kols, Bhíls, and other more or less wild and predatory hill tribes who once occupied Bundelkhand. It is, as Sir H. Elliot* observes, "confessedly very difficult to trace the connexion or difference between the aboriginal tribes of Bhars, Cherús, Seorís, and Kols", and Mr. Sherring† believes "that many of the aboriginal tribes of India were originally blended together." Whatever may be the precise connexion between the so-called aboriginal tribes, it is quite certain that several of them occupied Bundelkhand simultaneously and jointly, and I suspect that in traditions they are often confounded. For instance as in the case of M. Gunḍ‡ (in Parg. Panwárí-Jaitpur), where the name points apparently to the Gonds, the original settlers are spoken of as Chamárs: in such cases I suspect that the term Chamár is used in a vague way to cover the ignorance of the speaker, and is practically equivalent to "low caste barbarian"; the word Chamár it will be remembered is not properly the name of a tribe, but simply means a worker in leather. I think it very probable that the Chamárs, who now form the most numerous element in the low caste labouring population, are an extremely heterogenous body, and have but recently been developed into a caste formed of the fragments of tribes, which were free from the trammels of caste, and were alike unclean and impure in the eyes of the Brahmans, and whose remnants have now been lumped together by Brahman pride as the men who work in leather, the unclean thing.§

We have no direct knowledge of the inhabitants of Bundelkhand at the dawn of history; our earliest piece of information is that afforded by Hiouen Thsang in the 7th century A. D., who states that the king of Kha-

(76): Jaunpur (14,695): A'zamgarh (74,144): Mírzápur (4,338): Benares (34,805); Gházípur (53,060): Gorakhpur (43,152): Bastí (17,322): Ga hwál (456).

Total 243,462.

[From N. W. P. Census Rep. I, pp. 105, 135.]

* Beames' Elliot, I, p. 60, *s. v.* Cherú.

† J. R. As. Soc. V., N. S., p. 399.

‡ Here, as in many other villages in the south, a Gonḍ ghost is locally worshipped.

§ In connection with this subject, it may be noted that the *kusṭá* or waistcloth, worn by the low caste women of Bundelkhand, seems to be the same garment as that used by the women of the Maiwár Bhíls (J. A. S. B., XLV, Pt. I, pp. 355 and 289): and the same dress is used by the Gonds (Beames' Elliot, *s. v.* Gonḍ).

juráho was a Brahman. About 800 A. D., the Chandel dynasty arose and ruled in Kálinjar, Khajuráho, and Mahobá, but the inscriptions which give us the names and lineage of the rulers tell us nothing of the ruled. Chand in his account of the Chauhán and Chandel war (in 1184 A. D.) gives us a glimpse of the subjects of the Chandels in his list of the warriors of the Chandel prince Parmál; the list names Isur Dás Lodhí Bhupál, two Gonds, a Baghel, a Gahlaut, and others, but in what I have read of Chand's poem I have not found any mention of the Bhars. Famous though the Chandel dynasty is for the great embankments and splendid temples constructed under its auspices, I believe that, even in its flourishing days, the country was but very partially cleared, and was chiefly inhabited by sundry hill tribes, who owned indeed a certain allegiance to the Rájá, but yet lived for the most part free of control, and indulged with little restraint in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder. According to the census returns of 1872, the Chandels in the Hamírpur District number only 656, and, although they were undoubtedly once much more numerous than now, I do not believe that they ever colonized the country in large force. In the Mahobá pargana the Chandels are zamíndárs, I think, in only two villages; in the rest of the district I do not know of their holding a single village, and the local* traditions of the many villages in every pargana which I have examined, in no case mention the Chandels as the former owners of the soil, but everywhere we find traces of Gonds, Kols, Bhíls, Bhars, Káchhís, Ahírs, Chamárs, and other low caste and outcast people as the original occupiers of the land.

I believe then that the Chandels were simply a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the *personnel* of the local court, but who never supplanted the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty. But the Bhars and Gonds and their fellows have now disappeared, or have at least lost all tribal individuality, and can no longer be identified under the old names, and other races are lords of the soil. In other parts of India a similar transfer of the land seems to have occurred, but there the history of the change is obscure and the details unknown; here, however, the outlines of the revolution can be clearly traced, and even some of the details can still be vividly presented.

Whatever may be the truth with regard to eastern Audh, where Mr. Carnegy† with apparently considerable reason, doubts the reality of the fact of a Rájpút conquest, there is no doubt that in the Hamírpur District the Bhars, Gonds and other early occupiers of the soil, were in compara-

* For some of this local information I am indebted to notes made by natives employed by Mr. W. Martin, C. S., and to his contributions to the N. W. P. Gazetteer.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLV, (1876), p. 297 seqq.

tively recent times vanquished by force of arms and obliged to yield their lands to the conquerors, who either exterminated the vanquished or reduced them to a servile condition: in a great portion of the district the victors were Rájpúts, but in extensive tracts they were* Lodhís, themselves a tribe of probably non-Aryan descent. It is impossible to say exactly when this contest began and when it ended, but it was protracted and intermittent, and certainly lasted from 1080 A. D. to 1730 A. D., as I now proceed to show in some detail.

The Sárdúl Charitra, a metrical chronicle of the Bágrí Thákurs, relates the manner in which 750 of that clan treacherously destroyed at Kahrá, in the west of the Banda district, 1000 Kols and Bhíls, and then seized their villages in the year 1137 Samvat = 1080 A. D.; the story is curious and interesting, but is too long to quote: it is to be observed that at the date mentioned in the chronicle the power of the Chandel dynasty was at its height. Another similar tribal record tells of the conquest of the Bhíls in the same tract of country by the Mauhár Thákurs in the year 1239 Samvat = 1182 A. D.

The parganas of Hamírpur and Sumerpur are now almost exclusively held by Bais, Gaur, Gautam, and other Thákur clans, most of whom retain more or less distinct traditions of their having entered the country from the north-west, cleared the jungle and founded the existing villages: for example it is still remembered how in the year 1405 Samvat = 1348 A. D., Bíja Rai Gaur came from Ajmír and entered the service of Hamír Deo Karchulí, the founder of the town of Hamírpur, and settled his followers and relatives in twelve villages in the neighbourhood: and many other similar traditions might be related, though a precise date is not generally given.

I have already mentioned that the local nomenclature of the northern parganas shows traces of the presence of the Bhars previous to the Rájpút invasions.

It is plain then that in large tracts of country the wild tribes had been early overpowered, but in many places they held their ground much longer: thus the story is told that the Bhars of Islámpur† in the north of the Ráth pargana were punished by Islám Sháh for looting royal treasure, and it seems most probable that the prince referred to was Sher Sháh's son Islám Sháh, who reigned from 1545-53 A. D. and whose favourite capital was Gwáliár.

At Maudhá in the east of the Hamírpur District mention is made of

* I use the form Lodhí in preference to Lodha, because the former is that commonly used in Hamírpur.

† Here and in several neighbouring villages the Bhars are remembered as Bharé Thákurs: the desire of low caste tribes to pass as Rájpúts is well known.

the Kols so late as the year 1730 A. D., when a battle took place between Dalíl Khán, a son of the Súbahdár of Alláhábád, and the Bundelás, the latter being assisted by the Kols, with whom Dhánuks, Kanjars, and Kanrers are said to have been associated.

The foregoing details show the gradual manner in which the aboriginal* tribes have been supplanted.

The interesting question as to the nature of the religion of the Bhars was raised by Mr. Sherring,† and has since been discussed by Mr. Carnegy. The former gentleman came to the conclusion that the Bhars were Buddhists; and the latter arrived at the somewhat ambiguous result that the "god-neglecting, caste-disregarding race" which formerly held Eastern Audh were the Bhars.‡ Mr. Sherring's arguments and the plates of Bhar sculptures, published in illustration of his essay, seem to me to prove that the religion of the Eastern Bhars was Jain rather than Buddhist, and the facts which I shall now mention are I think sufficient to raise a presumption that the Bhars and other aborigines of Bundelkhand during a period of at least two or three centuries professed Jainism, though perhaps not exclusively. It may well be that in earlier times they were Buddhists, for the close relation between the Jain and the Buddhist faith and the high antiquity of the former are only now beginning to be perceived.

A tradition is current at Mahobá that many years subsequent to the conquest of that city in the reign of Shiháb-uddín§ (1202-3 A. D.), Ajaipál and Bhar and others, seven brothers who were Jains and Jogís and great magicians, became rulers of the country: Ajaipál conquered Ajmír, but Bhar held Mahobá, and so oppressed the Musalmáns that they invoked the aid of Malik Sháh who came from the west, and after a bloody contest slew Rájá Bhar and his fourteen sons, whose wives then burned themselves without the aid of fire, the place where they sacrificed themselves being pointed out to this day as the *Chaudah Ráni kí satí, i. e.*, the burning-place of the fourteen queens.

Mauza' Bharwárá in pargana Panwárí-Jaitpur is said, according to the local tradition, to have been founded by Rájá Bhar of Mahobá‖ and to have been occupied by Lodhís in 1300 Samvat (= 1243 A. D.): as illus-

* I use the word 'aboriginal' as a convenient term, but as I have hinted above some of the so-called aborigines may themselves have moved from their original seat.

† In the essay already quoted, p. 228.

‡ J. A. S. B., XLV, Pt. I, 299.

§ Mr. Blochmann, in J. A. S. B., XLIV, Pt. I, p. 277, proves the correct date of the conquest.

‖ A tradition is quoted in N. W. P. Gaz. I, pp. 406-7, to the effect that a temple at Dadhwá Manpur Garrampur in pargana Badausá of the Banda District was the treasury of the Bhar Rájás of Kálinjar, whose descendants continued to use it until a recent date: this is the only reference I know to Bhar Rájás of Kálinjar.

trating the supposed connection between the Bhars and Jainism, it is noticeable that at Dinaí about a mile from Bharwárá there is a colossal Jain image of Setnáth with an inscription dated 1196 Samvat (= 1139 A. D.), and the ruins of a highly ornamented temple are a conspicuous object on an adjoining hill top. In other localities I have found at and near Bhar sites small Jain sculptures which it would be tedious to specify. The earliest known Jain inscription in Bundelkhand, (supposing its date to be correctly read, which is doubtful*) is one at Khajuráho, dated 1011 Samvat = 954 A. D., in the reign of King Dhanga: the other Jain inscriptions from Khajuráho and Mahobá, enumerated by General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. II, 448), range from 1142 to 1234 Samvat, *i. e.*, 1085 to 1177 A. D.: eight additional dated Jain inscriptions, which I know of in various places in the Hamírpur District, range from 1196 to 1232 Samvat = 1139 to 1175 A. D. At Khajuráho all the important temples, whether Vaishnava, Saiva, or Jain, seem to have been erected in the eleventh century A. D.†: we may therefore safely affirm that Jainism flourished in Bundelkhand during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. side by side with other forms of religion, and we have already seen that during the same period much of the country was occupied by the Bhars and other aboriginal tribes.

I have already mentioned that Mr. Sherring's arguments to my mind proved the eastern Bhars too to be Jains; chance enables me to offer a fact in confirmation of this theory.

I lately obtained from Banda a collection of hymns to the twenty-four deities of the Digambar Jains as there recited at a Jain shrine: the first hymn is addressed to Ádináth, and its opening lines which I quote‡ below, show that the ruined Bhar stronghold Pampápur near Mirzápur, the locality described in detail by Mr. Sherring, is still a sacred place of the Jains.

A Bhát supplied my pandit with lists, as complete as he could remember, of the Bhar and Gond§ tribal deities; the following he named as the Bhar gods:—

* Cunningham, Arch. Rep. II, p. 433, and J. A. S. B., XXIX, 396.

† Fergusson, Ind. Archit., p. 245.

‡ आदिनाथ परमेस्वरस्वामी ऋषभदेव मनभायेजी ।
वाहन सांड़ जनेवर छाजै पंपापुर को आयेजी ॥
गलियन २ फिरत जाचौ ढूँढत आदि मुनीसुरजी।
पंपापुर संभ भवन में ठाकुर आये विराजेजी ॥

§ The Gond deities he remembered were: (1) Narhar, (this is mentioned by Chand as the name of a Gond champion): (2) Nagesur: (3) Jhakajhok: (4) Gunraiya: (5) Karuwá.

(1) Sattí-Sattá: (2) Munḍá Deo: (3) Bhainsesur: (4) Ratásá *or* Raktásá: (5) Bharráha Járí: (6) Jhapaṭá: (7) Marahí: (8) Bharáyaṇr.

The worship of these minor deities may of course have been practised by persons professing Jainism, in the same way as worship is now offered to scores of obscure local gods and demons, by persons professing various forms of Hinduism. It is possible that the Bhainsá Darwáza, one of the gates of the town of Mahobá, may be named after Bhainsesur.

Antiquarian visitors to Mahobá are familiar with the temple of Maniyá Deo, the tutelary deity of the Chandel Rájás; it is curious that the only other shrine in the Hamírpur District, so far as I know, dedicated to this divinity is found at a village named Barel in pargana Ráṭh, where there are indications near the modern village, which is occupied by a Lodhí population, of the former existence of a town or large village which has long since disappeared. This locality seems to be the Bharel* named by the above quoted Bháṭ as one of the Bhar villages, and some sculptures exist in the village such as are found at Bhar sites. It becomes, therefore, possible that Maniyá Deo was a Bhar goddess, and, if this be the fact, the circumstance throws some light on the origin of the Chandel race, which is admittedly impure. I had not an opportunity of seeing the object of worship at Barel, but the cherished image at Mahobá, which I have seen, is simply a shapeless block of stone daubed with red, and evidently represents none of the Hindú gods, whereas it is exactly such an object as we might expect to be the fetish of a tribe of hill men. There is not, so far as I am aware, any tradition of a close connection between the Chandels and the Bhars,† but with the Gonḍs the Chandels are known to have maintained constant intercourse, sometimes friendly, and sometimes hostile. Chand tells us that the Chandel Rájá Kírat Singh hunted at Maniyá Gaṛh with Singh the Gonḍ chieftain of Gaṛha Mandlá on the Narbadá, and that afterwards when war broke out, Kírat Singh was taken prisoner by the Gonḍs, an injury which was revenged by Alhá in the reign of Parmál. The name of the Gonḍ hunting ground Maniyá Gaṛh inevitably suggests that Maniyá Deo may be a Gonḍ as well as a Bhar deity, and, if this supposition be correct, an additional proof is obtained that there was little difference between Bhar and Gonḍ. In the hills of the Kaimúr Range in Ríwá, east of Bundelkhand, the Bhars, Suriyás, Cherús, Binds, and Kharwárs may still be

* The loss of the initial aspirate in local names is very common; thus in the Hamírpur District, Bilrakh and Bilahaṇrí were formerly Bhíl villages, and in Audh (J. A. S. B., XLV, Pt. I, p. 300) Badoí, Barrosá, Baráich, and Bareli derive their names from the Bhars: and many similar examples might be given.

† Oldham, 'Stat. Memoir of Ghazipur' (I, 48), states that Chandel Rájpúts murdered the Bhar Rájá and founded the principalities of Bijaigaṛh, Bardhí, and Barhar in the Ríwá territories.

found intermingled, and "intermarriage between the daughters of the Kharwár chief and a Chandel Rájpút prince is mentioned in the annals of Bundelkhand."* In Lalatpur, too, the connection between the Gonds and Chandels seems to be remembered,† and the story of the marriage of Durgávatí of the Chandel line with the Rájá of Garha Mandlá‡ shows that the connection subsisted so late as the sixteenth century A. D.; there is therefore nothing improbable in supposing that the myth of the union of Hemávatí with the moon as related in the Chandel legends was invented to conceal the fact that the Chandels really sprang from an aboriginal stock; whether this stock was called Bhar or Gond we cannot say, and, if I am right in thinking the two tribes to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance. The construction of the great Vijayanagar or Bijánagar lake near Mahobá is attributed to the Gaharwárs, who are said to have preceded the Chandels in that part of the country, and I think it is not unlikely that the Chandel clan is the result of crossing Gaharwár with Bhar or Gond blood: the popular legends indeed assert the fact of relationship between the Gaharwárs§ of Benares and the Chandels.

The Bhars of Bundelkhand, so far as we know them, seem to have possessed little of the arts of civilization, and to have consequently left behind them almost nothing of architectural or artistic interest. In the eastern districts the Bhars are credited with the construction of many tanks and massive forts, but in Hamírpur I have not met with a single fort or tank the construction of which is ascribed to them; everything old is indiscriminately called Chandel, and is usually placed to the credit of Rájá Parmál or his famous champions Alhá and Udal: it is, however, probable that some of the works attributed to the Chandels were executed by other races. The commonest objects of antiquity in the district are rude bas-reliefs of Hanumán, here usually called Mahábír, and there is scarcely one of the numerous sites of ancient abandoned villages, whether Bhar or otherwise, which is not marked by an image of the monkey-god.

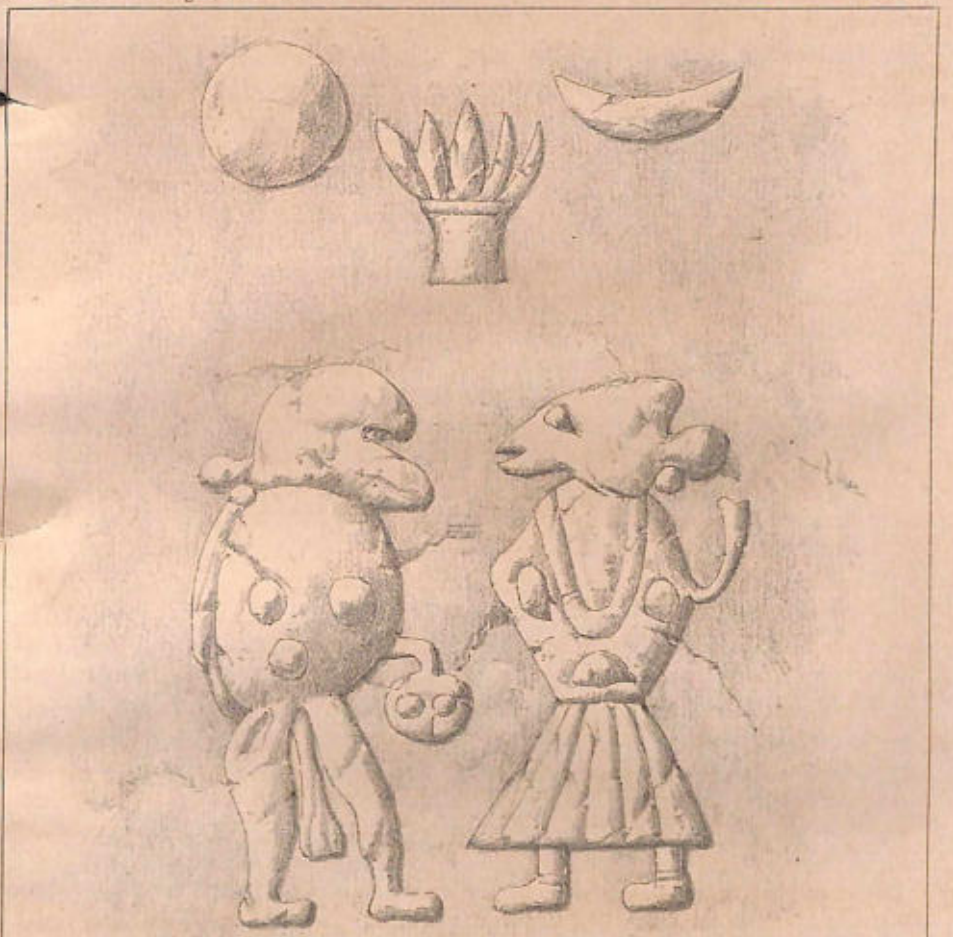
Upright slabs or pillars of granite bearing on one face a pair of rudely carved figures in relief, are met with in many places. The design consists of two standing figures, one male, and the other female, holding each other by the hand: at the top left hand corner of the stone there is a detached

* Chandra Sekhara Banurjí, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLVI, Pt. I, p. 25. I do not know what annals are referred to.

† N. W. P. Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 351; but the statement there may be based only on Sleeman's narrative.

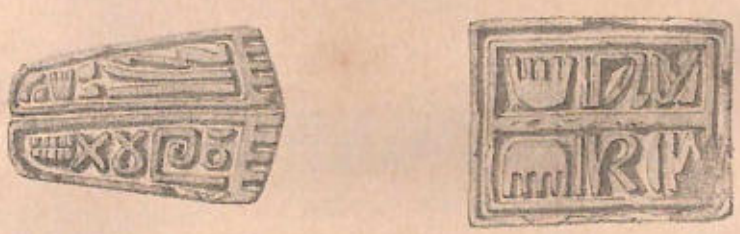
‡ Sleeman's History of the Garha Mandlá Rájás in J. A. S. B. for 1837, Vol. VI, (2), pp. 621-648.

§ *Vide* Cunningham, Arch. Rep. II, 'Mahobá' and Beames' Elliot, *s. v.* Bhar, Chandel, Gaharwár.



ROUGH SKETCH OF A SCULPTURED SLAB OR PILLAR AT MAUZA' TIKÁMAU, PARGANAH MAHOBÁ.

Vincent A. Smith del.



TWO SEALS OR AMULETS FOUND AT BARENRÁ THE SITE OF A BHARR VILLAGE IN PARGANAH JALÁLPÚR, HAMÍRPUR DISTRICT.

S. Sedgfield Lith. *Calcutta.*

open hand, and in the corresponding right hand corner a crescent moon and a circle representing the sun.

These sculptures appear to be *satí* monuments: they are very common in Pargana Jaitpur and are there sometimes spoken of as 'Satí-Satá'. Jaitpur was occupied by Gonḍs, who were expelled by the Bundelás and Maraṭhas. At an ancient village in pargana Ráṭh I found two of these stones, and close by, a *satí* pillar of the ordinary type* bearing only the emblems of a female hand and arm with the sun and moon, but without human figures. Stones sculptured with the sun and moon emblems, unaccompanied by either figures or hand, are often met with.

Rude effigies of single warriors, armed with a bow, or with a round target and a short straight-pointed sword, are also common.

I append a rough sketch or diagram (Pl. XIV) of a curious slab standing in the village of Ṭika Mau near Mahobá: the village is an ancient one, and is mentioned by Chand as belonging to Desráj, father of Alhá and Udal, and according to tradition was formerly occupied by Kurmís: the design resembles in general outline that of the "*satí-satá*" sculptures above described, but differs in that the male and female figures are not holding hands and have heads resembling respectively a monkey and a bird, and that the detached hand is placed between the sun and moon.

On the surface of the mound marking the site of a Bhar village at Barenṛá in Jalálpur, my paṇḍit picked up the two curious objects figured at the bottom of Plate XIV. They look like seals or amulets, and the material seems to be the coarse soap stone found in the district: I cannot even guess the meaning of the characters engraved on them, but the open hand on the larger one is exactly similar to that carved on the stone monuments. As is the case at many ancient sites in the district, bricks of great size are found at Bareṇṛá.

The Bhar site named Bhaṛeswar near Rauro in pargana Ráṭh is remarkable for an irregular circle formed of twelve large upright stones, close to which two other stones are lying prostrate: one of the slabs here is carved with five small detached rings, called *nakat-gol* by the people, which remind me of the "cup markings" in Kamáon, described by Mr. Carnac†: coins are said to have been found at this spot, but as usual I could get no definite information about them.

I have often seen at old sites slabs engraved with sets of concentric rings a foot or more in diameter, which most probably symbolize Mahádeo, as conjectured by Mr. Carnac with reference to the similar sculptures in Kamáon, or may perhaps be images of the sun as the villagers say.

* Cunningham, Arch. Report III, p. x.

† J. A. S. B., XLVI, Pt. I, p. 1 seqq.

Further local enquiries, or a happy accident, may put me in possession of additional information about the Bhars of Bundelkhand, but at present the foregoing notes embody all that I can ascertain on the subject.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The preceding essay was written to illustrate a bronze plate inscription which purported to record a victory of the Lodhís over the Bhars of Parganas Ráṭh and Jalálpur in the year 1404 Samvat, and was read before the Society* in its original form.

Sir E. C. Bayley and Dr. Rájendralála Mitra are of opinion that the inscription described by me is not genuine, and their opinion is based on arguments which I readily admit to be conclusive: the forgery was a clever one, but not sufficiently clever to deceive competent scholars.

I have therefore cut out from my paper all references to the inscription, and much other matter which rested on the authority of the paṇḍit, who beyond doubt contrived the forgery.

All information derived from a tainted source is of course open to suspicion, and therefore I must specify the assertions still remaining in the text of my paper which rest on information supplied by the incriminated paṇḍit.

The tribal records of the Bágrí and Mauhár Thákurs were furnished by him in copies: the originals he said he had met with while employed on a tour of investigation under the orders of the Settlement Officer at Banda: there seems to be no particular reason why these documents should have been fabricated.

The Jain hymns, one of which I quote, were also brought to me by the paṇḍit, who professed to have taken them down from the dictation of a person who takes care of a Jain shrine at Banda; they are of little interest and not likely to be inventions.

The lists of Bhar and Gond deities, the name of Bharel as a Bhar village, and the names of Bilrakh and Bilahaṇrí as Bhíl villages, rest on the authority of a Bhát as reported by the paṇḍit, and I have no special reason to suppose these particulars to be untrue.

The seals or amulets, whichever they are, were brought in by him, and seem genuine; but I have not visited Bareṇrá myself.

After the excisions it has undergone, my essay, I fear, presents a very disjointed appearance, and retains little of value or of interest.

V. A. SMITH.

12*th December*, 1877.

* *Vide* Proceedings, As. Socy. Bengal, for December, 1877.

An unpublished Ghazal by Háfiz.—By H. Blochmann, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

In the Proceedings for November 1874, (p. 208), I noticed a MS. collection of choice verses containing an autograph of Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán). Among the poems, the following *ghazal* by Háfiz is given, which I have not seen in any MS. or printed edition of his Díwán. The style is easily recognized as that of Háfiz. (Metre, long *hazaj*.)

بحمد اللّٰه که بازم دیدن رویت میسّر شد ٭
زخورشید جمالت دیدهٔ بختم منوّر شد

بصورتخانهٔ دل روز تنهائی وصالت را ٭
بدان صورت که با خود نقش می‌بستم مصوّر شد

مرا از لطف تا بر سر فکندی سایهٔ رحمت ٭
همای بخت و دولت بر سر من سایه‌گستر شد

نوید مقدمت دادند دادم جان بشکرانه ٭
که آنم موجب عیش دل اندوه‌پرور شد

زروی مردمی جانا قدم برچشم حافظ نه ٭
که جایت در درون دیدهٔ روشن مقرّر شد

1. Thanks be to God that a sight of thy face has again been granted me: the sun of thy beauty lights up the eye of my destiny.

2. In the gallery of my heart I painted the day of my loneliness in those (bright) colours in which I paint to myself the day of meeting thee.

3. When in thy love thou castest upon my head the shadow of mercy, the phœnix of fortune and success casts his shadow upon me.

4. The news of thy arrival was brought to me, and I gave up my heart to thanksgiving; for this was an occasion of joy for my grief-fostering heart.

5. Put boldly, O love, thy foot upon the eye of Háfiz; for within his beaming eye a place has been made for thee.

A Grammar of the Language of Eastern Turkistán.—*By* R. B. Shaw, *Political Agent.*

Introductory.

The Turkish tongues are of singular interest to the student of language. They are to him, what the mountains which surround their birthplace are to the geologist; who there can observe many of the vastest operations of nature and their results, naked as it were, and not veiled by the superficial covering which in other less barren countries makes the investigation and tracing out of the various formation so laborious a task.

The Indo-European languages are like an ancient building, where frequent restorations have interfered with the original design, and where finally a universal coat of plaster has destroyed all outward distinction between old and new. In the Turanian structure, on the other hand every tool-mark is still fresh, the places where the scaffolding has rested, are still visible, and we can almost trace each course of the stone-work to its origin in the quarry whence it was hewn.

It may seem strange that a language developed by the rude and nomad tribes of Central Asia, who in their own home have never known how to reduce it to rule (or rather to distinguish the laws through which they themselves had unconsciously formed it), should present in fact an example of symmetry in complexity such as few of the more cultivated forms of speech exhibit. Although its own people would have one believe that it is subject to no rule and almost purely arbitrary (their only notion of grammar being that of Arabic and Persian with which the Turkí cannot be made to fit); yet in reality a few simple and transparent rules suffice to account for all its permutations. These rules, possessing an accumulative power, are enough to produce the immense variety of forms noticeable in the Eastern Turkí.

We are now learning to believe that even in languages such as Greek, German, or even English, every seeming irregularity is really the result of laws, some of which we know and can trace in their action, and some of which are yet to be discovered. But in Turkí we can *see* them; it is as if the centuries were to flow backwards, and we could watch the building of the Pyramids and solve by ocular demonstration the doubts of the learned as to the method by which the vast blocks were transported from the quarries, and placed in their present positions. We can even detect in some instances a commencement in this Turanian tongue, of the process by which the Aryan languages have been polished down and enamelled, as it were, till they reached their present condition.

Viewed in this light the study of the Eastern Túrki is seen to have an interest which is not to be measured by the amount of the commercial or other intercourse likely to be facilitated by it. For the Turkish tongues, a journey eastward is pretty nearly equivalent to a study of the earlier forms of an Indo-European language. In either case we get nearer to the source ; and the less literary character of the former makes it easier to approach its origin in space than in time. Rémusat, in his "Langues Tartares"*, truly says : "Le dialecte de Constantinople est celui de tous qui s'est le plus enrichi, je pourrais dire appauvri, par l'introduction de mots Arabes et Persans ; et l'on n'en rencontre que fort peu dans la langue des Túrks voisins de la Chine, où l'on peut, pour cette raison, espérer de retrouver l'antique langue Túrke dans un état plus voisin de sa pureté primitive."

Valikhanoff (the son of a Kirghiz chief in the Russian service, whose name, Valí Khán, with the affixed Russian patronymic ending *off*, is significant of Russia's progress among those tribes) writes :† "The language.....spoken in Káshghar is altogether unknown to European savants", and Prof. Vámbéry, in quoting him, adds that this language "has incontestably the most primitive words and formations amongst all Turkish forms of speech."‡

In the Turkish of Káshghar and Yarkand (which some European linguists have called *Uïghur*,§ a name unknown to the inhabitants of those towns, who know their tongue simply as *Túrki*), we can obtain a glimpse backwards at a state of the language when the noun (which in Western Turkish is almost inflected) was but a rude block, labelled if necessary by attaching other nouns, &c., to show its relation to the remaining words of a sentence, as in Chinese. Of these attached words we can still see the meaning and special force, and can even use some of them as independent parts of speech (see below in Chapter III and Chapter VII, Numerals). It requires scientific dissection to extract and realize the meaning of the genitive element in the Latin word "rosæ," for instance ; but the Túrki genitive *ulus-nung* ("tribe's," lit. "tribe property") bears its origin on its face, and it cannot be very long ago that the word "*nung*" or "*neng*" would have been used freely to mean "goods" or "possessions", as it is in the Kudatku-Bilik‖ (translated by Prof. Vám-

* Page 250, edition 1820.

† See Messrs. Michel's "Russians in Central Asia".

‡ Vámbéry's "Chagataische Sprach-studien", p. 3.

§ This would seem in many cases to be a misnomer as applied to the modern language of Káshghar.

‖ E. g. *üla neng* "bestow (thy) property."

béry). The mark of the accusative *ni* is at the present day in common use as an independent pronoun signifying "what".

When we follow these affixes into Western Turkish, they seem to have lost their initial consonants, and to have sunk into mere inflectional terminations.*

At the early period above referred to, the verb was perhaps a mere noun of action, destitute of any conjugation, although afterwards labelled by means of certain syllables (originally independent words) to indicate the several times and modes of the action. Such compound words, which could hardly be considered verbs, would apply equally to the *agent*, the *action*, and the *object* acted upon. In this stage the Túrki verb would have answered to the description of the same part of speech in an allied tongue: "The Tibetan verbs must be regarded as denoting, not an action or suffering or condition of any subject, but merely a *coming to pass*... ...they are destitute of what is called in our languages the active or passive voice, as well as of the discrimination of persons, and show nothing beyond a rather poor capability of expressing the most indispensable distinctions of tense and mood.....The inflection of verbs...is done in three different ways:.....(*c*), by adding [to the Root] various monosyllabic appendices, the Infinitive, Participles, and so called Gerunds are formed." [Dr. Jaeschke's Tibetan Grammar, printed at the Moravian Mission Press at Kyelang, in British Láhaul, Chapter VI, §§ 29 and 30], (see also page 262, below).

A further development of the language would consist in also labelling these verbal nouns with the several pronouns or the corresponding possessive affixes (according as the desired sense might require) to point out the subject of the action; and thus were at last obtained several tenses of a real conjugation.

* This will be seen by an inspection of the following comparative statement:—

	Root.	Káshghari Post-positions.	Osmanli terminations.
Nom.	*át*	....	....
Gen.....	*át*	*ning*	*-ung (uñ)*
Dat.	*át*	*gah*	*-ah*
Acc.	*át*	*ni*	*-i*
Abl.	*át*	*din* &c.	*-tín* &c.

All these stages of the Túrki verb formation co-exist in the present language of Yárkand. If one asks a man whether he has seen so-and-so, he replies: "*körgan.*" This word may denote equally "the person who sees", "the thing seen", and "the action of seeing." But in a case of ambiguity, or for greater emphasis, he might also answer: *körgan-im bár* (lit. "*my* seeing exists"), or *körgan-man* (lit. "*I* the seer"). In one case the possessive (*im* "my"), and in the other the personal pronoun (*man* "I"), is affixed; and thus the 1st Person singular of two (Indefinite) Past Tenses is formed. These are the two typical modes of forming the persons of a tense, and there is no other.

Out of such simple materials is the whole Turkish conjugation produced, which Prof. Max Müller compares to a tree with innumerable branches, each of which is bowed down to the earth by the weight of the fruit which it bears. The above form, *kör-gan*, is but one of the several verbal nouns produced from the root *kör*; the same root when labelled with other affixes, instead of *gan*, denoting different times (tenses) or modes (moods) for the action, forms various verbal nouns and participles. These participles, either attached to pronouns as above, or in composition with auxiliary participles which are so attached, produce the whole of the 270 (and odd) tense-persons of which a primary Túrki verb conjugation consists.

Rémusat charges the Eastern Túrki (Ouigour) with employing no true auxiliary verb, *i. e.*, according to his definition, an auxiliary personal future or past tense applied to a participle, either *future* or *past* (not *present*). "Il résulte de cette combinaison, des plusque-parfaits, des futurs, des parfaits composés, toutes choses inconnues en Ouigour."

A further acquaintance has revealed to us, at least in modern Ouigour ("actuellement la langue des habitants des villes depuis Khasigar jusqu'à Kamoul"), all these things which M. de Rémusat had missed. Such tenses as *qelip-idim*, "I had done", *qelip-bolurman*, "I shall have done", *qela-durghan-boldum*, "I have determined to do" (lit. "I have become about to do"), answer completely to the above definition. Thus the Túrki tongue leaves nothing to be desired in the way of tense varieties.

But this is not all; for the root itself previous to the addition of any tense or mood terminations may have its meaning or application modified by other affixes (producing secondary Verbs, Passive, Causative, Reciprocative, &c.). By the accumulative faculty of the Túrki tongue these produce numbers of fresh forms. Like a gambler who "doubles all round", each of them adds to the former stock of words a number equal to that which existed without it. Going round to each tense of the original verb and of its compounds, it lays down another by its side. One peculiarity of the process called "playing double or quits" is, as

pointed out by Thackeray in the case of Mr. Deuceace, that after a given number of repetitions (which may be easily calculated) the original stake will have swollen to the size of the National Debt. Fortunately there is a limit to the number of times that a Túrki verb can double its tenses; but still it reaches a figure which sounds most formidable to those who do not know that they can acquire it by a process of multiplication, and are not bound to add each unit separately to the mass of their knowledge.*

With all these possible combinations before him, the Túrk of the East appears to construct his words on each occasion from the elements at his disposal (as a compositor sets up type), rather than to employ ready-made or stereotyped forms. He accumulates affix upon affix until he has completed his meaning, instead of looking about him for a single word to which that meaning is already assigned.† Hence his belief that his language is arbitrary and dependent only on his own will (notwithstanding the fact that he really, though unconsciously, works on distinct and simple principles), and hence also the fact that to him each element of his words retains its separate vitality and meaning. When a Frenchman says "vous êtes," he has ordinarily no notion that in the termination "—tes" he is repeating the pronoun "vous" in another form. But an Eastern Túrk is perfectly aware of the meaning of the termination in the words *dursiz*, "ye are," *kelghaningiz*, "ye have done" ('your doing exists'), and will not hesitate to use the same pronouns in other applications (as *siz-ga-birdim* "I gave to you," or even superfluously prefixed to the verb, as *siz dursiz*, "ye are"; and so also *ât-ingiz*, "your horse").

As has been justly pointed out by Prof. Max Müller, among nomad families and tribes the tendency to adopt peculiarities and corruptions of language is constantly being neutralized by meetings and by the necessities of intercourse with other families or tribes among whom no such peculiarities, or different ones, have sprung up; while these meetings do

* It may easily be calculated how many separate elements require to be retained in the memory, in order to remember the vast number of forms of a single Eastern Turkish verb. Thus there are about 13 participial (and root) stems, and 25 different syllables or words used in the formation of tenses (including pronouns, auxiliary roots, and participles). There are also 6 modifying syllables, making the secondary verb-forms. Thus absolutely only 44 verb-elements require to be learned by rote, the combinations and permutations of which suffice to make up the entire Túrki verb conjugation amounting to nearly 29,000 possible forms applicable to each separate (transitive) verb root. See N. B. at end of "Verbs."

† In Eastern Túrki "un-get-at-able-ness" would be a perfectly legitimate form (indeed quite a characteristic one). Vide *Yet- at- mas- lik*, *&c.*
attain able not ness.

not usually last long enough to allow of the growth of peculiarities common to the whole nation. When people, however, settle down in communities and towns, a certain number of expressions become worn down, as it were, by daily use, and in such a state of society these corruptions would be likely to become fixed and permanent. In this process the rationale of the various formations becomes less evident; the elements of the words are so fused together as to become indistinguishable; from want of recognizable examples men cease to put together unconsciously each word as they want it, and begin to use only those to whose sound they have become accustomed, and which are as it were ready-made. Thus the language loses in its richness of perhaps superabundant forms. It leaves the fluid and enters the solid state.

Even in Central Asia such a process has begun in the towns and villages. Who would recognize in the short word *wopti* the compound tense *bol-up-ir-d-i*, "it had become." Yet a native of Khokand, who will use the former in conversation, will spell it out at the full length of the latter if he has occasion to write it. He has not yet lost his sense of the full force of every one of the five elements that build it up. To a stranger who knew that the infinitive was *bolmáq* (or even *wolmáq*), the pluperfect *wopti* would seem a most irregular form, and would be no guide in forming the pluperfects of other verbs.

The Yárkandi (who lives further East) has not proceeded so far in his corruption of the word. He contents himself with shortening it into *bolupti* (showing greater respect for the root). So *aparado* (or, as the Andijânis say: *aparade*) is used, where the true form is *al-ip-bár-a tur-ur*, lit. "having taken (he) going is standing" (*viz.*, "he is taking away"). The intermediate steps are *alip-bára-trur*, then *alip-bàra-dur*, then *ap-bára-dur*, and then *apara-dur*; the corruption going on independently in the several members of the word, converting *alip* into *ap*, fusing the initial *b* of *bár* with the preceding *p*, and turning *turur* finally into *do* or *de*. So also the imperative of another compound verb is shortened from *al-ip-kel* to *apke* or even *akké*. And thus some words travel West, from the desert their birthplace, leaving a letter behind them in each country where they halt, but bearing the scars indelible on their bodies.

In extending itself towards Europe the Turkish tongue seems to approach the inflectional stage of development. Even in such forms as *wopte*, *apke*, and *do* (for *turur*), the root itself, the very sanctuary of an agglutinative language, has been invaded. But, moreover, in Western Turkish the affixes or terminations have become so far blended with the verb that their origin has been lost sight of. Some Grammarians in their analysis have mistaken, for instance, the pronominal affixes for parts of

an auxiliary verb. Thus *kilrum* is by them supposed to be formed from the participle *kilur* and the word *im* "I am" (which is in reality no verb, but a pronoun). M. de Rémusat, in his most learned and interesting researches on the Tartar Languages, sees an anomaly in the fact that, while both in Osmanli and in Ouigour (defined as "encore actuellement la langue des habitants des villes depuis Khasigar jusqu'à Kamoul") there exist the tenses, *kilur-um* and *kil-dum* formed respectively with two tenses of the substantive verb, *viz.*, *im* (*um*), "I am", and *idum* (*-dum*), "I was"; yet this verb only exists in Osmanli, and not in Ouigour. In other words, that tenses in a primitive Turkish language, (Ouigour) are formed by means of another verb which only exists in a later dialect (the Osmanli).

"Pourquoi n'y retrouve-t-on pas plutôt le radical Ouigour *erdi*, ou *dour*, ou *dourour?* Quelle cause peut avoir introduit un élément étranger dans la conjugasion des verbes, la partie la plus intime de la grammaire? Ce fait peu connu, si j'avais réussi à en bien exposer toutes les circonstances, offrirait, ce me semble, un problême philologique assez curieux à résoudre."

The answer is interesting and illustrates the progress of language. The seeming problem results from the degree to which forms, clear enough in Eastern Túrki, have become corrupted and obscured in Western Turkish. Taking the Past Tense, *idum*, &c., first, this certainly exists in Ouigour, where it is written *erdim* (ايردیم). The modern Kàshghari supplies the missing link by writing this word as above *erdim* or *irdim* and pronouncing it *idim*. Thus the Ouigour "radical" or auxiliary *erdi* which M. de Rémusat desired, is really present in the tense '*kildum*', '*kildi*', under its later form '*idum*', '*idi*', whose absence from Ouigour he laments.

Next taking the Present Tense *kilar-um*, formed with a supposed Pres. Tense of the Verb Substantive, *viz. im* "I am", &c.—the following comparison with the corresponding Kàshghar (so called Ouigour) or more primitive tense will solve the problem, or rather will show that there is none:—

	Osmanli.			Primitive. Kashghar (Ouigour.)		
	Participle.	*Supposed Verb Substantive.*		*Participle.*		*Affixed Pronouns.*
S.	1st.	kelur	*um*	kelur	...	*man* (=I)
„	2nd.	kelur	*sen*	kelur	...	*sen* (=thou)
„	3rd.	kelur	—	kelur	...	—
Pl.	1st.	kelur	*iz*	kelur	...	*miz* (=we)
„	2nd.	kelur	*siz*	kelur	...	*siz* (=ye)
„	3rd.	kelur	*lar*	kelur	...	*lar* (=they)

It is plain that the Osmanli terminations are merely survivals of the primitive affixed pronouns.*

In no case can it be allowed that such a series of dissimilar syllables is really one tense, or that they are parts of the verb "to be."† An examination of the Yárkand and Kàshghar dialects accounts for them in another way; and even were this not the case, analogy is against such irregularities of form in a Turkish verb, no sign even of a common root being apparent in the different persons.

Thus, if the Ouigour (Kàshghar) form of Turkish does not possess such a Verb Substantive as *im* "I am" (as M. de Rémusat justly says), so neither does the Osmanli. There is no element in these Osmanli tenses which does not exist independently in the so-called Ouigour or Eastern Túrkistáni. Though I have taken Rémusat's words as my text (because they themselves suggest the comparison with a more primitive dialect), yet it would seem that many Grammarians are under the same misapprehension with regard to the supposed Osmanli substantive verb. The pronominal affixes have become so blended in the verbs, as almost to lose all trace of their origin, and what is this but a long step towards inflection.

Thus in the varied dialects of that wide-spread tongue which is spoken over 70 Degrees of Longitude, extending from under the shadow of the Great Wall of China and the head waters of the Yellow River almost to the shores of the Adriatic, we see a whole volume in the history of language unrolled before us. Nearly every stage in the development of speech, between the monosyallabism of China at one end and the highly developed inflectionalism of Europe at the other, can be studied in the dialects spoken by that Turkish race which forms a link between the extreme East and the extreme West of the Old World.

It is hoped that an account, however imperfect, of the more Easterly or primitive form of this tongue will not be without interest to students.

In the following pages it will be noted that the Perfect Participle has been written with a *p*, whereas in the Extracts it will be found to end in a ب (*b*). But it must be remembered that the Túrki writers

* If it be urged that besides the use of the syllables *im*, *sen*, &c., as verb-terminations, they are also used with substantives and adjectives, &c., in the sense of the verb "to be"; this may be paralleled by the Eastern Túrki usage by which pronouns are affixed (without any verb) to substantives and adjectives and other pronouns, and yet do not cease to be pronouns: e. g. *kichik-man* "I (am) small"; *Túrk-san*, "thou (art) a Túrk;" *shu-man*, "I (am) he". The verb "to be" is simply 'sous-entendu' in these cases.

† The present tense of *irmak* "to be" would be *ira-man* or *irur-man*, *irur-san*, &c. This tense is found in old books.

are very chary of wasting more "*nuqtas*" than they can help, and make but seldom a difference in writing (and sometimes in speaking) between پ and ب and between ڃ and ج. The sound given to the final letter of the Perfect Participle is distinctly that of *p*, as may moreover be discovered from the fact that it hardens the dentals which follow it (in affixes), e. g., *bolu(p)-ti*, and not *bolu(b)-di*, as would be the case according to the Rules of Phonetic Variation (which see) if the final consonant were soft.

Again, it will be seen that I have written *aït-*ᴛ*i*, *ket-*ᴛ*i*, whereas in Túrki manuscripts these words are often written *aït-*ᴅ*i*, *ket-*ᴅi. This latter spelling is due to a recollection of the origin of the formation (*viz.*, the presence of the auxiliary *irdi* or *idi* in a shortened form), but the pronunciation is in fact that of a double *t*; as in English the word written as "cupboard" is pronounced "cubboard." The Túrki writers, however, very frequently recognise this pronunciation by merely putting a "tashdíd" over the *t* instead of preserving the *d* in the second place (ت for تد).

CHAPTER I.

THE LETTERS.

The letters employed in writing by the inhabitants of Eastern Turkistán are the same as those in general use among Muhammadan nations, *viz.*, those of the Arabic alphabet. It is needless to describe their system of writing at any length since it is known to all Oriental scholars; only the peculiarities of pronunciation, form, or use, will be noted here.

A, *á* in the beginning of words is often pronounced very broad (like *aw*); as in *át* = horse (pronounced *awt* or *ot*).

In other parts of a word, if preceding several consonants together, it is also often pronounced broad.

Ex.: *bâshqa* = other (pronounced *boshqa*).

In other cases, however, it resembles the *a* in *father*.

The short pronunciation of *a* is that of our words *ordinary*, *oriental*, *America*, &c.

In some words the *a* is pronounced like the English *a* in 'hand', 'than', &c.

Ex.: *Yarkand*, pronounced something between that spelling and '*Yerkend*;' *at*, 'name', pronounced like the English word 'at' (almost *ett*).

N. B.—As the people of Eastern Turkistán are rather uncertain in their use of the long vowels in writing, the use of them in short syllables being common and not implying any lengthening of the sound, in the following pages the broad mark (*á*, *é*, *í* and *ú*) will only be introduced when the *sound* is long, and not invariably wherever long vowels are used.

Ex.: باشلاماق will be written *báshlamáq* (pronounced almost *boshlamock*). Although there are three 'alifs', yet only the first and third are pronounced long or broad. So also with the other vowels.

ب پ B & P, often interchanged in writing, and often confounded in pronunciation.

ت T, the ordinary oriental, or soft European sound.

ج چ J & Ch, often interchanged; when preceding consonants, they both of them tend towards the pronunciation of the French '*j*'; hence in that position they are often confounded with one another and with *sh*.

Ex.: '*ichku*' = goat, almost like '*ishku*' (and, *vice versâ*, the word *tapshurdi* has been found written *tapjurdi*).

Before vowels the distinction is better kept up.

Ex.: *chiqmàq*, *jabduq*.

ح H, a harsh guttural aspirate, but yet distinct from the following letter. The Eastern Turkistánís put below it the mark usually denoting the other oriental *h*.

خ *Kh*, the German *ch* (as in *machen*, not as in *ich*).

د *D*, the ordinary sound.

ر *R*, do. But the Yárkandís often swallow it altogether when it precedes another consonant, and sometimes in that case omit it even in writing.

Ex.: *arpa* = barley, pronounced *apa*; *irdi*, *irmas*, pronounced and often written *idi*, *imas*.

ز *Z*, the sound as in '*zeal*.'

س *S*, the ordinary sound. The Túrkís write this letter with three dots reversed beneath the letter.

ش *Sh*, the sound of the French *ch*, or the German *sch*, or of *sh* in the English word *shall*. (See remarks under *J*.)

ع the oriental letter ''ain', a sound inexplicable in writing.

غ *Gh*, the oriental letter 'ghain', resembling in sound the Parisian '*r* grassayé', or the Northumberland 'burr', sometimes interchanged with ق, *q* (see Chapter II, "Phonetic changes of Consonants").

ف *F*, often interchanged in pronunciation, and even in writing, with *P*; as '*Fádshah*' for '*Pádshah*'; '*farwah*' for '*parwah*', and *vice versâ*, '*pursat*' for '*fursat*'.

ق *Q*, pronounced far back in the throat with a kind of choking effort. The Yárkand pronunciation of it is rougher than that of the Persians. Sometimes interchangeable with غ *gh* (see "Phonetic Changes").

ك *K*, the ordinary sound, as in the English word '*keep*'.

گ *G*, the ordinary sound, as in *get*, never as in *gin*. *K* and *G* are sometimes interchangeable (see "Phonetic changes"), and in manuscript the second stroke is generally omitted.

نگ *ng*, is pronounced as in English, but the *g* is not separately or distinctly sounded even before a vowel. The pronunciation is that of "*hanger*", not of "*anger*".

ل *L*, the ordinary sound.

م *M*, do.

ن *N*, do.

و *W* or *O* or *U*. As a consonant, the same as the English *w*. As a vowel, there are four varieties of pronunciation, not distinguished by any difference in the vernacular writing, *viz.* :—

O, as in *bone*.

Ö, (German sound). Ex.: *kön* (day) rhymes with G. *schön*, but is pronounced a little shorter.

U, (English *oo*). Ex.: *bu*, (this) pronounced *boo*.

Ü, (French *u*) or German *ü* or *ue*. Ex.: *ülmak* (to die): the sound of *ü* in German 'über'.

ه *H*, the common aspirate.

ى *Y* or *E* or *I*. As a consonant, pronounced like the English *y*; but the Yárkandís often give it a slight sound of the French *j*: as *yüz* (side), pronounced '*jüz*' (French *j*), and *iké* (two), pronounced *ijké*. As a vowel, either long *è* (the French sound in "père", the same as the English diphthong *ay*), or short as in *then*; or else *i* (either short as in '*bit*,' or long as in '*machine*').

THE VOWEL MARKS.

The Eastern Turkistáni written language possesses, though it seldom uses, the ordinary Oriental vowel marks. The entire system of spelling is

in theory that of the Arabic alphabet; but as this system is a foreign adaptation, and not a home-growth (for the Eastern Túrki existed both in a spoken and in a written form before the introduction of Arabic into the country), we find many traces of imperfect fitting between the language and the writing that conveys it.

Even in books we meet with the same word spelt in different manners; but more especially is the divergence apparent in the want of distinction between the sounds represented by the short vowel marks "zabar" (ـَ), "zer" (ـِ), and "pesh" (ـُ), and by the long vowels "alif" (ا), "ye" (ي), and "wáo" (و) respectively. These latter are often pronounced short, *e. g.*: دين pronounced *din* (from) as though written دِن, while in Persian it would be pronounced *dín* (faith). The "pesh" over a consonant is often pronounced like an *i*: *e. g.*, تُش *tüsh*, pronounced *tish* (tooth).

The Yárkandís on the whole seem to use the oriental vowels much like we use our own. That is, they rather ignore the system of vowel-sounds as inherent in consonants, and consider a written vowel almost necessary to complete a syllable, whether long or short.*

CHAPTER II.

PHONETIC VARIATION.

The Root of a Verb never changes in any formation; nor does any Substantive† or Adjective. But there are numerous syllables capable of being affixed, whose vowels and consonants vary with those of the word they are attached to, according to certain general rules which are not without exceptions.

A somewhat similar fact in European languages (as regards the consonants) is the change of the Latin prefix *ad* into *ac* in the word *accept*, into *at* in the word *attain*, and into *af* in the word *affix*, &c.

* I have found خبر spelt خابار, &c.

† Excepting when a final *q* or *k* softens into a *gh* or *g* respectively before an affix. *See* p. 256.

The guiding principle of the Túrki variation seems to be this: that the mouth and throat having assumed a certain shape for the pronunciation of certain sounds, it is difficult in the compass of the same word to shift the position of the organs; or, when a hard breath is coming out, to change it suddenly into a soft breathing; and *vice versâ*.

Thus, if the throat has been put into the half choking state necessary to pronounce the 'ghain' (*gh*) or the 'qáf' (*q*), and another guttural comes immediately afterwards, it is difficult to prevent this being sounded with the same choking effort (or, in other words, it is difficult to shift forward suddenly the place of utterance); and *vice versâ*.

Thus it will be found comparatively easy to pronounce *sarigh-qul* (where two choking gutturals follow one another); but a difficulty will be found in trying to say consecutively *reg qum* (the Persian and the Túrki words respectively for 'sand'), where the contact between the root of the tongue and the back part of the palate (for the *g*) has to be shifted suddenly back into the throat for the *q*; and still more difficult to give the proper sounds to each of the so-called gutturals in the following compound: *àq kupruk* ("white bridge"), where the initial *k* will almost inevitably retain some of the choking *q* sound, unless a fresh breath be taken.

An effort is required, and this the Túrkis avoid.

Thus, (*a*) *Gutturals (so called) of either class*, which may be roughly designated as common [*k* and *g*], and true (choking) [*q* and *gh*], when contained in a root *tend to bring any guttural contained in an affix into the same class.*

So again, when one has pronounced the syllable *yet*, it is easier to complete the word with a *t* than with a *d*. Thus *yet-di* becomes changed into *yet-ti*, for the same reason that *cup-board* has become *cubboard* in English pronunciation. So *pit-gan* becomes *pit-kan.**

On the other hand after the liquids *r* and *l*, which only require a soft utterance, it would require a fresh effort of the breath to bring out the hard sounds of *k*, *q* or *t*, so *g*, *gh* or *d* are used.

Ex.: *bár-ghan* "going"; *kel-di* "he came".

Thus, (*b*) *Hard consonants at the end of the root tend to harden the utterance of the guttural or dental of the affix, and vice versâ.*

* * * * *

The principle is the same in the case of the vowels. When the tone of a word, as it were, is in *u* (*oo*), say, the Túrkis continue that sound, or one complementary to it, in certain of the affixes.

* See *post*, Specimen pieces (copy of Passport): "*Yárkand-ga khidmat-ka.*" Here *ga* and *ka* are the same word, but the initial guttural is softened after the final *d* of *Yárkand*, and hardened after the final *t* of *khidmat*.

Ex. : *ur-dum* not *ur-dim*
tösh-lök not *tösh-lik*.

Such are the principles on which the practice seems to rest. The following are generally the rules by which these principles work ; but they must be considered rather as tendencies than as rigid laws, and they only act where no other consideration interferes.

It is not all affixes that are liable to variation. Some seem to partake of the unchangeable nature of the roots. The particular affixes which are liable to phonetic variation will be pointed out in the following pages.

PHONETIC VARIATIONS OF CONSONANTS.

Final Letter of Root (*Simple or Compound*).	Consequent initial of Affix.			
	Guttural.			*Dental.*
	Usually after *t, k, g, n,* in body of Root.		Usually after *b, p, ch, d, s, m, l, y, q,* in body of Root.	
	ordinary.		*choking.*	
a, d, e, g, h, i, j, l, m, n, o, r, u, z, Ex. 1, (See below).	g	or	gh	d *Soft*
	or		or	
ch, k, q, p, s, sh, t. Ex. 2, (See below).	k	or	q	t *Hard*

[*N. B.*—If the root ends with either of the consonants with which the affix *may* begin, there is simply a re-duplication.
Ex. : *tig-gan* not *tig-kan*.]

Ex. 1 : *sakla*-ghan, *sakla*-di, from *sakla-mak* = to take care of.
kel-gan, *kel*-di, from *kel-mak* = to come.
qel-ghan, *qel*-di, from *qel-màq* = to do.
tut-ma-ghan, from *tut-màq* = to seize.
kön-ga, "to a day", *yol*-gha "to a road".

Ex. 2 : *ishit*-kan, *ishit*-ti, from *ishit-mak* = to hear.
ket-kan, *ket*-te, from *ket-mak* = to go.
kech-kan, *kech*-ti, from *kech-mak* = to pass over.
qàch-qan, *qàch*-ti, from *qàch-màq* = to flee.
tish-ka, "to a tooth", *yàsh*-qa, "to an age".

Thus, in the above examples the final letter *l* of the root *kel* determines that the initial letter of the participial affix shall be a *soft* guttural (*g* or *gh*) rather than a *hard* one (*k* or *q*); while the *k* of the same *kel* determines which of the two soft gutturals should be chosen, *viz.*, the *ordinary* one *g*, and not the *true* (choking) one *gh*.

On the other hand, in the example *qel-ghan*, while the letter *l* again compels the choice of a *soft* guttural, the other root-consonant *q* necessitates the adoption of the *true* (choking) soft guttural *gh* rather than of the *ordinary* one.

In *ket-kan* again, we have the *hard* guttural induced by the final *t* of the root, while the other root-consonant *k* being *ordinary*, determines that the hard guttural used in the affix shall be of the same class.

It will be seen that there is a cross division of the gutturals; 1st, into *soft* (*g* and *gh*), and *hard* (*k* and *q*); 2nd, into *ordinary* (*g* and *k*), and *true* (choking) (*gh* and *q*).

Thus the rules given above may be re-stated in other words, *viz.*, that the *former* of these cross divisions is the one affected by the final letter of the roots, while the *latter* division is that over which the other letters of the root bear rule.

In the dentals there is only a simple division into soft and hard (*d* and *t*), affected only by the final letter of the root.

Any word ending in a *k* or *q* softens the final letter into *g* or *gh* respectively before an affix beginning with a vowel (and sometimes even before consonants). Ex. *kunglak* "a coat", *chaukan kunglag-i* "a young woman's coat"; *sariq* "yellow", *Sarigh-chopan* (the name of a place).

It may be added that the letter *q* seems to have a certain affinity to the broad sound of *á*, and the letter *k* to its short sound (almost like an *e* as in the English word *hat*). Thus ماق (*máq*) is pronounced almost like "*mock*," while ماك (*mak*) is pronounced as in "MacAndrew" (almost *mec*).

On the other hand, the vowel *e* seems to take its broad sound with the *k*, and its short sound with the *q*: *e*: *g*: *kel-mak* "to come" (pronounced almost "*cail-mec*"); and *qel-màq* "to do" (pronounced almost "*kill-mock*").

PHONETIC VARIATION OF VOWELS.

1. Whenever the affix begins with a Vowel and the Root ends with one, the latter prevails.

Ex.: *achku'm* (*achku* = key, and *'m* possessive affix of 1st Person).

N. B.—With a final diphthong there is no elision; the chief vowel

(see Rule 2) induces the corresponding vowel for the affix. Ex.: '*tüi-üp*'.

2. In all other cases the affix assumes a vowel corresponding with the chief Root vowel, as follows:—

Root Vowel or Diphthong.	*Corresponding Vowel for Affix.*
1. *a ai*	*i*
2. *e*	*i*
3. *i*	*i*
4. *o*	*u*
5. *ö*	*ö*
6. *u*	*u*
7. *ü*	*ü*
8. *oï*	*u*
9. *uï*	*i*

Ex. (1). til*a*-d*i*m [*tila* (verb-root) and *d'm* (affix of 1st person Past)].
(5). kör-d*ö*m [*kör* (verb-root) and *d'm* (affix of 1st person Past)].
(1). tàp-*ip* [*tàp* (verb-root) and *'p* (affix Perf. Participle)].
(2). kel-*ip* [*kel* (verb-root) and *'p* (affix Perf. Participle)].
(4). soq-*up* [*soq* (verb-root) and *'p* (affix Perf. Participle)].
(7). tüi-d*ü*m [t*üi* (verb-root) and *d'm* (affix of 1st person Past)].
(2.) ket-*ing* [*ket* (verb-root) and *'ng* (affix 2nd person)].
(6.) q*u*m-l*u*q [*qum* = sand, *l'q* (substantival affix)].
(1). bàsh-l*i*k [*bàsh* = head, *l'k* (substantival affix)].
(6.) y*ü*k-*ü*ng [*yük* = baggage, *'ng* (affix 2nd person)].
(4.) yòl-n*u*ng [*yòl* = road, *n'ng* (affix genitive case)].
(6.) àzu*q*-*u*miz [*àzuq* = food, *'miz* (possessive affix 1st pers. Plural)].
(1.) gunàh-*i*miz [*gunàh* = sin, *'miz* (possessive affix 1st pers. Plural)].

If there is more than one affix, each is affected by the preceding one as if this were the Root (both as to *consonants* and *vowels*).

Ex. 1: '*tut-ma-ghan*'; '*tut-al-ghan*', (without the affix *ma* or *al* interposed, the last affix would take the form *tut*-k*a*n). So *yört-öng* with the affix *lar* interposed becomes *yört-lar-ing*, not -ö*n*g.

2. '*bil-mang*' ('*bil-ma-'ng*'); '*kel-tur-up*' ('*kel-tur-'p*') (Cf. *bil-ing*, *kel-ip*). Often the first affix has itself been affected by the Root. Ex.: '*bil-in-ip*', '*tut-ush-up*.'

CHAPTER III.

THE SUBSTANTIVE.

The PLURAL of Túrki words is formed by affixing the syllable *lar* (which does not vary phonetically); and whenever this syllable occurs with a Substantive, it comes immediately after the root or radical portion of the word, which root is in every case inalterable.*

Ex.: *ât-lar* = horses (from *ât* = a horse).
ata-lar = fathers (from *ata* = a father).

There are no ARTICLES in Túrki Grammar.

There is no difference of GENDER in Túrki.

Besides the above, two other sets of attached syllables or affixes are taken by the Substantive:—

(*a*). The first set is that of the POSSESSIVE Terminations. They are affixed to Substantives, &c., governing other substantives or pronouns in the genitive case, in the manner that will be seen below.

SINGULAR.	POSSESSIVE AFFIXES.	EXAMPLES.
1st person	*'m*†	*ât-im* = *my* horse; *put-um* = my foot; *ata-'m* = my father. See the Rules of Phonetic variation (vowels).
2nd „	*'ng*	*yer-ing* = thy place; *achku-'ng* = thy key. (Vowel variable.)
3rd „	*i* or *si*	*yol-i* = his (her *or* its) road; *ata-si* = his (*or* her) father. The vowel is not variable. The form *i* is used after a consonant and *si* after a vowel or a silent *h* termination.
PLURAL.		
1st person	*'miz*	*uï-'miz* = our house; *ât-imiz* = our horse. (Vowel variable.)
2nd „	*'ngiz* or *'nglar*	*qiz-ingiz* = your daughter; *yört-önglar* = your country. (Vowel variable.)
3rd „	*i* or *si*	*yört-i* = their country. (Same as 3rd person Singular.)

* Except by the softening of a final guttural *k* or *q* into *g* or *gh* before an affix. See p. 256, at bottom.

† The apostrophe marks the place of the variable vowel in the affixes; *'m* therefore is a general form to express *im*, *um*, *öm*, &c.

As before mentioned, the Plural affix of the noun, where employed, precedes these (as well as any other) affixes.

Ex.: *át-lar-im* = my horses.

yört-lar-ing = thy countries [to be distinguished from *yört-önglar* = your (Pl.) country.]

yört-lar-inglar or *yört-lar-ingiz* = your countries.

Again:—*yol-i* = his (her, its or their) road.

yol-lar-i = his (her, its or their) roads.

These Possessive Affixes are merely subsidiary to the regular Possessive Pronouns (or Nouns in the genitive, in the case of the 3rd person), which, as in European languages, precede the governing Nouns. This will be further treated of in the Chapter on Pronouns.

(*b*). The second set of Affixes that may be attached to Nouns answer the purpose accomplished by declensional inflections and by prepositions in the classical and modern languages of Europe. For the sake of clearness they will be here classed under the ordinary declensional headings or cases; though these Affixes have not yet grown into the words they are attached to, as in the inflectional languages, but remain separate POST-POSITIONS.

CASES.	SUBSTANTIVE.	POST-POSITIONS.	ENGLISH.
Nominative	*át*	...	a horse.
Genitive	*át*	*ning* [*nung* or *nang*]*	of a horse.
Dative	*át*	*gha* [*qa*, *ka* or *ga*]†	to a horse.
Accusative	*át*	*'n* / *ni* (Possessive)	—'s horse. / a horse.
Locative	*át*	*da*	in (*or* at) a horse.
Ablative	*át*	*din* [or *dan*]	from a horse.
		birla or *bilan*	with a horse.
		&c., &c.	

N. B.—The Possessive form of the Accusative is employed as a Possessive Affix of the 3rd person only.

Ex.: *Pádsháh-ning át*-in *alip-kel*, Bring the king's horse.

Any of these Post-positions (Sec. *b*.) may be agglomerated on to the end of any of the Possessive Affixes (Sec. *a*.) going through the whole declension with each of the latter.

Ex.: *yol-um-nung, yol-um-ga, yol-um-ni, yol-um-da, &c., át-lar-imiz-din, &c.*
road my of, road my to, road my (acc.), road my in horse (pl.) our from

The order in which the Affixes treated of in this Chapter take their

* See "Phonetic Variation of Vowels." The Yarkandis have a preference for the form *nang*.

† See "Phonetic Variation of Consonants."

places (when present) after the Noun, is as follows: 1st, Noun; 2nd, Plural Affix; 3rd, Possessive Affix; 4th, Post-position.

Ex.: üi—*lar*——*i*——*ning* = of his houses.
(Noun) (Pl. Aff.) Poss. (Post-pos.)

qiz—*lar*——*ingiz*——*ga* = to your daughters.
(Noun) (Pl. Aff.) (Poss. Aff.) (Post-pos.).

Sometimes the Genitive post-position *ning* is omitted, and only the Possessive affix of the other noun retained, *i. e.*, two nouns are placed in apposition, the latter of them in the *possessed* form of the 3rd person; this is done when the compound is a common one in frequent use, as in English "house-door", door-key", "sun-light."

Ex. *nàs kutu-si* = "a snuff-box" (for *nàs-ning kutu-si*).

Qol kap-i = "a hand-cover" (*i. e.* glove).

Yuz-bàsh-i = a centurion, lit. "the head of a hundred."

Note.—Derivation of the declensional Affixes of the Genitive and Accusative. The affix of the Genitive may be represented (as has been seen above) by the formula *n'ng*, which becomes *ning*, *nung*, &c., according to the vowels of the word that it is affixed to. Now I imagine that this may be originally the same as the substantive *neng*, which in the ancient form of Túrki called Uighur means "thing" or "property." [See Vámbéry's "Uigurische Sprachmonumente", Vocabulary, p. 208.] In order to express the idea of the genitive, *e. g.*, to say "the Chief's horse", the Túrkis would find the mere apposition of the word *Bèg* "Chief", by the side of the word *áti*, "the horse (his horse)", insufficient to discriminate between possessor and possessed; so they would label off the owner by the affixing of the word "*neng*", meaning "property".

Thus they would say "*Bèg neng áti*", which would mean "Chief property the horse". Here "Chief-property" or "Chief's property" would be the general description of the class of things to be denoted, amongst which one thing is afterwards more particularly designated by saying "the horse". Thus we first get the *genus* (genitive), and then the particular individual in that genus. [See Max Müller's "Lectures on Language," Vol. I, p. 114, Fifth Edition "*.....casus generalis*, the general case, or rather the case which expresses the *genus* or kind. This is the real power of the genitive."]

A more uncertain derivation is that of the Accusative affix *ni*. The same syllable also forms the Túrki word for "that" or "what (that which)". Thus *àt-ni mindi* may perhaps be really "horse that-which he rode"; *nan-ni yedur*, "bread that-which he is eating", *i. e.*, "he rode a horse", "he is eating bread". The affix *ni* thus would point out the object of the verb, its subject being left undistinguished, as it is indicated by the affix of the verb itself.

Possessive Affix, 3rd Person. It has been seen above that the Possessive Affixes corresponding to the several persons are as follows :

1st *yol-um* = my road.
2nd *yol-ung* = thy road.
3rd *yol*-i = his road.

In the Accusative, however, as we have also seen, there is another Possessive Affix of the 3rd Person.

1st *yer-im-ni* = my land (acc.), or *yol-um-ni* = my road (acc.)
2nd *yer-ing-ni* = thy land (acc.), *yol-ung-ni* = thy road (acc.)
3rd *yer*-in = his land (acc.), *yol*-un = his road (acc.)

as well as *yer-i-ni, yol-i-ni.*

It seems that this same Possessive Affix of the 3rd person was formerly used in all the oblique cases (not the accusative only). The following expressions have been found in an old verse :—

Turkistán-ning yer-in-*da khâli imas erân-lar.*
Har bir qulach yer-in-*da yàtur mardán erân-lar.*
" In the land of Turkistán there is no lack of heroes.
In every fathom of its soil there lie heroic men."

Thus in old Túrki the Possessive Affixes (at least for the oblique cases) ran thus :—

1st ——— 'm
2nd ——— 'ng
3rd ——— 'n

a usage not yet quite obsolete in Eastern Turkistán and which seems to have been generally retained in the more Western dialects.

CHAPTER IV.
THE ADJECTIVE.

The Túrki Adjective does not change at all, either for the different cases or for gender or number.

Further details regarding it will be found under the heads of "Formation" and "Syntax".

The Comparative of Adjectives (and Adverbs) is obtained by adding the affix *rak, ràq* or *rák* :

Ex. : *obdán* = *good ; obdán-rák* = *better.*

The Superlative is generally formed by inserting the object of comparison (or at least the word *hamah* = "all") in the genitive and putting the adjective* into the *possessed* form (3rd person).

* This adjective thus becomes for the nonce a substantive : "the best" = "the one who is best."

Ex.: *Muhammad-ning dîn-i hamah dîn-lar-ning ulugh-i* = Muhammad's Faith (is) the great (est) of all Faiths.

Bu hamah-si-ning chung-i = (lit.) "This (is) the big(gest) of all of them"; or as we should say: "This is the biggest".

Hamah àt-lar-ning yakhshi-si alip-kel = (lit.) "Bring the best of all the horses, *i. e.* "Bring the best horse."

The DIMINUTIVE is formed by the affix *ghana* (both the *gh* and the first *a* being subject to Phonetic variation).

Ex.: *kichik-kina* = tiny little.
khush-ghana = rather happy.

THE PRONOUN.

The PERSONAL PRONOUNS are, in the Singular: *man* = I, *san* (or *sen*) = thou, *ul* = he, she *or* it; and in the Plural: *biz* (or *bizlar*) = we, *siz* (or *sizlar*) = you, *ular* (for *ul-lar*) = they.

N. B.—As, in polite conversation, the forms *biz* and *siz* are often used with reference to a single person (like our word *you*), the other forms *bizlar*, *sizlar* are employed, when there might be a doubt, to denote plurality.

These pronouns receive the affixes of the different cases exactly in the same way as substantives do [Substs. Sec. *b*.]

Ex.: NOM. *man* I
GEN. *man-ning* or *maning* ..... of me
DAT. *man-ga* ..... to me
ACC. *man-ni* or *mani* ..... me
LOC. *man-da* ..... in me
ABL. *man-din* ..... from me, &c., and the others in like manner.

However, the 3rd Person Singular changes the *l* into an *n* before the Gen., Dat., and Loc. affixes, and before the Abl. affix *din*, viz., *un-ning* or *uning*, *un-ga*, *un-ni* or *uni*, *un-da*, *un-din* (instead of *ul-ning*, *ul-ga*, &c.). Before *birla* and some other post-positions, it takes the Gen. form viz., *uning birla* = "with him (in the unity of him)."*

In the oblique cases *an* is often used for *un*; as *aning* instead of *uning*.

The POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS are simply the Personal Pronouns with the genitive affix, viz.—

Maning = my; *saning* = thy; *uning* or *aning* = his or her; *biz-ning* or *biz-lar-ning* = our; *siz-ning* or *siz-lar-ning* = your; *ular-ning* = their.

* In speaking of persons, the *genitive* of this pronoun is generally used before any of the post-positions, *e. g.*, *uning-ga* = to him (instead of *un-ga*); *uning-din* for *un-din* [not with the Acc. post-pos., however]. Compare Vámbéry's "Uigurische Sprach-monumente", p. 35, where a similar rule is mentioned as prevailing in the ancient tongue of Uigurs. The same also sometimes takes place with *man* and *san* (I and thou).

We have already seen (Subst., Sec. *a*) that there is a set of possessive terminations or affixes of each person applicable to nouns. These possessive terminations are not generally of themselves sufficient to take the place of the ordinary possessive pronoun (or noun in the genitive). These also are frequently used and come before the noun, as in the following Table:

POSSESSIVE

	Pronoun.	*Noun Termination.*
my	= *maning*	*'m*
thy	= *saning*	*'ng*
his, her or its	= *uning* or *aning* (or ——**ning*)	*i* or *si*
our	= *biz-ning*	*'miz*
your	= *siz-ning*	*'ngiz* or *-'nglar.*
their	= *ular-ning* (or ——**lar-ning*)	*i* or *si*

Ex.: *maning ât-im; saning yer-ing; tàgh-ning yol-i; biz-ning üi-'miz;*
me of horse my thee of place thy mountain of road its us of house our
siz-ning qiz-ingiz; ular-ning yört-i.
you of daughter your them of country their.

As before, the post-positions of the various cases may be affixed to these compounds as may be necessary.

Ex.: *maning ât-lar-im-din* = from my horses.
me of horses my from

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS: *ul* or *u* = that there (or he); *shul*, or *shu* = that here; *bul* or *bu* = this; *shu-bu* or *ush-bu* = this very, &c. These, when used before a substantive, are indeclinable, as adjectives. But when used alone, they receive the usual affixes of case and number, like a Noun or a Personal Pronoun.

In the oblique cases of the Singular, the *l* of *ul*, *shul* and *bul* changes into an *n* (which vanishes before another *n*); while the *b* of *bul* becomes *m* in those cases.

	SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
Ex.: Nom.	*shul* or *shu*	*bul* or *bu*	*shu-lar*	*bu-lar*
Gen.	*shu'-ning*	*mu'-ning*	*shu-lar-ning*	*bu-lar-ning*
Dat.	*shun-ga*	*mun-ga*	*shu-lar- ga*	*bu-lar-ga*
Acc.	*shu'-ni*	*mu'-ni*	*shu-lar-ni*	*bu-lar-ni*
	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

ADJECTIVAL PRONOUNS. Under this head may be classed the compounds formed by other Pronouns and the affixes *dak*, *dàq* or *dàgh* and *cha*. The former of these is the same as the affix *dik* (in common use), and implies "likeness." The second, *cha*, expresses "amount" or "extent."

* This blank represents a noun.

Exs. of the former : *mun-dàgh* = this-like.
shun-dàgh = that-like, such.
Exs. of the latter : *mun-cha* = this amount, this much.
shun-ga-cha = to that amount, so much.
and combined : *an-dàgh-cha* = to an amount similar to that.

Used as Adjectives, these are indeclinable ; but they are also sometimes employed alone, in which case they take the usual post-positions. [They are also employed as Adverbs.]

The particle *ki* or *gi* is used almost as a Pronoun. It answers to the Hindustáni "walla." Thus *maning-ki* = mine, *Bàdshàh-ning-ki* = the King's. It therefore takes the place of some noun which is understood between the speakers. It receives the usual post-positions ; for instance, if a horse is in question, one may say "*Kim-ning*-KI-*ga mindi*" = whose did he ride ? "*maning*-KI-*ni urdi*" = he struck mine. The English word "one" most nearly expresses it : "the *one* belonging to me," &c.*

We shall see in the Syntax that this (or its parallel forms *gi* or *ghi*) takes the place of a relative pronoun in subordinate sentences.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS are *kim* = who ? ; *ni* = what ? The latter with the addition of the interrogative affix *mu* or *ma*, makes *ni-ma* = what ? ; with *cha* it makes *ni-cha* = how much ? ; with the Persian *chand* it makes *ni-chand* = how many ?

Again a number of these words are derived from an obsolete *qàï* = which. Thus, with the possessive affix, *qàï-si* = which or who (of them) : *qàï-dàq* = what like ?

Probably as corruptions of these have arisen the forms *qàn-dàgh* = what like ? and *qàn-cha* = how much ?

Several adverbs also are derived from *ni* and *qàï*.

All these interrogative pronouns (excepting *ni*) take the usual affixes.

Ex. : *qàï-si*-'MIZ "which of us"
nima-NI *aïtti* "what said he ?"

* * *

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS are *kim-ersa*† = some one ; *nim'-ersa*† = something, also *ni-ersa*† = something ; *ni-chand* = a certain number ; *kishi* = somebody, also used substantively for "a person ;" *hama* (P) and *hama-si* = all, *or* the whole (of it *or* them).

* This also is an old Uïgur form. See Vámbéry's "Uïgur. Sprach-monumente", p. 35.

† Perhaps compounded with *irsa* "may be" [the Potential of *irmak*] ; thus *kim-ersa* would be "who (ever it) may be," *ni-ersa* "what (ever it) may be." See Kudatku Bilik, Introd., *hargiz kim irsa..qelmaï-turur* "whosoever he may be...he does not make" ('qui que ce soit...ne fait.')

Reflective Pronoun: *öz* = self, is used instead of the Demonstrative or Possessive Pronoun when this pronoun refers to the person or thing which is the subject of the sentence [like the use of *khud* in Persian, and *áp, apna* in Hindústání]. The Reflective Pronoun is affected by the possessive affix of each person, and by the post-positions, where necessary; and if it is governed in the genitive by a noun, that noun takes the possessive affix of the same person:

Ex.: *öz-öm-ning át-im* = my own horse.
self my of horse my
öz-öngiz-ning yört-lar-ingiz-ga = to your own countries.
self your of country (pl.) your to

Sometimes the possessive termination and the genitive post-position are omitted from the *öz*.

Ex.: *öz ikhtiyar-im* = my own choice, for *öz-öm-ning ikhtiyar-im*.

When used merely like the word "self" in English, it takes the possessive terminations before the post-positions (if any) just like a noun.

Ex.: *öz-öm* = myself; *öz-öm-ning* = of myself, *öz-öm-ga* = to myself, &c.

öz-öng = thyself; *öz-öng-ning* = of thyself, *öz-öng-ga* = to thyself, &c.

öz-i = himself; *öz-i-ning* = of himself; *öz-i-ga* = to himself, &c.

[*Note.*—The *öz* being thus treated exactly like a substantive, suggests the possibility of its being merely a contraction of *yüz* = face; viz. "my face" for "myself."]

CHAPTER V.

THE VERB.

All verbs in Túrki, both primary and derivative ones, active or passive, &c., are conjugated on precisely the same model. One might cut out the radical part of any verbal form, and substitute that of any other verb for it, and, with the exception of trifling phonetic changes, the conjugational frame-work would fit on to the new as well as it did on the original verb-root.

The radical portion of the verb suffers no internal alteration whatever. The conjugation is entirely effected by various affixes which convey the necessary changes of application.

The foundation of the system is the *verb-root*, from which are formed, by addition, several verbal adjectives and substantives which take the place of participles, and refer to the various times or modes in which action can take place.

We will take as an example the verb signifying "to do," of which the root is QEL.

SIMPLE ROOT: QEL; expresses the bare idea of doing.

PRESENT PARTICIPLE: QEL*a*; answers to our own Pres. Part. "doing" [where the root ends in a vowel this Participle adds an *i*: as ISHLA, ISHLAÏ; OQU, OQUÏ.]

PARTICIPLE OF CONTINUANCE: QEL*ár* or QEL*ur*. (See p. 297, note †.) This Participle seems to indicate a continuance or non-completion in the action of the verb, and is used, as will be seen, for all tenses requiring such a meaning.

PERFECT PARTICIPLE: QEL*ip*; here the vowel of the affix varies phonetically in different verbs, and the general expression for the Perf. Part. affix would be *'p*, the apostrophe being replaced by the proper vowel in each case (see "Phon Var. of Vowels"). This Participle implies the completion of the action.

INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE: QEL*ghàn* [The *gh* changes in different verbs into *q*, *k* or *g*. See "Phon. Var. of Consonants".] This Participle may properly be called Indefinite, both because it refers to no particular time for the action, and also because its application is not confined to either agent or object. In fact it may mean either the "person doing" (the doer), or the "act of doing," or the "thing done."

POTENTIAL PARTICIPLE: QEL*sa* "potential doing." [The vowel does not alter, but is always *a*.]

FUTURE PARTICIPLE: QEL*ghu*. [The *gh* changes as above.] This Participle only survives in composition with certain affixes which give rise to forms in modern use, of which the syllable "*ghu*," &c., supplies the future element. Thus with "*diq*," which implies probability, we get a

[PARTICIPLE OF PROBABILITY: QEL*ghu-diq*. This means "likely to do at a future moment."

PARTICIPLE OF FITNESS: Again, with the affix *luq* (*liq*) implying quality, we have QEL*ghu-luq*, which means "possessed of a do-able quality," *i. e.*, "fit or proper to do, or to be done."]

These forms in themselves merely indicate a "coming to pass" in a general manner at the several times (or tenses) respectively, without connection expressed with any person or thing, either as subject or object. Even in this naked form, however, some of them may be used in making statements, where there cannot be much doubt about the application, especially in the 3rd person.

But usually, to give life to these dead forms, we require the pronouns. The addition of these at once suffices to convert a Participle* into a definite statement of fact, while at the same time they connect it with determinate subjects. Thus *qela* merely means "doing". But add the pronoun signifying "I," and you get the definite statement *qela-man* = I (am) doing.

The *Personal* Pronouns are used as affixes applied to such of the so called Participles as are Verbal *Adjectives*, chiefly for the tenses denoting *present* or *future* action. But the *Possessive* Pronominal Affixes (attached to the Verbal *Substantives*) give either a *past sense* (since a completed action is most essentially the *property* of the person who has done it) ;† or else a sense either of *Duty* or of *Intention*, *e. g.*, "It is *thine* to do," *i. e.*, "do thou," or "it is *my* (intention) to do," *i. e.*, "I mean to do."

To exemplify these formations we will first take two isolated tenses of auxiliary verbs, the first of which is used in a *present* sense, and the other in a *past*. These tenses will also be useful hereafter in the conjugation of a complete verb.

1*st*. DUR (or TURur) is probably a part of the verb TUR-*màq*, meaning "to stand;" the Indefinite Participle is DURghan for TURur-*ghan*. There is also a form DUR-*mish*.

[*N. B.*—The form *dur* having, as it were, lost its independence, and become a mere auxiliary, meaning hardly more than "is" (see *N. B.* p. 276) ; the original verb *tur-mak* (Pres. *tura-man*, &c.) is sometimes brought in as a fresh auxiliary expressing "permanence."]

2*nd*. IRD' (or ID') is the Past of a defective verb IR-*mak*, meaning "to be," of which the Indefinite Participle is IRkan or Ikan, and the Potential Participle is IRsa or Isa. It also possesses a form IR-*mish* or Imish. The rest are absent, with the exception of a Continuative Participle IRur found in old books.

PRESENT AUXILIARY.

Here the simple *Personal Pronoun* is affixed for each person (except the 3rd) :

S. 1. DUR-*man*‡ = (lit.) I stand.
2. DUR-*san* = ,, thou standest.
3. DUR = ,, (he) stands.

* Or any other Adjective &c., (see p. 296).

† Thus answering to the tenses formed with the auxiliary "to have" in modern European languages.

‡ The presence of the pronoun as a termination of the verb does not prevent its being used *before* the verb also, as the subject or nominative, *e. g.*, *man dur-man* = "I stand" or "I am."

Pl. 1.	DUR-*miz**	= (lit.) we stand	or DUK-*miz* (dignified form used in Aksu, &c.)
2.	DUR-*siz*	= „ ye stand	DUK-*siz*.
3.	DUR-*lar*	= „ (they) stnad	DUK-*lar*.

N. B. It will be noticed that when the Pers. Pronouns are thus used as Tense-endings the Pronouns of the 3rd pers. are omitted. In the Singular the stem stands alone for the 3rd pers., and in the Plural, the mere affix of Plurality is added.

PAST AUXILIARY

with the *Possessive Pronominal* affix of each person added:

	1 2		1 2
1.	IRD-*im*	= I was ... (or) past existence	[is] mine.
2.	IRD-*ing*	= thou wert „	„ thine.
3.	IRD-*i*	= he was „	„ his.
1.	IRD-*ik*†	= we were „	„ ours.
2.	IRD-*ingiz*	= ye were „	„ yours.
3.	IRD-*ilar*	= they were „	„ theirs.

[This word is pronounced *idim*, &c., dropping the *r*.]

There is another auxiliary verb BOL-*màq* (root BOL) = to become or be. Its Continve. Participle is *bolàr* or *bolur*, &c. Its Potential Participle is, in regular form, BOL*sa*. Also note a defective verb in the 3rd person singular, *viz.*, "*bár*" = there is.

We have thus as materials out of which to form the Verb-Conjugation, on the one hand 7 *Stem*-elements (Root and Participles, see above), and on the other 10 *co-efficient* elements:—

* Note that *biz* takes the form *miz* when used as a verbal termination. This is a beginning of the process by which the Osmanli personal tense-terminations have become differentiated from their originals, the Personal Pronouns.

† This '*k* is an abnormal form used instead of the possessive affix of the 1st person plural '*miz*. Now this is the only one of the six persons whose possessive affix cannot easily be distinguished from its affixed Personal Pronoun; and this probably led to the substitution of another form for the former in the case of verbs, to avoid confusion in the first person plural, between tenses ending with the Personal Pronoun and those ending with the Possessive Pronoun.

1. The Personal Pronouns *man*, &c.
2. The Possessive Affixes, *im*, &c.
3. The Auxiliary Tense, *dur-man*, &c,
4. The Aux. Tense *bolàr-man*, &c.
5. The Aux. Tense *id-im*, &c.
6. The Aux. Tense *imish-man*,* &c.
7. The Aux. Tense *durmish-man*,* &c.
8. The Aux. Tense *ikan-man*,* &c.
9. The Aux. Tense *irsa'm*,† &c.
10. The Aux. Tense *bolsa'm*,† &c.

Out of these simple materials, by adding each of the latter set in succession to each of the former (with certain omissions), almost the whole conjugation of every verb (with its seeming intricacies) is formed, as we shall now see.

* These are formed in the model of *dur-man*, &c., (with Pers. Pron.).

† These are formed in the model of *id-im*, &c., (with the Possessive Affixes).

SCHEME OF THE TURKI

	Tenses of the Root: Qel	Tenses of the Present Participle: Qela	Tenses of the Continuative Participle. Qelàr
1. With the Personal Pronouns.		*The Simple Present Tense.* Qela-*man*, &c., = I do, &c.	*The Future-Present Tense.* Qelàr-*man*, &c., = I am about doing, &c.
2. With the Possessive Affixes.	*Imperative.* Qel-*ing* (2nd person) = do thou.		
3. With the Auxiliary *dur-man.*		*Compound Future Present Tense.* Qela-*dur-man*, &c. = I am about doing.	
4. With the Auxiliary *bolàr-man.*			
5. With the Auxiliary *id-im.*	*Definite Past Tense.* Qel-'*d-im*, &c., = I did.		*Habitual or Imperfect Tense.* Qelàr-*id-im*, &c., = I was doing (used to do).
6. With the Auxiliary *imish-man.*		*Hearsay Present Tense.* Qela-*imish-man*, &c., = I am understood to do.	*Hearsay Future-Present Tense.* Qelàr-*imish-man*, &c., = I am understood to be about doing.
7. With the Auxiliary *dur-mish-man.*		*Hearsay Compound Present Tense.* Qela-*durmish-man*, = I am understood to be doing.	
8. With the Auxiliary *ikan-man.*			*Future-Present Indefinite Tense.* Qelàr-*ikan-man*, &c., = I may be about doing.
9. With the Auxiliary *irsa'm.*			*Future-Present Potential.* Qelàr-*irsa'm*, &c., = I might be about doing.
10. With the Auxiliary *bolsa'm.*			

VERB CONJUGATION.

Tenses of the Perfect Participle: Qelip	Tenses of the Indefinite Participle: Qelghan	Tenses of the Potential Participle: Qelsa	Tenses of the Future Participle: Qelghu (Qelghu-diq). (Qelghu-luq).
The Perfect Tense. Qelip-*man*, &c., = I have done, &c.	*The 1st Indefinite Past Tense.* Qelghan-*man*, &c., = I have done, &c.		*Probable Future Tense.* Qelghu-diq-*man*, &c., = I am likely to do, &c.
	The 2nd Indefinite Past. Qelghan-*im-bar*, &c., = I have done, &c.	*The Present Potential.* Qelsa-'*m*, &c., = I may do.	*The Intentional Future.* Qelghu-'*m* dur, &c., = I intend to do.
Compound Perfect Tense. Qelip-*dur-man*, &c., = I have done, &c.	*Presumptive Past Tense.* Qelghan-*dur-man*, &c., = I must have done, &c.		*Compound Probable Future Tense.* Qelghu-diq-*dur-man* = I am likely to do.
Future Perfect Tense. Qelip-*bolar-man*, &c. = I shall have done.			
Pluperfect Tense. Qelip-*id-im*, &c., = I had done.	*Indefinite Pluperfect Tense.* Qelghan-*id-im*, &c., = I had done.	*1st Past Potential.* Qelsa-*id-im*, &c., = I might have done.	*Preterite Future Tense.* Qelghu-luq-*id-im*, &c., = I was to do *or* be done.
Hearsay Perfect Tense. Qelip-*imish-man*, &c. = I am understood to have done.	*Hearsay Past Tense.* Qelghan-*imish-man* = I am understood to have done.		
Hearsay Compound Perfect Tense. Qelip-*durmish-man* = I am understood to have done.			
Presumptive Perfect Tense. Qelip-*ikan-man*, &c., = I must have done.	*Presumptive Indefinite Past Tense.* Qelghan-*ikan-man*, &c., = I must have done.		*Future of Necessity.* Qelghu-luq-*ikan-man* = I am to do.
	Indefinite Past Potential. Qelghan-*bolsa'm*, &c., "I may have done."		*Future Potential.* Qelghu-diq-*bolsa'm*, = I may be likely to do.

N. B.—In the preceding Scheme the *stem*-elements occupy each its own vertical column, while the *co-efficient* elements run across the sheet, each in its own horizontal line. Only the 1st persons of the Tenses are given to save space.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE

OF THE

TURKI VERB CONJUGATION.

Extra Tenses of the Root.	*Complex Tenses.*	*Verbal Expressions.*
OPTATIVE OR FUTURE. *(defective.)* S. 1. QEL-*ai* = let me do, *or* I will do. 3. QEL-*sun* = let him do. P. 1. QEL-*ali* or *aliq* = let us do *or* we will do. 3. QEL-*sun-lar* = let them do (*gelsilla*).	(*a*) 2ND PAST POTENTIAL. QELsa'*m-idi* &c., I might have done, &c. (*b*) 3RD PAST POTENTIAL. QEL-'*d-im-irsa*, &c., = I may have done, &c. (*c*) 3RD PAST INDEFINITE. QEL-'*d-im-ikan*, &c., = I may have done. (*d*) COMPOUND FUTURE—PRESENT INDEFINITE. QELa-*dur-ikan-man*, &c., = I may be doing, *or* about doing. (*e*) FUTURE PRESENT PRETERITE. QELa-*dur-id-im*, &c., = I was about doing. (*f*) CONTINUATIVE PLUPERFECT. QELip-*dur-id-im*, &c., = I had been doing.	(*a*) QELish-*im bar*, &c., = I have to do, &c. (*b*) QELmàq-*chi bol-'dum*, &c., = I have agreed to do, &c. (*c*) QELa-*durghan bol-'dum*, &c., = I have determined to do, &c. (*d*) QELa-*durghan-idim* = I was to do. (*e*) QELa-*durghan-dur-man* &c., = I am about doing. (*f*) QELsa'*m bolur-ikan*, &c. = I should do, &c. (*g*) QELsa'*m bolur-idi*, &c. = I should have done. (*h*). QELsa'*m kirak*, &c., = I must do. (*i*) QELigh-*liq-man*, &c., = I am in a doing or done state.
OPTATIVE OR FUTURE. *(complete.)* 1. QEL-*ghai-man*, &c. = I will do *or* let me do, &c.		

CONJUGATION OF THE VERB,

with ANALYSIS.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS—

First applying the *Personal Pronouns* to each of the Participles in turn, we get :

(a) with PRESENT PARTICIPLE—

THE SIMPLE PRESENT TENSE.

1.	QELa-*man* = I do.	1.	QELa-*miz* = we do.
2.	QELa-*san* = thou doest.	2.	QELa-*siz* = ye do.
3.	(Caret, *see* Comp. Pr. Tense.)	3.	(Caret, *see* Comp. Tense.)

*This is a *Simple Present* Tense;

(b) with CONTINUATIVE PARTICIPLE—

QELár-*man* or QELur-*man* = *(lit)*. I (am) continuously doing.

This refers obviously both to the present moment and also to those immediately before and after it. In practice it has obtained special reference to the latter, like our English "I am going to do," and this Tense may therefore be called the *Future Present* :

1. QELàr-man *or* QELàr-*man* "I am doing" or "about doing."
2. QELàr-san "thou art doing" or "about doing."
3. QELàr "he is doing" or "about doing."
1. QELàr-miz "we are doing" or "about doing."
2. QELàr-siz "ye are doing" or "about doing."
3. QELàr-lar "they are doing" or "about doing."

(c) with PERFECT PARTICIPLE—

THE PERFECT TENSE.

1. QEL*ip*-man "I have done" ; *(lit.)* "I (have) completely done."
2. QEL*ip*-san "thou hast done."
3. (Caret, *see* Compound Perfect Tense.)†
1. QEL*ip*-miz "we have done."
2. QEL*ip*-siz "ye have done."
3. (Caret, *see* Compound Perfect Tense.)†

Here there is no doubt about what the meaning must be. The tense is therefore a simple *Perfect ;*

(d.) with INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE—

* The 3rd pers. S. and Pl. being wanting here, the corresponding persons of the Compound Present Tense are made to supply their place.

† The 3rd persons of the Compound Perfect Tense supply the place of the lacking ones in this Tense.

QEL*ghan-man*, &c., *(lit.)* "I (was at some time or other) a doer." This is simply a general statement, and would be used in answer to the question: "Have you ever done so and so?" It would not be used to specify any particular action. It may be called

THE 1ST INDEFINITE PAST TENSE.

1. QEL*ghan*-man "I have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-san "thou hast done."
3. QEL*ghan* "he has done."
1. QEL*ghan*-miz "we have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-siz "ye have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-lar "they have done,"

(c.) with the PARTICIPLE OF PROBABILITY—

THE PROBABLE FUTURE TENSE.

1. QEL*ghu-daq*-man *or* QEL*ghu-diq-man*,* "I am likely to do."
2. QEL*ghu-daq*-san "thou art likely to do."
3. (Caret, *see* Compound Probable Future Tense.)
1. QEL*ghu-daq*-miz "we are likely to do."
2. QEL*ghu-daq*-siz "ye are likely to do."
3. (Caret, *see* Compound Tense.)

II. Having thus applied the Personal Pronouns all round, we proceed to do the same with Possessive Affixes, whose vowels (1st and 2nd Persons) vary phonetically according to the prevailing vowel of the root, as in the case of substantives.

POSSESSIVE AFFIXES—

(a.) with the ROOT—

QEL-*ing* = doing (is) thine=it is thy business to do; QEL-*ing-lar* = doing (is) yours, it is your business to do. This is therefore simply an *Imperative*, viz., "do thou" and "do ye." In this sense of course the 1st and 3rd Persons are not used. There is another Imperative form QEL-*ghil* or QEL-*ghin*; and, as in most languages, also a forcible Imperative, being the shortest possible form of the verb, *viz.*, the Root: QEL = do.

THE IMPERATIVE.

2nd S. { QEL "do." / QEL-ing "do thou." / QEL-*ghil* do. / QEL-*ghin* do.

2nd Pl. { QEL-ingiz "do ye." / QEL-inglar do.

(b.) with the INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE (and the auxiliary '*bár*'):

* The 3rd pers. of the Compound Tense supply the lacking ones of this.

THE 2ND INDEFINITE PAST TENSE.

1. QEL*ghan*-im *bàr* "I have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-ing *bàr* "thou hast done."
3. QEL*ghan*-i *bàr* "he had done."
1. QEL*ghan*-imiz *bàr* "we have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-ingiz *bàr* "ye have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-ilar *bàr* "they have done."

Bearing in mind that the Indefinite Participle *qelghan* has among other meanings, that of "the action of doing," we can see very plainly the origin and intention of this formation. For '*qelghan-im-bár*, must mean literally: "My action of doing exists"; and it can be said to exist as the property of the doer by having been *done* by him. Hence the statement is equivalent to saying: "I have done."* But all the circumstances connected with the doing remain vague. The utmost that is predicated is that the action has not been omitted. Here it is to be noted that the possessive affix *im* changes for the several persons of the Tense while the auxiliary *bàr* remains throughout in the 3rd pers. The reason is obvious on inspection. The Tense is merely a sentence, of which *bàr* is the verb, while the subject takes successively the possessive form of the several persons. Thus the tense is literally a sentence with a varying subject. "My doing is," "thy doing is," "his doing is", &c.
This forms a *2nd Indefinite Past Tense.*

(*c*). with THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPLE:

This would mean "the power of doing (is) mine," *i. e.*, "I may," or "might, do." It is also used in relating a story sometimes, as an Historic tense: *E. g., kelsam, hèch kishi yoq idi*="(when) I came there was nobody (there)." The poss. terminations of the 3rd pers. are omitted. In the Singular the stem stands alone; and in the Plural, the mere affix of Plurality is added.

THE PRESENT POTENTIAL.

1. QEL*sa*-'m "I may do."
2. QEL*sa*-'ng "thou mayest do."
3. QEL*sa* "he may do."
1. QEL*sa*'q "we may do."
2. QEL*sa*-'ngiz "ye may do."
3. QEL*sa*-lar "they may do."

(*d.*) with the FUTURE PARTICIPLE:

* As the form ——— *im-bár* means "there is of mine" or "I HAVE", the above tense is absolutely identical with the English "I have done," which expression is also to be accounted for in the same manner (as above).

QEL*ghu*-'*m-dur* (or *bàr*) &c. This is of course, literally, "my future doing exists (stands)" (for *qelghu*, it will be remembered, is the Future Participle); and as one may be said to make a future action one's own by *intending* it, this comes to mean: "I intend to dŏ." [See latter remarks on *(b)*.] This may be called

THE INTENTIONAL FUTURE TENSE.

1. QEL*ghu*-'m-*dur* or *bàr* "I intend to do."
2. QEL*ghu*-'ng-*dur* "thou intendest to do."
3. QEL*ghu*-si-*dur* "he intend to do."
1. QEL*ghu*-'miz-*dur* "we intend to do."
2. QEL*ghu*-'ngiz-*dur* "ye intend to do."
3. QEL*ghu*-si-lar-*dur* "they intend to do."

Having exhausted the usual combinations of the simple pronominal affixes with the several participial elements of the Verb, and formed thereby nine Tenses, viz., a *Simple Present*, a *Future Present*, a *Probable Future*, a *Perfect*, an *Imperative*, two *Indefinite Pasts*, a *Present Potential* and an *Intentional Future;* we now have recourse to the auxiliaries.

III. AUXILIARY: DUR—

First, the Present Auxiliary *dur*.

[N. *B.*—This is perhaps a contraction from the verb TUR*màq* "to stand," which would make its Continuative Participle TUR*ur* and its Future-Present TUR*ur-man*, which may have become shortened into TR*ur-man*, and then made into *dur-man*. What gives colour to this supposition is that TUR*ur-man* has been found employed as an auxiliary in the place usually filled by *dur-man*. And this auxiliary must be a Future Present, for the form of a Simple Present would be *dura-man*, and not *dur-man*.]

Be this as it may, the auxiliary *dur* is used in a sense implying "to stand" or "be in a condition..." like the Italian "sta bene," "sta male" ("he *stands* well," &c., for "he *is* well.") In some connections (as with the Indef. Participle, &c.) it implies merely probability or presumption (and thus Futurity), in which sense it may be compared with our "I *stand* to win" (see *qelghan-dur-man, bár-durman, &c.)*. Thus we have:

(*a.*) with PRESENT PARTICIPLE—

QEL*a-dur-man*,* &c. = I stand doing *or* to do, I am in the condition of doing; or, as we should express it, "I am doing," or "about doing."

THE COMPOUND FUTURE PRESENT TENSE.

1. QEL*a*-dur-man "I am about doing."
2. QEL*a*-dur-san "thou art about doing."
3. QEL*a*-dur "he is about doing."

* Pronounced in Yárkand and Káshghar "QELA-*doman*," "—*dosan*," "—*do*," &c., and in Khotan "—*toman*," &c.

1. QEL*a*-dur-miz "we are about doing."
2. QEL*a*-dur-siz "ye are about doing."
3. QEL*a*-dur-lar "they are about doing."

This therefore is a *Compound Future Present;* (see remarks on *qelàr-man*).

with the PERFECT PARTICIPLE—

(*b.*) QEL*ip-dur-man*,* &c., = "I am in the condition of completely having done"; or, "I have done."

This is

THE COMPOUND PERFECT TENSE.

1. QEL*ip*-dur-man "I have done."
2. QEL*ip*-dur-san "thou hast done."
3. QEL*ip*-dur "he has done."
1. QEL*ip*-dur-miz "we have done."
2. QEL*ip*-dur-siz "ye have done."
3. QEL*ip*-dur-lar "they have done."

(*c*) with the INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE—

QEL*ghan-dur-man*, &c.* = "I am in the condition of being indefinitely the doer." (For the Indefinite Participle has the meaning of "the doer" amongst others, and this is the only one here applicable.) This combination might be rendered "I stand as *or* for, the doer," and is used in the sense of "I must have done," or "I have probably done." See remarks under DUR. It may be called

THE PRESUMPTIVE PAST TENSE.

1. QEL*ghan*-dur-man "I must have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-dur-san "thou must have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-dur "he must have done."
1. QEL*ghan*-dur-miz "we must have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-dur-siz "ye must have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-dur-lar "they must have done."

(*d.*) with the PARTICIPLE OF PROBABILITY—

THE COMPOUND PROBABLE FUTURE TENSE.

1. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur-man "I am (*or* stand) likely to do."
2. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur-san "thou art likely to do."
3. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur "he is likely to do.
1. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur-miz "we are likely to do."
2. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur-siz "ye are likely to do."
3. QEL*ghu-diq*-dur-lar "they are likely to do."

* Pronounced in Yárkand and Káshghar "QEL*ip*-" and "QELghan-*doman*," "—*dosan*," "—*do*," &c., and in Khotan "—*toman*," &c.

IV. The auxiliary verb *bol-màq* in the Future-Present Tense when applied to the Past Participle of a Verb also gives a Tense :

(*a*) QEL-*ip bolàr-man*, or *bolur-man* &c. = "I shall have done," lit. "I shall be *or* become (in the condition of) having done."

This is the *Future Perfect* Tense.

V. Next we take the Past Auxiliary *irdi* or *idi*, and apply it to the several radical elements.

AUXILIARY : IDI

(*a*) with the ROOT—

QEL-*idim* contracted to QEL-'*dim*. (The *d* and the *i* change according to the Rules of Phonetic Variation.)

[*N. B.*—But it is possible that we ought rather to consider this tense as formed directly in each verb by the addition of a *d* ; as *ir-d-im* itself was formed from the root of *irmak* and the Possessive Affix, &c. But if so, we can still trace this form no further back, beyond knowing that the *d* must confer a kind of substantival meaning* to allow of the application of a Possessive affix, by which combination a *Past* sense is acquired (see explanation of *qelghan-im.)* In this case *qel-d-im* would be literally "my action of doing (exists)," and thus, "I have done."]

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At any rate the form *qel-dim*, &c., is used in the sense of "I did," &c., in relating particular occurrences. It may be called

THE DEFINITE PAST TENSE.

1. QEL-d-im "I did"
2. QEL-d-ing "thou didst"
3. QEL-d-i "he did"
1. QEL-d-iq "we did"
2. QEL-d-ingiz "ye did"
3. QFL-d-ilar "they did"

(*b.*) with the PARTICIPLE OF CONTINUANCE—

QEL*àr-idim* or '*dim*, or QEL*ur-idim* = I was continuously doing. This may be used of an *Habitual* action, "I used to do," but more usually it applies only to a particular Past time, and predicates the incompletion of the action at that time. In other words it is our *Imperfect* "I was doing."

By dropping the final *r* and the initial *i*, and hardening the *d* (to avoid confusion with other tenses), the Yàrkandis get *qelàttim*, which is the word in vulgar use instead of *qelàr-idim*.

* See Max Müller's "Science of Language," Lecture VIII, p. 346 (Fifth Ed.).

THE IMPERFECT OR HABITUAL TENSE.

1. QEL*àr*-id-im (*qelàttim*) "I was doing" *or* "used to do"
2. QEL*àr*-id-ing (*qelàtting*) "thou wert doing"
3. QEL*àr*-id-i (*qelàttí*) "he was doing."
1. QEL*àr*-id-ik (*qelàttiq*) "we were doing."
2. QEL*àr*-id-ingiz (*qelàttingiz*) "ye were doing."
3. QEL*àr*-id-ilar (*qelàttilar*) "they were doing."

(*c.*) with the PERFECT PARTICIPLE—

QEL*ip-id-im*, (Yárkand pronunciation *qeliptim*,) &c., = I was (in the position of) having completely done; *i. e.*, I had done.

THE PLUPERFECT TENSE.

1. QEL*ip*-id-im "I had done."
   or-tim
2. QEL*ip*-id-ing "thou hadst done."
   -ting
3. QEL*ip*-id-i "he has done."
   -ti
1. QEL*ip*-id-ik "we had done."
   -tiq
2. QEL*ip*-id-ingiz "ye had done."
   -tingiz
3. QEL*ip*-id-ilar "they had done."
   -tilar

This therefore is a *Pluperfect*. It would refer to a special act, while the next Tense would be employed in a more general sense.

E. g. "*I had read* his letter just before he arrived" would be rendered by .... *oqu'p-idim;* but "*I had read* Túrki before ever I went to Turkistàn" would be rendered by .... *oqu-ghàn-idim*.

(*d.*) with the INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE—

QEL*ghan-id-im*, &c., = I was (in the position of) being a past doer, (*viz.* a person who had done). This throws back the *doing* before the time referred to, but that *doing* is itself indefinite. Such a shade of meaning has no exactly corresponding expression in English, but roughly it may also be translated: "I had done," or "I had been doing" and the Tense may be called

THE INDEFINITE PLUPERFECT.

1. QEL*ghan*-id-im "I had done."
2. QEL*ghan*-id-ing "thou hadst done."
3. QEL*ghan*-id-i "he had done."
1. QEL*ghan*-id-ik "we had done."
2. QEL*ghan*-id-ingiz "ye had done."
3. QEL*ghan*-id-ilar "they had done."

(*e*). with the POTENTIAL PARTICIPLE—

QEL*sa-id-im*, &c. This would be "the power of doing was mine," *i. e.*, "I might have done" or (with *agar*, "if") "had I done." This is

THE 1ST PAST POTENTIAL.

1. QEL*sa*-id-im "I might have done."
2. QEL*sa*-id-ing "thou mightest have done."
3. QEL*sa*-id-i "he might have done."
1. QEL*sa*-id-ik "we might have done."
2. QEL*sa*-id-ingiz "ye might have done."
3. QEL*sa*-id-ilar "they might have done."

(*f.*) with the FUTURE PARTICIPLE OF FITNESS—

QEL-*ghu-luq id-im*, &c. *Qelghu-luq* meaning "fit to do," this tense may be translated: "I was fit to do," or "I was to do." It is

THE PRETERITE FUTURE TENSE.

1. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-im "I was to do" or "be done."
2. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-ing "thou wert to do" or "be done."
3. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-i "he was to do" or "be done."
1. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-ik "we were to do" or "be done."
2. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-ingiz "ye were to do" or "be done."
3. QEL*ghu-luq*-id-ilar "they were to do" or "be done."

Sometimes the auxiliaries *dur* and *idi* are accumulated one on the top of the other: *e. g. qela-dur-idim* (= I was about doing), and *qelip-dur-idim* (= I was in a continuous condition of having done, *or*, I had been doing).

Before leaving the Auxiliary *idim* we must take notice of the Tenses formed with its derivatory form "*irmish*" or "*imish*," and its Indefinite Participle *ikan*, which, when affixed to certain parts of the Verb and conjugated by affixed Pronouns, reduces their statements to mere probabilities, or makes them conditional.

VI. To express probability, or facts not positively known to the speaker (English "It is understood or believed that," &c.,), there is a whole series of tenses in '*mish*.

The AUXILIARY (IMISH) makes

(*a*). with the PRESENT PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY PRESENT TENSE.

1. QEL*a*-imish-man "I am understood to do."
2. QEL*a*-imish-san "thou art understood to do."
3. QEL*a*-imish "he is understood to do."
1. QEL*a*-imish-miz "we are understood to do."
2. QEL*a*-imish-siz "ye are understood to do."
3. QEL*a*-imish-lar "they are understood to do."

(*b.*) with the CONTINUATIVE PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY FUTURE-PRESENT TENSE.

1. QEL*àr*-imish-man "I am understood to be about doing."
2. QEL*àr*-imish-san "thou art understood to be about doing."
3. QEL*àr*-imish "he is understood to be about doing," &c.

(*c*.) with the PERFECT PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY PERFECT TENSE.

1. QEL*ip*-imish (*or*' mish) -man "I am understood to have done."
2. QEL*ip*-imish-san "thou art understood to have done."
3. QEL*ip*-imish "he is understood to have done," &c.

(*d*). with the INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY PAST TENSE.

1. QEL*ghan*-imish-man "I am understood to have done (at some time or other)."
2. QEL*ghan*-imish-san "thou art understood to have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-imish "he is understood to have done," &c.

VII. The auxiliary *dur* has a similar form ;

THE AUXILIARY (DURMISH) makes

(*a*.) with the PRESENT PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY COMPOUND PRESENT TENSE.

1. QEL*a*-durmish-man* "I am understood to be doing (continuously understood to do.)"
2. QEL*a*-durmish-san "thou art understood to be doing."
3. QEL*a*-durmish "he is understood to be doing" &c.

(*b*). with the PERFECT PARTICIPLE—

THE HEARSAY COMPOUND PERFECT TENSE.

1. QEL*ip*-durmish-man "I am (continuously) understood to have done."
2. QEL*ip*-durmish-san "thou art understood to have done."
3. QEL*ip*-durmish "he is understood to have done" &c.

It must be understood that although the first person of these tenses is given for the form's sake, yet it is of rare occurrence, the 2nd and 3rd persons being more often used ; for a man is generally not in much uncertainty about facts connected with himself, and does not depend on hearsay for information regarding them.

VIII. We next have the Auxiliary Indefinite Participle *ikan* or *ikin*.

* Example from the "Tazkiratu-'l-Bughra" : But-khàna-ni *ita-durmish*—"He is building an idol-temple [I believe,]" *or* "He is understood to be building.....".

Auxiliary Indefinite Participle "ikan" makes

(*a.*) with the Future-Present—

qel*àr-ikan-man*. This is used in asking a question, or in making a statement qualified by "if" or "when".

[*N. B.*—This Tense and the 3 following are as it were, supererogatory, for the "*ikan*" might be omitted without making much difference in the sense. There is just the difference between the English: "What may you be doing?" and "What are you doing?"]

The above may therefore be translated: "I may be doing *or* about doing," and the tense may be called

The Future Present Indefinite Tense.

1. qel*àr*-ikan-man "I may be about doing."
2. qel*àr*-ikan-san "thou mayest be about doing."
3. qel*àr*-ikan "he may be about doing" &c.

(*b.*) with the Perfect—

qel*ip-ikan-man*, &c. Here the introduction of the Participle *ikan*, reduces the positive affirmation of the Perfect into a mere presumption or rumour. The above compound word may be translated: "I may *or* must have done" or "completed doing." We may call it

The Presumptive Perfect Tense.

1. qel*ip*-ikan-man "I may *or* must have done."
2. qel*ip*-ikan-san "thou mayest *or* must have done."
3. qel*ip*-ikan "he may *or* must have done" &c.

(*c.*) with the Indefinite Participle—

qel*ghan-ikan-man*, &c. This is similar to the last with the difference of the indefiniteness inherent in the Participle *qelghan*. The meaning is "I may *or* must (at some time or other) have done," and we may call it

The Presumptive Indefinite Past Tense.

1. qel*ghan*-ikan-man "I may *or* must have done."
2. qel*ghan*-ikan-san "thou mayest *or* must have done."
3. qel*ghan*-ikan "he may *or* must have done," &c.*

(*d.*)* with the Future Participle of Fitness—

qel*ghu-luq-ikan-man*, &c. The Participle *qelghu-luq* means, as will be remembered, "fit or proper to do." The verbal expression derived from it takes in the Present the indefinite auxiliary form in *ikan*. It thus means "I am to do," &c.

* Example from the "Tazkiratu-'l-Bughra": Pàdshàh ni-chand bala-lar-ni kabada *alip-kelghan ikan-lar*. "The king [*it is said*] *had brought* several children in bags." (Le roi aurait apporté. Fr.—Er soll gebracht haben. Germ.).

THE FUTURE OF NECESSITY.

1. QEL*ghu-luq*-ikan-man "I am to do" or "ought to do" or "be done."
2. QEL*ghu-luq*-ikan-san "thou art to do," &c.
3. QEL*ghu-luq*-ikan "he is to do" &c.

The Auxiliaries in the Potential form give us fresh Tenses. Thus *ir-mak* in the Potential is *ir-sa*, and we may take

IX. THE POTENTIAL AUXILIARY 'IR-SA'

(*a.*) with the CONTINUATIVE PARTICIPLE—

QEL*àr-ir-sa-'m*, &c. [*(lit.)* the possibility of continuous doing may be mine.] This would evidently mean "I may be (continuously) doing" or "about doing." But the form *qel-sa'm* is more commonly used.

This Tense may be called

THE FUTURE-PRESENT POTENTIAL.

1. QEL*àr*-irsa' m "I might be about doing."
2. QEL*àr*-irsa-'ng "thou mightest be about doing."
3. QEL*àr*-irsa "he might be about doing" &c.

X. THE POTENTIAL AUXILIARY 'BOL-SA' makes

(*a.*) with the INDEFINITE PARTICIPLE—

QEL*ghan-bol-sa'm*, &c. Literally, "the action of doing may become mine," *i. e.*, "I may have done" [see explanation of *qel-ghan-im bár*]. This may be called

THE INDEFINITE PAST POTENTIAL.

1. QEL*ghan*-bolsa-'m "I may have done."
2. QEL*ghan*-bolsa-'ng "thou mayest have done."
3. QEL*ghan*-bolsa "he may have done" &c.

(*b.*) with the FUTURE PARTICIPLE OF PROBABILITY—

QEL*ghu-diq bol-sa'm*, &c. Literally "the probability of future doing may become mine," *i. e.*, "I may be likely to do." This is

THE FUTURE POTENTIAL.

1. QEL*ghu-diq*-bolsa-'m "I may be likely to do."
2. QEL*ghu-diq*-bolsa-'ng "thou mayest be likely to do."
3. QEL*ghu-diq*-bolsa "he may be likely to do" &c.

This completes that part of the Turki Verb Conjugation which is effected simply by the apposition of the 10 co-efficient elements respectively to the several stem-elements. But there is also a set of Tenses formed from the Root by means of some special co-efficients which are not applicable to any of the other stem-elements (the Participles). Some of these Tenses are defective. They are:

(*a.*) An OPTATIVE for the 3rd Person, which seems to be connected in a certain measure with the Potential form. This is QEL-*sun**=let him do; and in the Plural QEL-*sun-lar* [pronounced in Eastern Turkistán: QEL-*silla*]=let them do. This latter is used as a polite form of address to an equal or superior [conf. the German 'thuen Sie."]

(*b.*) There is another OPTATIVE DEFECTIVE TENSE with only the 1st Persons Sing. and Plur in *-aï*, and *-ali* or *-aliq (alik)*. Together we get:

(*b.*) 1. QEL-*aï* "I will do" or "let me do."
(*a.*) 3. QEL-*sun* "let him do."
(*b.*) 1. QEL-*ali* or QEL-*aliq* "we will do" or "let us do."
(*a.*) 3. QEL-*sun-lar* (*qelsilla*) "let them do" or "be they (you) pleased to do."

(*c.*) The tense formed by affixing the syllable "*ghaï*" (whose guttural varies Phonetically) to the root of the verb, has a similar meaning but is complete in all its persons;

The ROOT
with the AFFIX GHAI: QEL-*ghaï*-man,†=I will do, *or* let me do. This may be called

THE OPTATIVE FUTURE.

1. QEL-*ghaï*-man "I will do" *or* "let me do."
2. QEL-*ghaï*-san "thou wilt do" &c.
3. QEL-*ghaï* "he will do" &c.
1. QEL-*ghaï*-miz "we will do" &c.
2. QEL-*ghaï*-siz "ye will do" &c.
3. QEL-*ghaï*-lar "they will do." &c.

We next have to notice some tenses which could not be brought into the simple Scheme of the Verb, because they are, as it were, quantities raised to the 3rd power, being formed by the application of a co-efficient element to a compound consisting in itself of stem and co-efficient,

They are:

(*a.*) QEL*sa'm-idi*, &c. This, being formed by the application of

* Perhaps this is a corrupted survival of the old Turkish Possessive Affix of the 3rd person (see at end of "Substantives"). Thus QEL*sun* would stand for *qel-sa'n*, which might be compared with *qelsam* = *qel-sa-'m*, and *qelsang* = *qel-sa-'ng*. The meaning of *qel-sa'n* would have been "the power-of-doing (is) his," thus "let him do."
1 2 3 2 1 3

† This form, from the meaning attached to it, would seem to be connected with the Future Participle in *ghu*.

the aux. 3rd pers. Past tense, to the several persons of the Pres. Potential of the Verb, means literally: "my power of doing existed." "Thy power ... existed," &c. It is therefore equivalent to the 1st Past Potential, QEL*sa-id-im* "I might have done." Its possessive affix *'m* changes for the several persons of the tense, while the aux. *idi* remains in the 3rd pers. throughout, like the *bàr* and the *dur* of the 2nd Indef. Past and of the Intentional Future. It is

THE 2ND PAST POTENTIAL TENSE.

1. QEL*sa*-'m-*idi* "I might have done."
2. QEL*sa*-'ng-*idi* "thou mightest have done."
3. QEL*sa-idi* "he might have done."
1. QEL*sa*-'q-*idi* "we might have done."
2. QEL*sa*-'ngiz-*idi* "ye might have done."
3. QEL*sa*-'lar-*idi* "they might have done."

(*b*). QEL-*dim-irsa*, &c. This is the 3rd p. of the aux. potential "*irsa*" added to the several persons of the simple Past. (See Remark, on 2nd Indef. Past.) The literal meaning is "my past doing may exist," *i. e.*, "I may have done." But this form seems to be generally used in the simple sense of *qeldim*="I did," with the *ir-sa* added to give a very slightly potential sense, as after the word "when." This is

THE 3RD PAST POTENTIAL.

1. QEL-dim-*irsa* "I may have done."
2. QEL-ding-*irsa* "thou mayest have done."
3. QEL-di-*irsa* "he may have done."

(*c*.) QEL-*dim-ikan*. Here, in the same way, the 3rd pers. of the aux. indef. "*ikan*" is tacked on to the several persons of the Simple Past of the Verb. The literal meaning is "my past doing indefinitely exists." This has simply the meaning "I did," but is used in asking a question or in making a statement qualified by "if" or "when."

Ex.: *tünü-gön nima ish qel-ding ikan* = "yesterday what mayest thou have done."

This is therefore

THE 3RD INDEFINITE PAST TENSE.

1. QEL-dim-*ikan* "I may have done."
2. QEL-ding-*ikan* "thou mayest have done."
3. QEL-di-*ikan* "he may have done" &c.

(*d*.) QEL*a-dur-ikan-man*, &c. Here the Indefinite *ikan* is interposed before the pronouns of the Compound Pres. Tense. This Tense has simply the meaning of "I am about doing," but is used in the same way as the last.

Ex.: *nima-ish qela-dur-ikàn-san*—"What mayest thou be doing;"

This tense is the *Compound Future-Present Indefinite*, but the simple Fut. Pres. Indef. is more used :

THE COMPOUND FUTURE PRESENT INDEFINITE TENSE.

1. QEL*a-dur-ikan*-man "I may be doing."
2. QEL*a-dur-ikan*-san "thou mayest be doing."
3. QEL*a-dur-ikan* "he may be doing" &c.

(*e.*) QEL*a-dur id*-im. Here the aux. Past Tense *idi* is added to the Compound Future Present *qela-dur-*. As this latter means: "(I am) standing (*or* in a continuous condition of) doing," the above compound is "I *was* in the continuous condition of doing" hence "I was about doing." This may be called

THE FUTURE PRESENT PRETERITE.

1. QEL*a-dur id*-im "I was about doing."
2. QEL*a-dur id*-ing "thou wast about doing."
3. QEL*a-dur id*-i "he was about doing."

&c. &c.

(*f*). QEL*ip-dur id-im*. As *qelip-dur* means "(I am) standing (*or* in the continuous condition of) having done," the above compound means "I *was* in the continuous condition of having done" or "I had done continuously", hence "I had been doing."

In another way, if we remember that *qelip idim* is the Pluperfect "I had done", it will at once be seen that the interposition of *dur* "standing", as *qelip-dur-idim*, must give it a continuative sense: "I had been doing." This is

THE CONTINUATIVE PLUPERFECT.

1. QEL*ip-dur-id*-im "I had been doing."
2. QEL*ip-dur-id*-ing "thou hadst been doing."
3. QEL*ip-dur-id*-i "he had been doing."

&c. &c.

There remain a few forms which, although capable of being conjugated through all the persons and possessing specific meanings, yet being formed from Verbal forms other than the regular stem-elements, or by means of attached words other than the regular co-efficient elements, had better be kept distinct from the regular Tenses, as VERBAL EXPRESSIONS.

(*a.*) QEL*ish-im bár*, &c. Changing the Possessive affix for each person. The form *qelish* meaning "the doing" (see below in "Verbal Substantives") *bár* being the impersonal verb "is," the above expression is literally: "The doing (of so and so) is mine," *i. e.*, "It is mine to do" or "I have to do."

1. QEL*ish*-im *bâr*, "I have to do."
2. QEL*ish*-ing-*bâr* "thou hast to do."
3. QEL*ish*-i-*bâr* "he has to do."
1. QEL*ish*-imiz-*bâr* "we have to do."
2. QEL*ish*-ingiz-*bâr* "ye have to do."
3. QEL*ish*-ilar-*bâr* "they have to do."

[*N. B.*—As the form——'*m-bâr* means "I have," the parallel is complete with "aimerai" (aimer ai) &c. See Max Müller's Science of Language, Vol. 1, p. 258, Fifth Edition.]

(*b.*) QEL-*màq-chi bol-dum*, &c. This is the noun of the Agent (see "Formation of Nouns") derived from the Infinitive by the addition of the affix *chi*, with the Past of the verb *bol-màq* (to become). The literal meaning therefore is: "I have become the doer" or "the one who has to do." As it may be presumed that a person only *becomes* so of his own free will, this expression may be translated: I have agreed to do;" and in this sense it is commonly used.

1. QEL*màq-chi-bold*um "I have agreed to do."
2. QEL*màq-chi-bold*ung "thou hast agreed to do."
3. QEL*màq-chi-bold*i "he has agreed to do."
1. QEL*màq-chi-bold*uq "we" &c.
2. QEL*màq-chi-bold*ungiz "ye" &c.
3. QEL*màq-chi-bold*ilar "they" &c.

Other expressions formed similarly from other tenses of the verb *bol-màq* may also be used, but they are less common, and will, moreover, suggest themselves.

(*c.*) QEL*a-durghan** *bol-dum*, &c. This compound *qela-durghan* (see below: "Verbal Adjectives") means: "about to do." Hence the present expression is equivalent to: "I have become about to do." There is more action of the will expressed here than in the last [for QEL-*màq-chi* is only "one who has do," whereas *qela-durghan* means "about to do (actually)"]. Therefore while the previous form is only used in the sense of "*I have agreed to do*," the present expression implies active choice, *viz.*, "I have determined" or "formed the resolution to do."

1. QEL*a-durghan (qelatgan) bold*um "I have determined to do."
2. QEL*a-durghan-bold*ung "thou" &c.
3. QEL*a-durghan-bold*i "he" &c.
1. QEL*a-durghan bold*uq "we" &c.
2. QEL*a-durghan bold*ungiz "ye" &c.
3. QEL*a-durghan bold*ilar "they" &c.

* Pronounced in Yárkand "*qelado-ghan*," or "*qelàtgàn*."

Other tenses of *bol-màq* are used with this; also *durman* and *idim*: e. g.

(*d.*) 1. QEL*a-durghan (qelàtqàn) id*-im "I was to do."
2. QEL*a-durghan-id*-ing "thou wert to do."
3. QEL*a-durghan-id*-i "he was to do."
&c.

(*e.*) 1. QEL*a-durghan (qelàtqàn) dur*-man "I am about doing."
2. QEL*a-durghan dur*-san "thou art about doing."
3. QEL*a-durghan dur* "he is about doing."
&c.

(*f.*) QEL*sa-'m bolur ikan*, &c. (The Possessive affix of the *qelsa* changing for the different persons). This expression is very difficult to put into a representative English form; but it shows how distinctly the Eastern Turki language keeps up the recollection of the origin of its verbal forms, and how little these have sunk into consolidated inflections. For here (after the manner of several previous tenses)* the form *qelsa'm*, so far from being looked upon merely as the 1st Person Singular of the Present Potential, is distinctly a Substantive in the possessed form (of the 1st Person Singular), and it is used as the subject or nominative of another verb (*bolur*) in the 3rd Person. By changing the Possessive affix of the "*qelsa*" we should get fresh compound substantives, each of which would again form the subject of the verb *bolur*. Such a series of expressions as these may perhaps be looked upon as a *Tense* in Turki; but they are simply sentences in a certain form with a nominative governing the possessive pronouns of the several persons successively [as in English one might say: my dog runs, thy dog runs, his dog runs, &c.]*

The literal meaning of the expression, however, (as regards the 1st Person Singular), may be said to be as follows:—

QEL*sa*	*'m*	*bolur*	*ikan*†
the power of doing	mine	about to become	may be

or, as it is used in the interrogative usually with *qàïdàgh* (how), we may render it: "[How] may my choice of action be about to come into play?" or in other words: [How] shall my doing be?" *i. e.*, "[How] shall I act" or "should I act?" And so with the other persons, Singular and Plural; the verb "*bolur-ikan*" remaining all through in the 3rd Person Singular. When used not interrogatively, this expression denotes obligation, as "I should" or "ought to..."

1. QEL*sa*-'m *bolur ikan* "I ought to" or "should do."
2. QEL*sa*-'ng *bolur ikan* "thou" &c.
3. QEL*sa bolur ikan* "he" &c.

* See also the 2nd Past Potential and the 3rd ditto, and the 2nd and 3rd Past Indefinite Tenses.

† *Bolur-ikan* is the 3rd Person Singular of the Indefinite Future Present of the verb *bolmàq*.

1. QEL*sa*-'q *bolur ikan* "we" &c.
2. QEL*sa*-'ngiz *bolur ikan* "ye" &c.
3. QEL*sa*-'lar *bolur ikan* "they" &c.

(*g.*) QEL*sa*-'*m bolur idi*, &c. This is the same expression as the last with a Past sense. It means: "should I have done" or "I ought to have done."

1. QEL*sa*-'m *bolur idi* "I ought to have done."
2. QEL*sa*-'ng *bolur idi* "thou" &c.
3. QEL*sa bolur idi* "he" &c.

(*h.*) QEL*sa*-'*m kirak*, &c. The impersonal *kirak* means "it is necessary." The meaning of this expression is therefore (literally) "my potential doing is necessary," *i. e.*, "it is necessary that I should do," or "I must do."

1. QEL*sa*-'m *kirak* "I must do."
2. QEL*sa*-'ng *kirak* "thou" &c.
3. QEL*sa kirak* "he" &c.

(*i.*) QEL*igh-liq-man*, &c. QEL*igh* is a Verbal Substantive (see 'Formation of Substs.') meaning "the condition of doing;" the termination *liq* makes it into an adjective "possessing the condition of doing" or "possessed of the qualification of having or being done." The pronoun affixed makes it into a statement, *viz.*, "I am possessed of the qualification of having or being done." It therefore expresses the attainment of a certain state or condition, and not a mere evanescent action.

1. QEL*igh-liq*-man "I am in a done or doing state."
2. QEL*igh-liq*-san "thou art" &c.

&c.*

N. B.—It will have been noticed in the case of the Possessive affixes used as tense terminations: 1st, that where these are followed by the verb substantive *bàr* or *dur*, the 1st person plural keeps the ordinary possessive affix, *'miz*, instead of the verbal one of the same person, *'q* or *'k* (see first note, p. 268). The 2nd Indef. Past and the Intentional Future are examples of this. 2nd, that when the stem terminates in a vowel, as QEL-*ghu*, the possessive affix of the 3rd person is *si* instead of *i*, according to the Rule (See "Substantives, p. 258.") The Potential is an exception. There the affix of the 3rd pers. is simply omitted.

* To these verbal expressions others might have been added. *E. g.* The following have been found: "Kàshki kimersa *qelghaï irdi*" = "Oh that some-one *had been about to do?*", also *qelghaï ikan* = (oh that he) *were about to do*" or "*were going to do*". But in truth the combinations are endless.

VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

Under this head will be classed those forms which, although represented by Gerunds, Infinitives, &c., in European languages, yet in Turki are real substantives formed from the verb-root, and are treated as such:

(*a.*) QEL*àr* or QEL*ur*; the Continuative. This is governed by post-positions just like any other substantive:

Ex.: QEL*ur-da*="in doing" or "when about to do" (lit. "in the continuance of doing.")

OQU*r-gha maïl qelur-san*=thou wilt choose to read, (*lit.* thou wilt make inclination *to the reading*).

(*b.*) QEL*ghan*; the Indefinite. This is governed by post-positions, and also by Possessive affixes. When used for the *object*, (*i. e.* passively), it would be rendered in English by a relative clause:

Ex.: BIL*ghan-ing*="that which thou knowest," lit. "(thing) known of thee."

When referring to the *action*, it would be rendered in a variety of ways in English, according to the sense:

Ex.: QEL*ghan uchun*="because of doing" or "of having done."
BOL*ghan-din-kîn*="after having become"; lit. "after the becoming."
BOL*ghán-sari*="in the measure of becoming" or "as fast as it becomes."
U"L*ghán-imiz beh-râq dur*="it is better for us to die;" lit. "our having died, *or* being dead, is better."

In this sense, although a substantive, yet it governs the same case as the simple verb, as do all substantives formed from verbs.

Ex.: *yer-ga* KIR*gan-im*="for me to enter the earth," lit. "my entry to the earth."

(*c*). QEL*ish**; the Definite [its vowel is subject to Phonetic change.] This only expresses the action, and never the object. It takes post-positions and Possessive affixes, and governs the same cases as the parent verb:

Ex.: OQU'*sh-um-din*=(lit.) "from my reading".

Siz-lar-ni CHIRLA-'*sh-da*="in calling you," lit. "in the calling (of) you."

Wajúdi-gha QEL*ish-ing* = "thy coming into existence."

Siz-ni ish QELdu*rush-gha tàqat-im yoq* = "I have (there is of me) no power *to make* you work," lit. "to the making."

(*d*). QEL*máq*; the so-called Infinitive also is a substantive taking

* This form is perhaps connected with *ish* "work" or "deed" or "act." Thus *qel-ish* (? for *qel-maq-ning ish-i*) "the act of doing."

post-positions and Possessive affixes ; but always with a Present or Paulo-post-Future sense. Its negative QEL*mas* also takes affixes.

Ex. : QEL*máq-uchun*="in order to do ;" lit. "because of the (P. p. F.) doing."

Saning dîn-gha KIR*mak-ing-ni kh'ahlaï-dur-man*="I wish thee to enter the Faith ;" lit. "thy entry (acc.) into the Faith I desire."

(*e.*) QEL*ghu-luq*. The Participle of Fitness may be used as a substantive with post-positions and Possessive affixes.

Ex. : *siz-lar har-nima de-sa-'nglar de-'nglar, man* QEL*ghu-luq-um-ni qelár-man*="say what you may say, I shall do what I have to do (acc)."

Here QEL-*ghu-luq-um* is "what I have to do," *i. e.* "what is proper for me to do."

(*f*) QEL*igh*. This is more a Derivative than a verbal substantive [see "Formation of Substantives"] ; but it requires to find a place here on account of the adjective obtained from it.* It has always a concrete sense.

Ex. : *ülchak*="scales" from *ülcha-mak*=to weigh.

ülük="a corpse" from *ül-mak*="to die."

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS.

Under this head also are included forms which are not represented in the same way in European languages, but exhibit their real structure very plainly in Turki. They are of course undeclined, as is the Turki rule for adjectives.

(*a*). QEL*ghali;* from QEL, the root, and an affix *ghali* which may probably be broken up into *ghu* the Future-Participle affix, (or ? *gha* the Dative Post-position), and *li*† for *liq*, adjectival affix. Thus QEL*gha-li* would be, literally, 'qualified *to* or *for* (future) doing,' or "in the manner for doing." In common use it means "for" or "in order,‡ to do."

Ex. : KÖR*gali kel-di*="he came in order to see ;" lit. "he came qualified to see."

BOL*ghali una-ma-di* = "he consented not to become" or "in such a manner as to become."

* In some verbs this form gives a verbal adjective, from which a verbal substantive is formed by adding *lik*, reversing the usual course.

† See Vambéry's "Uïgurische Sprach-monumente," p. 39.

‡ With this English expression in fact it corresponds pretty fairly ; "in order" is really only a compound adjective "arranged" "orderly" : *e. g.* "his affairs are in order" ; or a compound adverb : *e. g.* "arrange yourselves in order." Here the adverb may be still further compounded by adding the purpose : "arrange yourselves in order *for* marching (in marching order)" or "in order to march." Or again "go singly in order *for* passing through the gate" or "in order to pass through the gate." Thus the English expression "in order to—" (with an infinitive) is merely a compound adverb, like the Turki form in *ghali*.

BÁRghali *buyur-dum* = "I commanded (him) to go"; viz. "I commanded (him) in order that he should go" or "so that he should go."

(*b*). QELip. The Perfect Participle. This when used in subordinate sentences may be considered as a verbal-adjective qualifying the subject of the chief sentence.

Ex. : *bu káfir-ni üïqu-si-din* UIGHAT-*ip* (*man*) *imán-gha targhíb qel-aï* = "(I) *having awakened* this infidel from his sleep, should persuade him towards the Faith."

Here "having awakened," &c., is obviously the qualification of "I," which is the subject of the main verb "should persuade."

This is the chief form in which a verb enters into composition with another verb. See "Compound Verbs."

This Participle is also used in a Passive sense : e. g. *sinip ketti*, lit. "it has gone broken" (*tùt gayá*, H.) But *sinip birdi* "he broke (it)" (*tor diyá*, H.). Again,

Dozakh DEP *yer*—"the place *called* Hell."

This passive use is less common.

(*c*.) QEL-*ghach*, the Preterite. A similar account may be given of this (see above, first para. of (*b*.) *Qelip*). The meaning is: "after having done."

(*d*). QELa-QELa. The Reduplicated Present Participle. This denotes "continued doing" or "repeated doing."

Ex. : *Sultân shikár* QELa-QELa *Artüsh-ga yetti*="The Sultán, *hunting as he went*, arrived at Artüsh."

QELmaï, the Negative Present="not doing" *i. e.*, "without doing."

(*e*). QELghàn. This indefinite (Past or Present) form does duty also as an adjective; and here again it may apply either to the agent or the object (direct or indirect). Of course as an adjective it is indeclinable :

Ex. : ISHITkan *söz*=the speech heard *(pass.)*.

ALghàn *kishi*=the person taking, *or*, who has taken *(act.)*.

It may be itself joined to a noun or pronoun, which may be either its subject or object.

Ex. : *man*-QELghan *ish*=the work that I do (lit. the me-done work).

shahîd-BOLghàn *yer-da*=in the place where (so and so) became a martyr (lit. in the martyr-becoming place).

(*f*). QELa-*durghan*. The adjective of Paulo-post Futurity; (see remarks, p. 276).

Ex. : *erti* KETA-*durghan Hajji*=the pilgrim who is going to start to-morrow (lit. the to-morrow-about-to-start pilgrim).

but-khàna ITA-*durghan yer-da*=in the place where the idol-temple was (or is) to be built (lit. in the temple-about-to-build *(be-built)* place).

It will be seen that this, like all the forms of the Indefinite in *ghan*,

is applicable to either subject or object (direct or indirect).—*i. e.*, is used either actively or passively.

Negative : QEL*maï-durghan.*

(*g*). QEL*ghu-luq*,—with a Future Passive meaning :

Ex. : QEL*ghu-luq ish*=a work *that has to be done.*

(*h*). QEL*ghu-diq* is active and applies to the agent or subject :

Ex. : *ṣuàbi-ni* TAP*qu-diq ish*=a work *likely to obtain merit.*

(*i*) QEL*igh-liq*, conveying the sense of a condition or state [see 'Verbal Expressions] ;

Ex. : PÜSH*ük-lüq àsh**=food *ready cooked.*

qauhar-birla arà'ish QEL*igh-liq*=ornamented with jewels.

THE NEGATIVE.

The Negative of Verbs is formed by the syllables '*ma*' '*maï*' or '*mas.*'

'*Ma*' is used in the Tenses of the Root, and in the Perfect, Indefinite, Potential and Future Participles, and the Optative ; it precedes all the conjugational affixes.†

Ex. : QEL-*ma* or QEL-*ma*-'*ng*‡=" do not ;" QEL-*ma-dim* " I did not."

(Perf. Parf.) QEL-*ma*'*p*‡ *idi*, " he had not done."

(Indef. Part.) QEL-*ma-ghan-miz*, " we have not done."

(Pot. Part.) QEL-*ma-sa*'*m*, " I may not do."

(Fut. Part.) QEL-*ma-ghu-diq*, " not likely to do," &c.

(Optative) QEL-*ma*'*ï* " let me not do."

'*Maï*' is used for the Present Participle and its Tenses ; or rather, the negative root *qelma* (see last rule) being formed, it comes under the rule (p. 28) by which " where the root ends in a vowel the Present Participle adds an *i*."

Ex. : QEL-*maï-man* "I do not" ; QEL-*maï-durman*, " I am not about doing."

'*Mas*' is used for the Continuative Participle in *ur* or *ar*.

Ex. : QEL*àr-man*, " I am about doing."

QEL*mas-man*, " I am not about doing."

Also for the Infinitive : QEL*mas*=" not to do."

The Defective Auxiliary " *irmak*" has a negative " *irmas*" or " *imas*" which does duty instead of " *dur*" when a negative sense is required. [There is thus a negative Future-Present Tense of *irmak*, but no affirmative in common use.§]

* It will be observed that *püsh-ük* is the same form as *qel-igh*, the *igh* being changed into *ük* by double phonetic change, *viz.* of vowel and of consonant.

† That is, it comes immediately after the Root, or after the compound formed of Root plus the modifying Affixes in the Secondary Forms of a Verb (which see, *post*).

‡ The Affixes beginning with vowels lose their own vowels after that of the negative syllable, which prevails. (See " Rules of Phonetic Change of Vowels").

§ *Irur* is antiquated.

Ex. : *kichik dur-man*, "I am small."
kichik ?măs-man, "I am not small."

This form *imăs* is also sometimes used in compound Tenses, instead of the inserted syllable, to make a negative.

The defective verb *irmak* seems to have no negative form for the past tense ; but the negative Future-Present *imas* is used, prefixed to the (affirmative) Past Tense of the same verb.

Ex. : QEL*ghan imas idilar* for QEL-*ma-ghan idilar*. "They had not been doing."

Tàakhir QEL*ghu-luk imas*, (for QEL-*ma-ghu-luq dur*) "delay is not to be made."

The impersonal verb *bâr* or *bâr-dur*, "there is", "it is," has its negative *yoq* or *yoq-dur*.

THE INTERROGATIVE

is expressed by adding *mu* (vulg. *ma*) after the verb. This syllable generally follows the last of the affixes of the verb ; but in the Tenses of the Present and Future-Present Participle, the interrogative is often used in the middle of the word, in the shape of a mere letter *m* added to the Present Participle.

Ex. : QEL*ding mu* "didst thou do ?" [regular form].
QEL*a-m'-san*, "dost thou do ?" [Present-Part. form].
QEL*maï-m'-san* "dost thou not do ?" [do].

The particle *mu* repeated, stands for English "whether ..... or ....."

E. g. *ma'lúm bol-maï-dur kâfir-mu Musulmân-mu* = "It is not known whether unbelievers or Musulmans."

With the common form *ikan* or *ikin* (Indef. Part., or 3rd pers. of Indef. Past Tense, of *irmak* "to be") the interrogative syllable is prefixed instead of being suffixed, thus *m'ikin* = "is (it) ?" "may (it) be ?" This compound is used, instead of the final interrogative *mu*, wherever *ikan* would be used in the positive. It expresses more of hesitancy between two opinions than the simple *mu*, owing to the peculiar indefiniteness of *ikan :*

Ex. *bu maning-ki* M'IKIN = "may this be mine ?" (*bu maning-ki bàr* MU—would be simply "is this mine ?"). *Ul kishi kela-dur* M'IKIN.* = "will that person come (or will he not, I wonder) ?" *Ul kishi kela-m' dur* would be simply "will that person come ?"

See also "Syntax" §§ 10 and 16 for other examples.

* This however may be said to be merely the Interrogative form of the Comp. Fut. Pres. Indef. Tense. Thus *Kela-dur-ikan* = "he may be about coming" ; *Kela-dur-m'-ikan* (like *Qela-m'-san* in form) = "may he be about to come" ? The effect is the same however.

THE COMPOUND PASSIVE.

The addition of the Auxiliary verb *bolmàq*, "to become," to the Past Participle of the Transitive verb, forms a Passive, which may be conjugated through all the tenses of the verb "*bolmàq*."

Ex. : *oqu'p-bolmàq*, "to be read."
oqu'p-bolghan, "read." (Indef. Past Participle.)
oqu'p-bolàr, "it is about being read."
&c. &c.

For the *Simple Passive* see the Chapter on "Secondary Forms of the Verb."

We may now say a few words about the Impersonal Auxiliary above-mentioned—"*bâr*". This must be carefully distinguished from the verb *bârmàq*, "to go," which enjoys a complete conjugation.

Bàr, (pronounced in Yarkand, *bâ*) the Impersonal Auxiliary, means "there is."* It is also used to connect the predicate with its subject affirmatively, or rather to affirm the existence of the subject as connected with that particular predicate, in the same way that *yoq* denies its existence in that connection.

In that sense it sometimes has the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd Persons affixed to it. It is also sometimes prefixed to the Auxiliaries *durman*, *idim*, and *ikan*, and conjugated by their means as follows :—

PRESENT.

1. BAR-*man* †	or	BAR-*durman*, ‡	"I exist" or "I am."
2. BAR-*san*	or	BAR-*dursan*,	"thou existest," &c.
3. BAR	or	BAR-*dur*	"he exists," &c.
1. BAR-*miz*	or	BAR-*durmiz*,	"we exist," &c.
2. BAR-*siz*	or	BAR-*dursiz*,	"ye exist," &c.
3. BAR	or	BAR-*durlar*,	"they exist," &c.

INDEFINITE-PAST.

1. BAR-*ikan-man*,	"I am" or "may be."	BAR-*id-im*,	"I was."
2. BAR-*ikan-san*,	"thou art," &c.	BAR-*id-ing*,	"thou wert."
3. BAR-*ikan*	"he is," &c.	BAR-*id-i*,	"he was."
1. BAR-*ikan-miz*	"we are," &c.	BAR-*id-ik*,	"we were."
2. BAR-*ikan-siz*,	"ye are," &c.	BAR-*id-ingiz*,	"ye were."
3. BAR-*ikan-lar*,	"they are," &c.	BAR-*id-ilar*,	"they were."

* Primarily it means "existence," but used verbally in the Turki manner it means "there is."

† The present of BAR-*màq*, "to go," would be BARa-*man*, &c.

‡ The tense in *dur* is used, when the fact is merely presumed, to mean "there must be," "there probably is" (H. *howega*). See remarks, p. 276.

In the Negative, the word *yoq* would simply take the place of the word *bár* throughout.

The Auxiliary *bár* is made to supply the place of the verb "to have" which does not exist in Turki, (see Syntax, § 13). It may be used also as a verbal adjective or noun: *e. g.*, *ahl-im bár üi-da* = in the house where my wife is (lit. "my wife-being house in);" *bàr-i-ni tuttilar* = "they took what there was of his" [lit. "the existent (things) of him"].

The Indefinite verb-tense *ikan* is the most usual copula in ordinary sentences.

Ex. *Bu àt-chung ikan* = "this horse *is* big."

Finally any adjective or substantive or pronoun can be prefixed to the Personal Pronouns without any copula*: *e. g.*, *ussâk man*, "I (am) thirsty;" *kichik san*, "thou (art) small;" *üi-da miz*†, we (are) at home;" *Tâjik-lar-din siz mu*, "(are) you of the Tâjik tribe?" *yoq*, *biz Turk-lar-din miz*, "no, we (are) of the Turks" (*i. e.*, of Turkish race). The verb substantive is simply *sous-entendu*, or perhaps its necessity is not felt in a primitive language, as neither is it in the language of children, *e. g.*, "me good", "you horse", "me coachman".

CHAPTER VI.

SECONDARY FORMS OF THE VERB.

The Secondary Forms are produced by certain Affixes added to the Root, conveying some modification of the Primary verb.

These Affixes may be super-imposed one on the other as required.

The new Verb thus formed is conjugated just as the Primary Verb, taking the compound of Root plus modifying Affix or Affixes, as a new Root.

I.—Causatives.

The Turki Causative form gives to a Transitive Verb a Causative sense, while an Intransitive one becomes Transitive. This will be obvious from an example or two:

(*a*). The first form of the Causative is that which applies to Verbs

* A similar practice in Osmanli Turkish (where the abbreviated forms of the pronouns adopted as tense-terminations, are thus used) has misled Grammarians into the belief that the said abbreviated terminational pronouns form a tense of the Verb Substantive. See p. 246 (text and first note).

† Note that it is the *verbal* or terminational form of the Personal Pronouns that is thus used (*miz* not *biz*), as in Osmanli.

ending with a vowel, or diphthong (or sometimes to those with the liquids *r* and *l*) by affixing a *t*.*

Ex: *Ishla-mak* = to work.

Ishla-t-mak = to cause to work.

Tuga-mak = to come to an end, *i. e.* to finish (intrans.).

Tuga-t-mak = to cause to come to an end, *i. e.* to finish (trans.).

Ibár-mak = to send: *ibár-t-mak* = to cause to send.

(*b*). The second form of Causative is that which affixes *ur*,† *tur* or *dur*,‡ or *shur* (in which the Vowel is constant).

Ex.: *püsh-mak* = to be in a cooked state [neuter, not passive].

püsh-ür-mak = to cause to be in a cooked state, *i. e.*, to cook. (Trans.)

kel-mak = to come. (Intrans.)

kel-tur-mak = to cause to come, *i. e.*, to bring. (Trans.)

bil-mak = to know; *bil-dur-mak* = to cause to know, *i. e.*, to inform.

tàp-màq = to receive; *tàp-shur-màq* = to cause to receive, *i. e.*, to entrust to.

[*N. B.*—In the cases of *tuga-mak*, *püsh-mak*, &c., the English language treats the Turki Causative (*püsh-ür-mak*, "to cook," &c.,) as the Primary Verb, and the Turki Primary (*püsh-mak*, "to be cooked,") &c. as the passive of the same. For we should consider the idea ("to cook,") to come before the idea "to be in a cooked state." But the Turki language takes the latter as its primary idea, putting it in the form of a primary (Turki) verb; while it obtains the sense of our simple Active verb by adopting the form of the Causative from what is, in our mouths, a Passive (to cause to be cooked = to cook). This train of thought may sometimes help to account for what may seem to be a non-conformity botween the Turki verbal form and its English expression.]

(*c*). The third form affixes *kur* or *kuz*, the *k* and its vowel changing sometimes according to the Phonetic Rules.

Ex.: *yet-màq* = to reach.

yet-qur-màq or *yet-quz-màq* = to cause to reach.

qel-màq = to do; *qel-ghuz-máq* = to cause to do.

kir-mak = to enter; *kir-giz-mak* = to cause to enter.

* Probably a vestige of the verb *it-mak* "to make." Thus *ishla-t-mak* quasi *ishla-it-mak* "to make to work."

† Such Verbs as have their Causative in *ur* always have their Continuative Participle in *ár* not *ur* to avoid confusion. Ex. *ichmàq* "to drink;" Continuative Participle *ichár*; Causative form *ich-ur-màq*.

‡ According to the Rules of Phonetic Variation for Consonants (the vowel does not change).

II.—The Passive.

(*a*). The first form of the Passive is obtained by affixing *'l, il or ul* (according to the Phonetic Rules, which see) to the Root. If the Root ends in a vowel, that of the Passive Affix disappears.

Ex. : *àch-màq* "to open;" *àch-il-màq* "to be opened."
tari-mak "to sow;" *tari-'l-mak* "to be sown."
oqu-màq "to read; *oqu-'l-màq* "to be read."
tut-mak "to seize;" *tut-ul-mak* "to be seized."

N. B.—It seems probable that the origin of this formation was the addition of the Auxiliary *bol-màq*, "to become," to the Perfect Participle of another verb. The combination still survives with a passive signification, as *tutup-bol-màq*, "to be seized" [See "Verbs, Compound Passive."] This might easily be corrupted to *tutubul-màq** by the elision of *p* before *b* and Phonetic change in the Vowel; and thence the step would not be far to *tutul-màq*,* slurring over the *b* between two vowels.

(*b*). In cases where the Root of the Verb ends in *l*, the Affix of the Passive is changed into *'n, in* or *un* to avoid the clashing of two *l*s.

Ex. : *bil-mak* = to know; *bil-in-mak* = to be known (not *bil-il-mak*).

[*N. B.*—Sometimes a Passive is formed from an Intransitive Primary Verb in the regular form, but its meaning is taken from the Causative.

E. g., *ajra-mak* (intransitive) "to be in a divided state." Passive *ajra-'l-mak*, "to be divided." This is, in point of meaning, the Passive of *ajra-'t-mak*, "to divide" or "to cause to be in a divided state" (Caus.); but in form it is the Passive of the intransitive Primary Verb *ajra-mak* which of course by rights could have no Passive].

III.—The Reflective.

This is formed precisely as the last [Passive (*b*)], but can be applied not only to Verbs whose root ends in *l*, but to all whose sense will bear it. Its meaning is directly or indirectly Reflective; but this sometimes gives rise to special meanings, whose exact connection cannot at first sight be traced.

Ex. : *ur-màq* = to strike; *ur-un-màq* = to strike one's self against; (sp.) to brush against
tolgha-màq = to twist; *tolgha-'n-màq* = to twist one's self, (sp.) to writhe.
oqu-màq = to read; *oqu-'n-màq* = to read to one's self.

* At least one such instance is actually known where *alip bàr-màq* is contracted into *apàr-màq*. It must first have been shortened to *alipàr-màq* and thence (slurring over the *l* between two vowels) to *apàr-màq* which is now in use.

chàq-màq = to strike a light; *chàq-in-màq* = to strike a light of itself; (sp.) to lighten (used of the Lightning).

aya-mak = to withdraw (trans.); *aya-'n-mak* = to shrink (withdraw one's self).

[*N. B.*—There are some Primary Verbs in the Reflective form, or at least of which no Primary form exists; this having probably become superfluous in point of meaning, as for example, with *tuga-mak*, "to come to an end," and *tuga-'n-mak*, "to finish itself;" one of these is obviously superfluous, and might be dropped. Even when the real Primary form has become obsolete, the Secondary Verbs are formed as if from it, and not from the Reflective form.

Ex.: *örga-'n-mak* = to learn, (to put into one's own mind).
makes *örga-'t-mak* = to cause to learn, *or* to teach (others), (to put into another's mind). } as if from *örga-mak* (obsolete)= (to have in mind).
and not *örga-'n-dur-mak*.]

IV.—The Verb of Reciprocity or Companionship.

This form affixes *'sh*, *ish* or *ush** (according to the Phonetic Rule) to the Verb (root or compound). The sense conveyed is that the action is reciprocal between several persons, if the Primary Verb will bear this sense; otherwise it means that the action is performed by several together. Like some of the other secondary forms, this sometimes assumes a special restricted sense, which in English is expressed by a separate word.

Ex.: *üs-mak* "to butt;" *üs-üsh-mak* "to butt at one-another;
tut-màq "to seize;" *tut-ush-màq* "to seize one-another", (specially) "to wrestle;"
oqu-màq "to read;" *oqu-'sh-màq* "to read in company."
ur-un-màq "to brush against." *ur-un-ush-màq* "to brush against one another."

V.—The Verb of Possibility.†

To express the *power* to do or suffer, the Turki language employs no separate Verb (as "I can.....") but adds an affix *àl* to the Verb. This affix remains intact, never changing phonetically as others do.

Ex.: *bàr-màq*, "to go;" *bàr-àl-màq*, "to be able to go."
àch-màq, "to open;" *àch-àl-màq*, "to be able to open."
tut-màq, "to seize;" *tut-àl-màq*, "to be able to seize."
sàt-màq, "to sell;" *sàt-àl-màq*, "to be able to sell."

* Perhaps connected with *ish* "a companion."

† The Osmanli Turkish seems to have no form of Possibility, only that of Impossibility in *ama* or *eme*. This is obviously a relic of the Eastern or primitive affix of Possibility combined with that of Negation: *e. g.*, (Osm.) *yâz-ama-di* for (East. T.) *yâz-àl-ma-di* "he was not able to write."

[*N. B.*—It may be said that this form is simply the apposition of the Verb *àl-màq*, "to take," to the Primary Verb. This is probably the origin of the formation; in fact it is sometimes found written separately with the Pres. Participle of the principal Verb followed by the tense of the Auxiliary *àl-màq*; e. g. *qela-àlmas* = "cannot make"; but, in speaking it has got worn down into a mere formal affix instead of an independent Verb.

Thus the form *bàr'-àlmàq*, *tut'-àlmàq*, &c. may be considered a mere corruption or running together of the full compound: *bàra-àlmàq*, *tuta-àlmàq*, &c.]

Where the Present Participle does not end in *a* but in *i* (in consequence of the Root ending in a vowel, see "Verbs, Pres. Participle", page 28) no elision takes place between the final *i* of the verb, and the initial *a* of the auxy. This helps to distinguish this form from the Passive in these cases:*

Ex.: [Primary Form] *ajra-mak* = to be in a state of division.
[Passive Form] *ajra-'l-mak* = to be divided.
[Form of Possib.] *ajraï-àl-màk* = to be able to be in a state of division.
(Prim.) *oqu-màq* = to read.
(Pass.) *oqu-'l-màq* = to be read.
(Poss.) *oquï-àl-màq* = to be able to read.

Not only one but two or more of these modifying affixes may be used in the same Compound Verb, as will be seen below.

The order in which they should be applied to the Root, when several come together, depends chiefly on the meaning intended to be given. But there seem to be two general rules, viz., that the *negative* affix when used shall come last (before the conjugational ones), while usually the affix of *Possibility* comes next before the negative (if any), or otherwise last of all the modifying syllables.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Ex.: Bir—*il*—*ish*—*tur*—al—maï—*dur*—*man*
Root Pass. Recip. Caus. Possy. Neg. Auxy. Pron.
Modifying Affixes (Secondary Forms) Conjugational Affixes.
8 7 6 5 4 2 1 3
= I am not able to cause (them), to be given to one-another.

With the exception of these two modifying affixes (viz., those of Possibility and of Negation), the order of the others is dictated by the meaning intended. For instance:

Bir-*il-dur-mak* is the Causative Form (in *dur*) of a Passive Verb.

* In other cases the distinction (between the Passive and Possibility forms) is made by the Phonetic change of vowel in the former as against the retention of the *a* in the latter: *e. g.* (Pass.) *tàp*-il-*màq*, (Poss.) *tàp*-àl-*màq*.

(in *il*) obtained from the Root BIR. It therefore must mean "to cause to be given."

Again, BIR-*dur-ul-mak* is the Passive (in *ul*) of the Causative Form (in *dur*) of the Verb BIR-*mak*. Thus its sense is: "To be caused to give."

[*N. B.*—With an Intransitive Verb only one of these two forms would be possible. For with KEL-*mak*, "to come," KEL-*tur-un-mak* would be the Passive of the Causative Form, and would mean "to be caused to come," *i. e.*, "to be brought." But the alternative form KEL-*in-tur-mak* would be the Causative of a Passive Verb KEL-*in-mak*, and such a Verb is logically impossible, since KEL-*mak* "to come," can have no Passive (though it is true a Passive form of certain Intransitive Verbs is used impersonally in a special sense; see "Syntax.")]

Thus each of these affixes modifies the combination *preceding* it, while the resulting meaning is again modified by the next succeeding affix. Each, moreover, may recur (in its varying forms) in the same combination.

Ex.: KIR-*giz-il-dur-ul-mak* = "to be caused to be made to enter", *i. e.* "to be caused to be brought in," where the Causative Affix appears under the forms of *giz* and *dur*, and the Passive under those of *il* and *ul*.

It will be understood that such complex forms are rare. Still, while generally making use of simple ones, the Turkis reserve to themselves the right of employing the longest compounds, and occasionally exercise the right.

[*N. B.*—It will be seen from this that the Turki Verb is capable of a vast number of different forms. There are, as we have seen, five Secondary Root forms besides the Compound Passive. The number of Permutations these are capable of is of course enormous. Many of these would be impossible logically (though not formally), while many would be mere repetitions in point of meaning.

But leaving out the Affix of Possibility (which generally comes last), it may be safely stated that with each of the five remaining forms taken successively as the first affix, at least five combinations can be made, conveying each a distinguishable meaning, which would be recognised by any educated native of Turkistan.

This would give us 5 × 5, viz., 25 compound forms, to each of which could be added the Affix of Possibility, making up 50. But each of these 50 could be used in the negative; so that there are not less than 100 Compound Roots or Bases.

Or the number may be estimated in this way. Prof. Max Müller, by the application in Western Turkish merely of the Causative, Reflective and Reciprocative Affixes, obtains 12 Secondary forms. For the Eastern Turki, if we attach to each of these the Affix of Possibility, we raise the number of forms to 24, each of which can be put in the Negative, making 48.

Now all but the simplest of these are susceptible of a different order in the affixes (giving a difference of meaning, see above). Moreover, affixes may recur in the same combination (see preceding page). If we allow that these methods double the number of basal forms, we shall be well within the mark, and so we may fairly admit the figure 100 given above.

Now there are some 44 *complete* Tenses (or conjugated expressions), and 4 Tenses with only 4 personal forms apiece. Thus we get 280 Tense-persons applicable to each of the 100 Compound Roots or Bases, besides verbal substantives and adjectives. Multiplying the two sums together we see that the number of intelligible forms which a single Turki Primary Transitive Verb-root is capable of giving rise to, is not less than 28,000.

Prof. Max Müller states that "each Verb in Greek, if conjugated through all its voices, tenses, moods, and persons, yields, together with its participles, about 1,300 forms" (Max Müller Lectures on the Science of Language, 5th Ed., Vol., I, p. 305.)

CHAPTER VII.

ADVERBS, POST-POSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, NUMERALS.

THE ADVERB.

Many Adjectives are used as Adverbs without alteration.

Of course it would be superfluous to give a long list of Adverbs, which would be found again in the Vocabulary. But there are certain groups of Compounds which call for notice:

(*a*). First, a large number are formed by means of the Locative Affix *da* = "at" or "in;" also *din* = "from," and *ga* or *ka* = "to:"

qàï-da or *qàn-da* = in what (place)? where?
un-da = in that (place), there.
u'-yer-da = in that place.
uza-si-da = on the top of it.
tuban-da = at the bottom.
ara-si-din = from the midst of it.
nim'-ish-ka &c. = wherefore? (lit.) to what work?

It will be observed that these are merely Pronouns or Substantives in the Locative, Dative, or Ablative cases.

(*b*). The Affix *dik*, *dàq* or *dàgh* gives rise to some Adverbs of similitude.

qàï-dàq = what like? how?
mun-dàgh = like this, thus.
shun-dàgh = like that, so.
&c.

Other Compound Adverbs can be formed in the same way by means of the Affix *dàq* or *dik* with various Substantives or Pronouns.

(*c*). Another set is formed by affixing *cha*, which implies "extent" or "amount."

qàn-cha = how much ?
mun-cha = this much.
shun-cha = that much.
ni-cha = how much ?

(*d*). Sometimes this Affix *cha* is preceded by the Dative Post-position:
an-ga-cha = "to that extent" or "so far as that".
kachan-ga-cha = "to what extent of time ?" *i. e.*, "till when ?"

Thus the Compound Affix *gha-cha* comes to mean, in point of place "so far as," and in point of time "until." It answers to the Compound Verbal Affix *ghun-cha*. This is written in Kàshghar *ghu-cha*, which would derive it from the Future Participle is *ghu*; or it may be the termination of the Indefinite Past Participle "*ghan*" with the same affix "*cha*," and QEL-*ghun-cha* would be literally "to the extent of the (indefinite) doing," which sense agrees well enough with the common use of this form *viz.*, "whilst doing" or "than doing."

Neg. QEL-*ma-ghun-cha*,="whilst not doing," *i. e.* "until (he or it &c.) does."

Ex.: *mulaqàt* BOL-*ma-ghun-cha* = until a visit was paid, (lit. "whilst not paid").

Saning dîn-ing-gha KIR-*ghun-cha* = than entering into thy Faith.

(*e*). The Substantive *yàn* "side" forms several Adverbs:
qàï-yàn-gha = to which side ?
qàï-yàn-da = in what direction ?
u-yàn-din or *u-yàn-i-din* = from that direction.
bu-yàn-da or *bu-yàn-i-da* = in this direction.

(*f*). Next comes a group of which the derivation is less plain, but the connection in sense and form evident.

biri = on this side.
nari = on that side.
ichkari = inside [*ichra* = *ditto* (also found)].
tàshqari = outside.
ilgări = before.
yoqari = above.
utra or *utru* = opposite, facing.

N. B.—It will be observed that the sense of all these is *locative* while the terminations are two: the simple *ari* or *iri*, and the fuller *kari* or *gari*. It is probable from analogy that some word indicating "place" or "locality" must be the origin of these endings. That word must be found in the

simpler as well as in the fuller forms. Hence it may be inferred that the *k* (*q* or *g*) of some of them is not a part of the word we are seeking. Looking then simply at *ari* or *iri*, where we are to find the meaning "locality," we are reminded at once of *yer-i* = "its place." I venture to suggest, therefore, that *biri* may be a corruption of *bu-yeri* (= this place), and *nari* of *an-yeri* or *'n-yeri* (= that place).

As for the others, *ichkari*, &c., it will be observed that *ich* is a Substantive (see Vocabulary) meaning "the interior." *Tàsh* or *tish* means "the outside." Again it may be gâthered by comparing the Chaghataï word *ilaï* "before" with the Uïgur word *ilik* (*? il-lik*) "first," that there must once have been a word *il* meaning "front," which would be the origin of *il-gari*. Lastly, as there is an Uïgur Verb *yoq-la-màq* = "to be elevated," it may be gathered that *yoq* as a root conveys the idea of height, whence *yoqari*.

It will be observed that such of these compounds as take the simpler form without *k*, begin with Pronouns, while those which take a *k*, &c., before the element *ari* begin with Substantives. Now an Adjectival Pronoun can be prefixed to a Substantive without intermediation. But a Substantive cannot be so attached to another Substantive. The regular formation in such a case is to affix the particle *gï* or *ki* [see p. 279 (b)] to the former, making it into an Adjective of Relation. Now this is exactly what we find in these words. Wherever the first element is a Substantive, we find a *k* introduced between the two parts of the word. This confirms my supposition that the final element is a Substantive. If we wished to combine the Substantive *ich* "interior" with the Substantive *yer* or *yeri* "place" according to rule—we should say *ich-ki-yeri* = "the inward place", "the inside". (*ich-ki* being an Adjective of Relation meaning "inward") a form easily contracted to *ich-k'ari*. And so, *tàsh-q'ari* for *tàsh-qi-yeri* "the outside;" *îl-g'ari* for *îl-gi-yeri* "the fore-side;" *yoq'ari* for *yoq-qi-yeri* "the up-side." (*Utra* is probably from a Participle of *ut-mak* "to cross", and not from a Substantive.)

But it may be said that these words (if formed as I have suggested) are mere Compound Substantives, and not Adverbs. This is so true that they are often treated exactly like Substantives. They are not only declined by means of Post-positions (e. g., *îlgari-da*, *tàshqari-gha*, &c.), but they are also frequently put in the "possessed" form, and govern the genitive of the object, e. g. *üi-ning ichkari-si-gha*, "to the inside of the house"; *maning îlgari-'m-da*, "at the front of me."

Vámbéry thinks that these forms may be divided into a mark of the dative *ga*, and a final syllable *ra* or *re* (indicating a *direction towards* according to Schott)*. I have ventured to offer another solution above, which I

* Quoted by Vámbéry, "Chagataische Sprachstudien," p. 20, note.

will further support by remarking that the treatment of these forms as Substantives (see last para.) quite accords with the supposition that they are formed on the word "*yer-i.*" Thus *üi-ning ichkari-si-gha* would be—(lit.) "to its inner place of the house," and *maning ilgari-'m-da* would be (lit.) "at my front place of me."

But such expressions are hardly consistent with the supposition that *ichkari* is made up of *ich* the "interior" plus *ka* "to" (*Dat.*), plus *ri* (a Post-position supposed to imply *direction towards*). For *üi-ning ich-ka-ri-si-gha* would then be (lit.) "to its towards to interior of the house" with 3 Post-positions (two of them identical) agglomerated on the top of one another, and only broken by a Possessive Affix detached from any Noun. And *maning il-ga-ri-'m-da* would be on the same system (lit.) "at my towards to front of me."

With regard to such forms as *qaït-ru* "backwards," *üz-ra* up &c. (to which may be added *ich-ra* "inside") quoted by Prof. Vámbéry to prove that the syllable *ra* is separate from the (supposed) Dative termination *ka*, and does not form part with it of a single element *kari* or *gari*, this conclusion is doubtless correct, as moreover the examples *biri* and *nari* show. Prof. Vámbéry and I are agreed in thinking that the *k* element is distinct from the *r* element. What they each represent, is a different question. If the latter meant "direction towards," the addition of the former with much the same sense, (viz. *ka* = to) would be superfluous; and still more so, on this supposition, would be a second apposition of the same affix in the expression *tàshqari-gha*, &c.

Moreover in the words above quoted of Eastern Turkistani, I cannot trace any signification of "direction towards." In that dialect they all apply to "rest in a place" (e. g. *Tàshqari* is the name of the outer courtyard of a house, and *ichkari* that of the inner or women's court), as moreover can be gathered from the fact that to express *motion* the dative post-position is added; e. g. *tàshqari gha* "to the outside," "outward"; while it is quite correct to say *ichkari ulturadur* "he is sitting inside," *tàshqari turdi* "he stood outside,"* which would be abnormal if those words implied motion or direction towards. As for the forms *ich-ra, üz-ra*, &c. (from the substantives *ich* = interior and *üza* = surface) where we should expect to find the particle *ki* following the initial element, it is probable that in the more Westerly dialects (for they are not common in Eastern Turkistán), the substantive *yeri*, having already been contracted to *ra* or *ri*, has further

* The phrase, "*Bádshàh birla Wazir* tàshqari *tur-up irdi-lar*" = "The King and Vizier were standing *outside*," has been found.

sunk into a mere post-position, so that its substantival origin and the consequent necessity for the relative particle, *ki*, after other substantives attached to it, may have been forgotten.

Thus it is only when governed by Post-positions, as "*da*", "*gha*" or "*din*" (expressed or understood), that such forms can be considered as Adverbs, although these Post-positions are often suppressed as understood.

When themselves governing Nouns or Pronouns, they of course become Compound Post-positions, as in the instances given above in the Note.

(*g*). Another group is formed with the Affix *lash*, implying "direction" or "inclination towards."

yoqari-lash = upwards.
tuban-lash = downwards.
ura-lash = sloping upwards.
ara-lash = mixedly, *i. e.*, middle-wards.

POST-POSITIONS.

These may be divided into two classes, SIMPLE and COMPOUND.

The SIMPLE POST-POSITIONS are mere affixes attached to the words governed by them, and forming what may be called (for the sake of comparison with the inflectional languages) various cases, Dative, Locative, &c.

The Simple Post-positions are: *da* "at" or "in," *din* "from," *gha*, *ga*, *ga* or *ka* "to," *ning* "of," *ni* (sign of accusative absent in English), *birla* or *bilan* "with," *siz* "without," *uchun* "for," "because of," &c., &c.

The COMPOUND POST-POSITIONS are really Substantives, which are themselves affected by the simple Post-positions, e. g., ICH-*i-da* "inside," [lit.] "in its interior;" ÜZA-*si-gha* "a'top," (lit.) "to its top." These are sometimes applied directly to a substantive. But they also frequently require other Post-positions to connect them with the words they govern, e. g.,—*din* KIN (lit.) "AFTER from ...;"—*ning* ÜZA-*si-da* "A'TOP of—."

When they are used with the *genitive* of the noun governed, the sense is made definite.

Ex.: *Tágh-ning* ÜZA-*si-da* = on the top of *the* mountain.
Tágh-ning TUBAN-*i-da* = at the foot of *the* mountain.

When *din* is used instead of *ning*, or when the two Substantives are merely placed in apposition without any Post-position between, the sense becomes indefinite (especially in the latter case).

Ex.: *Tágh*-ÜZA-*si-da* = on the mountain-tops.
Tágh-din-TUBAN-*da* = below the mountains.

The following is a list of the more usual forms; it being remembered that all can employ *ning* in the definite sense before them, while such as here have *din* prefixed, use that post-position for the indefinite (the others being merely placed in apposition when the sense is indefinite):—

	ustun-da or *gha*, &c.	=	upon.
	àltin-da	,,	= under.
	àstin-da	,,	= *ditto.*
	ich-i-da	,,	= inside.
	arà-si-da	,,	= amidst.
	üzà-si-da	,,	= a'top of.
	tupà-si-da	,,	= upon.
	tuḅ-i-da	,,	= in the bottom of.
	yàn-i-da	,,	= at the side of.
(only with *ning*)	*qàsh-i-da*	,,	= in the presence of.
ditto	*àld-i-da*	,,	= in front of.
ditto	*bu-yüz-i-da*	,,	= on this side of.
ditto	*u-yüz-i-da*	,,	= on the further side of.
ditto	*kîn-i-da*	,,	= in the rear of.
ditto	*arqà-si-da*	,,	= at the back of.
ditto	*tàsh-i-da*	,,	= on the outside.
Defte. (*ning*) ; Indfte.	(*din*) *ichkari*		= inside.
ditto	(*din*) *arqà-da*		= behind.
ditto	(*din*) *kîn*		= after.
ditto	(*din*) *tuban*		= below, in a lower position than.
ditto	(*din*) *tag-i-da*		= beneath, under, (with something superposed).
ditto	(*din*) *ustun*		= above, higher than.
ditto	(*din*) *àstin*		= below.

All these declinable Substantives admit also of the Possessive Affixes, e. g. *maning qàsh-im-da* = "in my presence'; *saning yân-ing-din* = "from thy side."

The Compound *ghacha* (*gha* "to," *cha* "the extent of;" see Adverbs) is used as a Post-position meaning "till" or "as far as."

Ex. : *Tiz-ghacha* = as far as the knee; *Kâshqar-ghacha* = as far as Kashghar; *bâsh-tokhi-ghacha* = till first cock, (*i. e.*, till cock-crow).

CONJUNCTIONS.

There are not many Conjunctions in Turki. It borrows them frequently from Persian and Arabic.

The home-born ones are *kim* "that," *takhi* "still", "notwithstanding", *imdi* "then", &c., and the compound *an-din-kîn* "afterwards", &c.

NUMERALS.

The CARDINAL numbers are :

bir	= one.	*yigarma*	= twenty.
iki	= two.	*ötöz*	= thirty.
öch	= three.	*qirq*	= forty.
tört	= four.	*illiq*	= fifty.
besh	= five.	*altmish* or *atmish*	= sixty.
alti	= six.	*yetmish*	= seventy.
yette	= seven.	*sakzan*	= eighty.
sakiz	= eight.	*toqzan*	= ninety.
toqoz	= nine.	*yüz*	= a hundred.
un	= ten.	*ming*	= a thousand.

tuman = ten thousand.

The intermediate numbers are formed by simple apposition, the multiples of ten coming first, as : *un-bir* = "eleven," *ötöz-besh* = "thirty-five" ; *tört-yüz sakzan-öch* = "four hundred and eighty-three" ; *bir ming iki yüz toqzan* = "one thousand two hundred and ninety." It will be seen that to express multiples of a number the smaller factor comes first, as above : *tört-yüz* = "four hundred".

There is a class of *Substantives* derived from the cardinal numbers, which had better be noticed in this place.

bir-ao or *bir-aïlan* = one by itself, "a one."
ik'-ao or *ik'-aïlan* = a two, a pair, both.
&c., &c.

[*N. B.*—It is probably by a contraction of the former that we get the Post-position *bir-lan*, *birla* or *bilan* = together with, "in one." See Kudatku Bilik, Introd.—*aning imṙâli bir-ailin* "with their proverbs."]

Next we have the Numeral *Adjectives* or ORDINAL Numbers. These are :

bir-inchi	= first.	*yigarma-'nchi*	= twentieth.
iki-'nchi	= second.	*ötöz-unchi*	= thirtieth.
öch-önchi	= third.	*qirq-inchi*	= fortieth.
tört-önchi	= fourth.	*illiq-inchi*	= fiftieth.
besh-inchi	= fifth.	*atmish-inchi*	= sixtieth.
alti-'nchi	= sixth.	*yetmish-inchi*	= seventieth.
yetti-'nchi	= seventh.	*sakzan-inchi*	= eightieth.
sakiz-inchi	= eighth.	*toqzan-inchi*	= ninetieth.
toqoz-unchi	= ninth.	*yüz-ünchi*	= hundredth.
un-unchi	= tenth.	*ming-inchi*	= thousandth.

[*N. B.*—The termination is often written and pronounced *ji*. The ordinal affix is only applied to the last term of a compound number as : *bir yüz qirq-sakiz-inchi* = one hundred and forty-eighth.]

There are also some Numeral *Adverbs* formed by the additional of *'n*. As *bir-in iki-'n* = by ones and by twos.

N. B.—Perhaps a contraction of *bir-din iki-din*, which form also exists with the same meaning.

Bir-ar, (no *ik-ar*), *öch-ar*, *tört-ar* &c.,="singly," "by threes," "by fours," &c.

"Once," "twice," &c., are formed with *qàtim* "time" as, *iki-qàtim* "twice," *besh-qàtim* "five times," &c.

THE TURKI YEAR-CYCLE

Consists of twelve solar years, each named after some animal in a fixed order, as follows :—

1. *Sachkan*	"The Mouse."	7. *At*	"The Horse."
2. *Üi*	"The Ox."	8. *Qoï*	"The Sheep."
3. *Bárs*	"The Leopard."	9. *Maïmun*	"The Ape."
4. *Taushqan*	"The Hare."	10. *Tokhi*	"The Cock."
5. *Balik*	"The Fish or Dragon."	11. *It*	"The Dog."
6. *Ilan*	"The Serpent."	12. *Tunghuz*	"The Hog."

The present year (1874-75) is the year of the "Dog." The year begins and ends in the spring, and is divided into twelve 'mansions,' in each of which the Sun spends a month (the twelve Signs of the Zodiac). These are known only by their Arabic names at the present day.

The above chronological arrangement of solar years is purely Turkish (or perhaps Tartar in the extended sense). The Muhammadan lunar years and months are in more common use now ; the solar ones being only employed in calculations of age and in matters where it may be a question of the season.

Each entire cycle is called a "*muchal*."

CHAPTER VIII.

DERIVATION OF WORDS.

Formation or Derivation of Substantives.

(*a*). A noun of the Agent is formed by adding the affix *chi* to the Future Participle or to the Infinitive form of a Verb :

Ex. : QEL-*ghu-chi* = a doer.
BIR-*mak-chi* = a giver.

(*b*). A Noun of PROFESSION is formed by affixing *chi* to the name of the object used, or of the matter dealt with :

Ex. : *miltek-chi* = a musketeer.
zakàt-chi = a Custom's official.

(*c*). An ABSTRACT Noun is formed by the addition of *lik* or *luk* (with Phonetic variation both of Vowel and Consonant) to an Adjective or Adverb, or even to another Substantive :

Ex. : *Sarigh-liq* = yellow-ness.
Tola-lik = much-ness.
Ustàd-lik = art (from *ustàd* "artificer," P.).
Gum-ràh-lik = perdition (from *gum-ràh*, "lost road," P.).

Also to an Infinitive, or the Verbal Adverb in "*ghuncha*."
ültür-mak-lik = slaughter (from *ültür-mak* "to kill)."
ishit-kuncha-lik = worth-hearing-ness.

(*d*). A Noun of ORIGIN is formed by adding *lik* (or *luk*) to the name of a country or place :

Ex. : *Khoqand-liq*=a man of Khokand, a Khokandi.

(*e*). A Noun of CONNECTION, by adding *chan* to any word to denote continuous or frequent connection :

Ex. : *aghrik-chan*=one who is constantly ill, an invalid.
salla-chan=one who always wears a turban *(salla)*.

(*f*). A Noun of FELLOW-SHIP is made by affixing *dàsh* or *làsh* (answering to our "——— fellow")·

Ex. : *àtà-dàsh* = a brother by the same father *(àtà)*.
qursàq-dàsh = a twin (lit. "womb-fellow").
àsh-dàsh or *tabàq-dàsh*=a meal-fellow, or one who is a companion at a meal.
maktab-dash=school-fellow, *(maktab*, "school," A.).

(*g*). A VERBAL Substantive is formed by affixing *k*, *q*, *g* or *gh* to the Root, supplying the proper vowel when necessary, before it. The meaning is either the action of the Verb, or the result of that action :

Ex. : TÜZ-*ük*=an institution (from *tüz-mak*).
TITRA-'*k*=a trembling (from *titra-mak* "to tremble").

[*N. B.*—That this Substantive is derived from the Verb, and not *vice versâ*, is shown by the fact that the verbal form derived from *tüzük* would be *tüzük-la-mak*, and not *tüz-mak*, &c. (see "Formation of Verbs").]

DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES.

(*a*). The Adjective of LIKENESS is formed by affixing *dik* (which is subject to Phonetic variations of the guttural) to a Substantive :

Ex. : *qoï-diq* = "sheep-like" (from *qoï* "a sheep").

(*b*). The Adjective of Relation is formed by the addition of the particle *gi* or *ki* to Substantive, Adjective, Adverb or Participle (see pp. 26 and 77) :

Ex. : *kîn-gi*="following," "last" (from *kîn*=rear) ;
yetkan-gi="arriving," or "which has arrived."

(*c*). The Adjective of Quality is formed by affixing *lik* (or *luk*) (subject to Phonetic variation of guttural) to a Substantive or Participle :

Ex. : *Dada-lik haqq*="a father's right" (fatherly right).
Kâfiristàn-lik="infidel" (said of a whole country); from *Kâfiristàn*="a land of infidels".

(*d*). A Verbal Adjective is formed by adding *k* or *q* to a Verb Root (supplying a vowel before it when necessary).

Ex. : *aghri-q*=ill, from *aghri-maq*=to be ill.
to'q=satisfied, from *toi-maq*=to be content.
tüz-ük=right, in order, (see p. 53 *(f)* and note).

(*e*). An Adjective of Habit is formed by adding one of the affixes *kak*, *qàq* or *chak* to the root of a Verb :

Ex. : *öch-qàq*="flying about much ;" from *öch-màq*="to fly."
qurq-qàq="fearing much ;" from *qurq-màq*=to fear.
irin-chak="lazy ;" from *irin-mak*="to procrastinate."

(*f*). An Adjective or Adverb of Fashion or Mode by adding *cha :*

Ex. : *mazlùm-cha chappan*=a woman's robe. *Turk-cha min-mak*=to ride as a Turk.

COMPOUND AND DERIVATIVE VERBS.

(*a*). The commonest compound is the Perfect Participle of one Verb prefixed to another Verb which completes the meaning, and which is conjugated as may be required.

Ex. : *sàt-ip àlmàq*=to buy, or take by purchase, (*sàt-ip*=sold, *àlmàq*=to take).

àlip-bàrmàq = to take away (*àlip* = having taken ; *bármàq*= to go), contracted in Yárkand to *apàrmàq*.

yetip-qàlmàq=to exceed, (*yetip*=having reached a limit) ; *qàlmàq*=to remain (over).

küyüp-birmak=to burn, or "give over to burning" (*küyüp*=having burnt, *birmak*=to give).*

It will be remembered that the auxiliary *bolmàq* used in this way after the Perfect Participle of a Transitive Verb makes a Passive, *e. g.*, *yasip-bolmàq*=to *be* done.

(*b*). Another formation consists of the Present Participle of one

* *Birmak* "to give", *qoï-màq* "to put", and some others, are often redundantly used in the second place, like the Hind. *déna*, &c.

Verb before another Verb of different signification, answering to the English combination of a similar kind.

Ex. : *qela-bàshlamàq*=to begin doing, or "to begin to do."

A Verb is formed from a Substantive by affixing *la* to form the Verb-root. Verbs thus formed are numerous :

Ex. : *ish-la-màq*=to work (from *ish* "work").

bàsh-la-màq=to lead *or* to begin, "to head" (from *bàsh* "head").

A Verb of *colour* is formed by affixing the syllable *'r* to the adjective of colour, &c.

Ex. : *àq-ar-màq* = to become white.

Öz-ga-'r-màq = to change colour (from *öz-ga* = other).

CHAPTER X.

SYNTAX.

The following are points to be noted :—

1. The nominative or subject generally comes first in a sentence, and the verb always last.

Ex. : "HAZRAT SULTAN *shikàr-ga chiqtilar*" = "The Sultan went out to hunt."

When it is desired to put emphasis upon the subject, it comes immediately before the verb.

Ex. : "*Hazrat Sultàn-ga kalima tayiba-ni* KHWAJA KHAZAR *örgattilar.*"

viz. "It was Khwája Khazar who taught the 'kalima tayiba' to His Highness the Sultan."

Literally : "To His Highness the Sultan the kalima-tayiba (accusative) Khwája Khazar taught."

2. The usual order of a simple sentence is :

(*a*). That the accusative or object shall immediately precede the verb and its adverbs or adverbial expressions, (other cases coming first) :

Ex. : "*Kh'àja Abu-l-Nasr Sàmàni Hazrat Sultàn-ga* IMAN-NI *shul-yer-da örgattilar.*"

"Kh'ája Abu-l-Nasr Sámáni to His Highness the Sultan the faith (acc.) on-the-spot taught."

(*b*). Sometimes the seeming accusative forms really part of a compound verb, in which case also it immediately precedes it, but without the mark of the accusative.

Ex. : *Bu qirq kishi Hazrat-din* RUKHSAT-*àldilar.* "These forty persons from His Highness took leave."

The sign of the accusative is also omitted if the sense is indefinite:

Ex.: *nàn yemak* = to eat bread.

(*c*). Sometimes the accusative is put first for emphasis (viz., out of its proper place).

Ex.: "UL DUSHMAN-NI *ara-din yoq-qelmadim*" = "That enemy from (our) midst I have not destroyed."

UL BUTKHANA-NING TAM-I-NI *awwal siz qupàrip-biring dedur*,
that idol-temple-of the wall (acc.) first you having raised give, he says

viz. "He says, you first raise the wall of that idol-temple."

3. All subordinate clauses, and all sentences which in English would be joined by conjunctions, in Turki have their respective verbs put in the form of some Verbal Adjective (generally that in '*p*), the sense being thus kept flowing on until the whole of the long chain of sentences is concluded by a personal Verb:

E. g. *Kàshgar khalq-i-ni kàfir-lar öz dîn-i-gha kirguz-up, ît eshak tunguz gôsht-i-ni ye'p, haràm harîsh-ni mubàh bil-ip, mutlaq kàfir bol-up, qàlip ikan.*

"The unbelievers *having caused* the people of Kàshghar to enter into their own religion, they (the Kàshgharis) *having eaten* the flesh of dogs, pigs and asses, *having considered* unclean snakes to be lawful (food), *having become* unrestrained infidels, *have remained* (so) [*or*, have become and remain unrestrained infidels]."

It will be noticed here that the author has changed his subject or nominative after the first clause. This is merely due to careless writing, as we sometimes see in English [e. g. "Having finished my dinner the dance began."] The last verb *qàl-ip ikan* can only by courtesy be called a *personal* Verb. Often a speaker begins a string of sentences in the above form but finding that he has completed the expression of his meaning, he leaves his speech grammatically incomplete by omitting to add a final personal verb.

4. The Genitive precedes the substantive which governs it:

Ex.: "SULTAN-NING *dada-si*" = "The Sultán's father."

5. The adjective does the same usually, except in Persian or Arabic combinations.

If the adjective for any reason comes last, the Post-positions, &c., are affixed to it, as being the end of the compound substantive (formed of it and its noun):

Ex.: *kalima-tayiba-ni.*

6. When an adjective is in the Comparative, the object of comparison precedes it.

Ex.: "*Tàsh-din yamàn-ràq*" = "Than a stone worse."

7. If the sentence predicates a quality of the subject the adjective or words expressing the quality immediately precede the verb:

Ex. : "*Sultàn-ning dada-si kàfir-lik-da tàsh-din ham yamàn-ràq irdi.*"
Lit. "the Sultán's father in infidelity than a stone even worse was."

8. Relative clauses in *who* or *which*, are not so expressed in Turki. They are attached to the substantive to which they refer (preceding it), and form a compound adjective or subordinate sentence with its verb in the form of a verbal adjective, generally in *gan* (if Present or Past) or in *durghan* if Future.

(*a*). Ex. : AT-NI SAT-KAN *kishi* = The person *who* sells the horse.
Horse (acc.) selling person.

ERTI KETA-DURGHAN *hajji* = The pilgrim *who* is going to start
To-morrow about-to-go pilgrim.
to-morrow.

If the (English) relative pronoun is in the accusative, dative, &c., still the Turki form is similar to the above (the sign of the accusative &c., being omitted), and the verbal adjective may have its subject or nominative expressed before it (or understood).

Ex. : (In the Accusative) BIZ QEL-GHAN *ish-lar* = The deeds *which*
we do.
SAN KÖRGAN *kishi* = the person *whom* thou
sawest (*or* seest).

(In the Dative) BIZ BASH UR-GHAN *nima* = that *to which* we strike the
Lit. we head- striking thing.
head (bow).

(In the Genitive) MAN AT-I-NI URGHAN- *adam keldi* = The
I horse his (acc.) having struck man came
man *whose* horse I struck came.

AT-I ÜLGHAN *kishi yighlaï-dur* = The person *whose* horse died, weeps.
horse his having died person weeps.

TÜSH-ÜM-DA KÖRGAN *shèr*. Lit. "in-my-dream-seen lion."
Viz., "The lion which I saw in my dream."

"NICHAND YIL-NING BU YUZI-GHA RIÂZAT WA MASHAKKAT BILAN TAPKAN *farzand-im*." Lit. "So-many-years-on-this-side-of-with-self-denial-and-pain-obtained son-of-mine.
viz., "My son, whom," &c.

Or, conversely, the rule may be stated thus: The Substantive in Turki to which is attached (*i. e.* prefixed) a verbal adjective (indefinite) in *gàn*, may be either the *subject* of the action of that verbal adjective, or its *obj*- (direct or indirect); and the said verbal adjective may accordingly be ordered in English, as the context may indicate, either by "who *or* which (does *or* did) e. g. *satkan kishi* = the person *who* sells."

Or else by "whom *or* which (so-and-so does *or* did)"—e. g. *körgan kishi* = the person *whom* (so and so) saw, [which may also be translated "which was seen (by so and so)"].

Or else by "to whom *or* to which (so and so does *or* did)—," e. g. *bàsh urghan nima* = the thing *to which* (so and so) bows the head; &c., &c.

As in the first case the *object* may be expressed with its proper sign before the verbal adjective (*e. g.* AT-NI *satkan kishi* "the person who sells *the horse*") thus forming a subordinate clause in the sentence; so also, in the latter cases, the *subject* may be and is generally, prefixed to the verbal adjective for clearness' sake, except when otherwise indicated sufficiently plainly. Thus: BIZ-*qelghan ish* "the deed which *we* do" (or "the deed done by us"); SAN *körgan kishi*? "the person whom *thou* sawest" [SAN-NI *körgan kishi* would be "the person who saw thee."]

But in *tüsh-üm-da körgan sher*" the possessive affix *üm* sufficiently indicates that it was I that saw the lion, so that it is unnecessary to add the subject and say "MAN...*körgan...*" On the other hand if the lion were the *seer* we should say: *man*-NI *körgan sher* "the lion which saw me."

(*b*). If the subordinate clause merely predicates the existence of its subject in a certain relation, so that it has no verb except "to be," the Turki language omits the verbal adjective or participle of this verb, and supplies its place with the particle '*gi*' or '*ki*' to connect the clause with its subject, which comes last in order.*

Ex.: "TURKISTÂN-TARAF-I-DA-GI *khalq*." Lit. "Turkistán direction-in-(being) people."

viz. "The people that are in the direction of Turkistán."

(*c*). To express a simile, the word or the whole subordinate sentence is connected with its subject by the particle '*dik*' = like.

Ex.: "DOZAKH-NING-DARWÂZA-SI-NI ACHQAN-DIQ *aghz*."
Lit. Hell of door its (acc.) having opened like mouth.
viz., "a mouth as if opening the door of Hell."

Likelihood is similarly expressed:

* This syllable *gi* or *ki* takes the place (in sentences where the subordinate verb is "to be") of the indefinite Participle or verbal adjective of that verb. For if the translation of: "the lion which appeared in my dream" is *tüsh-üm-da köröngan sher*, then the translation of "the lion which is in the jungle" would naturally be "*jangal-da ikan sher*." But instead of that they say: "*jangal-da-gi sher*." Thus *gi* takes the place of *ikan*, and the idea is suggested that it may be a contraction of the same. For the Yarkandís often say *ikin* for *ikan*, and I have found one example of this being further contracted to '*ki*. [Ex. *bu qaï-si païghambar-ning ruh-i 'ki* "what prophet's soul may this be?" where the full expression would be "*qaï-si païghambar-ning ruh-i ikan*."] The quasi-Pronoun *ki* (see Pronouns) points to the same derivation. Thus *maning-ki* is the idiomatic expression for "that which is mine;" but it may be taken as a contraction of *maning ikin*, which would mean the same. See also "Derivation of Adjectives (*b*)" *kin-gi, yetkan-gi*, &c., p. 279.

Take the following: *Turkistán-da-gi khalq Musalmán boldi; Át maning-ki, eshak saning-ki; Kin-gi ádam yetmadi*; in each of these cases the word *ikin* or *ikan* might be

Ex. : *Biz-ga ham* ZAKÂT-NING ṢUÂBI-NI TÂP-QU-DIQ* *bir ish-ni*
Us to also customs of merit (acc.) likely-to-obtain one work (acc.)
buyur-sunlar. viz., "Command to us also some work that may be likely to command.

obtain (for us) the merit of customs (paying)."

9. A conditional sentence is usually expressed without any 'if' by putting the verb into the Potential:

Ex. : "*Shul Butkhàna-ning tàm-i-ni siz qupàr-sa'ngiz.*"
Lit. That Idol-temple of wall (acc.) you may raise.
viz., "If you raise," &c., or "should you raise."

10. With the adverb '*ilgari*' meaning *before*, the verb (in the form of the Infinitive Verbal Subst.) is put in the negative:

Ex. : *Ul Sultàn bu 'àlam-gha kel*-MAS-*din nichand yil* ILGARI:
that Sultan this world to coming not than several years before
English—'some years before that Sultan had come into this world.'
(Cf. "avant qu'il *ne* fut venu au monde.")

So also with the verbal affix "*ghuncha*" "whilst", to produce the meaning 'until.'

Ex. : *mulaqàt bol*-MA-GHUÑCHA='*whilst* a visit had *not* been paid' or
visit being not whilst
'*till* a visit was paid.'
(Cf. "tant qu'une visite *n* 'avait pas été faite.")

11. There are two ways of quoting a statement made by another person (or an opinion ascribed to him), answering to the English forms: (*a*) That which professes to give the very words of the speaker in inverted commas; (*b*) "He said that" followed by the third person (of the supposed speaker).

substituted for *ki* or *gi* grammatically though not idiomatically: *Turkistàn-da* IKAN *khalq Musalmàn boldi* "the people *that are* in Turkistan have (has) become Musalmàn." *At maning* IKAN, *eshak saning* IKAN "the horse (is) *what is mine*, the ass *what is thine*." *Kin* IKAN *âdam yetmadi* "the man *who is* (or *was*) behind has not arrived." (This may be shown to be grammatically a correct form, by substituting other verbs: e. g. *Turkistàn-da turg*HAN *khalq*, "the people who stay in Turkistan"; *kin qàl*GHAN *âdam* "the man who remains behind"; *maning bol*GHAN *àt* "the horse which becomes mine.") So that the particle *ki* or *gi* in all the meanings described respectively under Pronouns, p. 232, under Adjectives of Relation, p. 279, and as taking the place of the English relative pronoun, here p. 283—in all these applications seems to be a corruption of the Participle *ikan* or *ikin* of the verb substantive.

It must not be confounded, as some grammarians have done, with the conjun[ctive] *kim* (Persian *kih*) used in that language and in Osmanli Turkish to supply the pl[ace] a relative Pronoun but which is really a mere "*connective*" having the Personal P[ro]nouns understood (or expressed) after it. See Forbes' Persian Gram. § 68: e. g. *An* KIH *chun pistah dìdam*-ASH *hama maghz* "He whom I saw &c." Lit. "He, *that* I saw *him* &c."

* Here *tàp-qu-diq* is the Participle of Probability; so that this sentence is of the form described above under § 8 (*a*).

(*a*). The former is rendered in Turki by prefixing some expression, such as "*Dédi*" or "*aïtti kim*" = "he said", "he said that" (though this is sometimes omitted) and finishing with the participle "*De'p*" = "having said." These take the place of our inverted commas to mark the beginning and end of the quotation.

Ex.: AIDELAR *Al-hamdu-l-Illah talab-im muyessar boldi,*
They said "Thank God (the object of) my search has-been obtained," having said.
DEP.

(*b*). The other form is rendered in Turki by putting the quotation in the words of the speaker, with this exception that the subject (or nominative) of the sentence quoted is in the accusative, as being the object of the governing verb 'he said' or 'he thought.'

Ex.: SANI *üldi dédi* = He said that thou wert dead.
Lit. thee he died he said.

Which may be rendered, "he reported *thee* dead," or "he said (of) thee, he is dead."

Here "*sani*" (thee) is governed (in the accusative) by the verb "*dédi*" (he said), while the statement itself is in the actual words of the speaker, of which the above pronoun in the accusative forms the subject (unless we may suppose a nominative *he* understood).

Biz-ni àlur-m'ikin dep parwàh qelmaï = without fearing lest
us will-they-take having said care making not
we should take (it).

[Here the *biz-ni* (acc.) seems to be governed by the "*dep*," and not by the "*parwàh qelmaï*" which would govern the ablative "*biz-din.*"]

12. The reflective pronoun *öz* is used (like *khud* in Persian, or *áp, apna* in Hindustani) instead of a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, to fix the meaning on the subject of the sentence.

Ex.: *Ya'qùb* öz-I-*ning át-i-ni ultur-di* = Ya'qub killed his (own) horse.

Ya'qùb ANING *àt-i-ni ultur-di* would mean: Ya'qub killed his (*viz.*, some one else's) horse.

Again: *Man sani* öz-ÖNG-*ning üi-'ng-da kör-döm* = I saw thee in thy (own) house [here the termination *öng* leaves no doubt of the person].

But, *'Ali Ya'qub-ni* öz-i-*ning üi-da kördi*, is a doubtful phrase; for though by rights the *öz* should refer to the subject of the sentence (*'Ali*), *uch-* back the accusative "*Ya'qub-ni*" comes so close before, it would probably understood to mean: "'Ali saw Ya'qub in his (Ya'qub's) own house." To save the doubt it would be better to put it as follows:

Ya'qub-ni 'Ali öz-i-ning üi-da kördi = Ali saw Ya'qub in his (Ali's own) house.

While to express the other meaning without leaving a doubt, the reflective pronoun would be dispensed with, and the demonstrative used, *viz.*

'Ali Ya'qub-ni ANING *üi-da kör-di* = 'Ali saw Ya'qub in his (Ya'qub's) house.

It is the same with the other cases (*öz* taking the proper possessive affix of the person): Ex. *man* öz-öM-*ni urdum* "I struck myself."

Ya'qub öz-I-*din qurqti* "Ya'qub feared (from) himself."

13. There being no verb "to have," its sense is expressed by means of the impersonal verb *bâr* "there is."

(*a*) by putting the subject in the locative:

Ex.: *man-da ât bar* = there is to me (*i. e.*, "I have") a horse.

Pàdshàh-da üi bàr = there is to the king a house, *i. e.*, the king has a house."

(*b*) by putting the (English) subject in the genitive; and the (English) object in the possessed form of the proper person:

Ex.: *Maning át-im bár* "my horse exists" or "I have a horse."

Pàdshàh-ning át-i bár "the king's horse is (or exists)," *i. e.*, "the king has a horse."

Of course with the addition of the demonstrative pronoun the verb *bàr* would resume its simple meaning of "is."

Ex. Bu *maning àt-im bàr* = "*this* is my horse."

14. The passive forms of intransitive verbs are not impossible in Turki. Sometimes they are in point of meaning the passive of the causative rather than of the primary intransitive verb, which can of course have no passive logically [See "Secondary verbs, II," note at end]. But often again they take a kind of impersonal sense answering to the French form in "*on*." Thus with *bàr-màq* "to go;" *bàr-il-di* is its passive past tense, 3rd person singular. Literally it would be translated "it has been gone," which comes to mean "one has gone" "*on est allé*."

15. The Noun of the agent in *chi* governs the same case as the primary verb, as also do all other verbal forms.

Ex.: KUFFÂR-NI *yoq-qelghu-chi*. "A destroyer (of) infidels (acc.).

16. To represent the expressions which employ the infinitive in European tongues, the Turki employs its own infinitive or other verbal noun as a noun in the accusative or other case.

Ex.: QEL-MÂQ-NI *kh'ahlaï-man* = I wish to do.
the doing (acc.) wish I

Yelghàn AITMAK *gunàh dur* = to tell lies is a sin.

Or the form in *gali* may be used, answering to English "in order to."

Ex.: *ültür-gali buyur-di* = he commanded to kill, *or*, he gave orders *for* the killing.

àl-ghali kel-dim = I came (in order) to take.

17. In interrogative phrases only one syllable or word of interrogation is necessary. Thus, if the words *nima* (what ?), *qàï-si* (which ?), or generally, any interrogative adverb, appears in the body of the sentence, the final interrogative *mu* or *ma*, or the dubitative *m'ikin*, is not required. Otherwise it is;

Thus: NIMA *bâr* "what is there ?" but, *shubu bàr* MU "is it this ?"

Again: *Bu* QÂI-SI *païghambar-ning ruh-i ikin*, "What prophet's soul may this be ?"

but: *Bu fulán païghambar-ning ruh-i* M'*ikin* "May this be such-and-such a prophet's soul ?"

END OF THE GRAMMAR.

ucha
back

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATIONS AND SELECTIONS.

Yárkandi Túrki Version of the Lord's Prayer.

Eh ! bizlar-ning kök-da-gi dàda-'miz,
Oh us of Heaven-in Father-our;
Saning at-ing ulugh bolsun;
Of thee name thy great be;
Saning pádsháhliq-ing kelsun;
Of thee kingdom thy come;
Saning rizâliq-ing asmân-da bolghan-dik, yer-da ham bolsun;
Of thee pleasure thy Heaven-in being like earth-in also may it be;
Biz-ning ázuq-umiz-ni har-kön yet-kuz;
Us-of food our (acc.) each day cause-to-reach;
Biz yamân-liq qelghan-lar-gha baghishla-ghan-cha gunàh-
We bad-ness doers to forgiving-in-the-measure-of sin
imiz-ni baghishla;
our (acc.) forgive;
Gunàh-boladurghan waqt-ni kursàt-ma,
Sin about to be opportunity (acc.) present-not
Magar biz-ni yámânliq-din qut-qâz;
But us (acc.) bad-ness from protect;
Aning-uchun-kim pádsháhliq u kuchluk-lik u roshan-lik san-ga
Of this because that kingdom and power and glory to thee
mango dur. Amin.
evermore is Amen.

STORIES

From Forbes' Persian Grammar translated into Turki.

1. *Bir ádam Aflatun-din sur-di kim: Tola yil-lar kima-da iding,*
One man Plato-from asked that Many years ship-in thou wert
wu daryá-safar-i-ní qel-ding, daryá-da nima 'ajáib-lar kör-döng.
and sea-voyage (acc.) thou madest sea-in what wonders sawest-thou.
Jawáb aïdi 'ajab shubu ir-di kim daryà-din salámat yaqà-si-*
Answer he spoke wonder this very (thing) was that sea-from safely shore its
gha yet-tim.
to I arrived.

2. *Bir qadá bir bái-ning darwáza-si-ga bár-di wu bir-nima†*
One beggar one rich-man-of door his to went and something
tila-di. Ui-ning ich-i-din awáz kel-di kim: Aghacha üi-da yoq.
asked (for). House of interior-its-from voice came that: Woman house-in not.
Gadá de-di nán‡ parcha-si-ni tila'p-idim, aghacha-ni tila-ma'p-
Beggar said bread piece of it (acc.) asked-for I had woman (acc.) I had not asked
idim kim shun-dágh jawáb tàp-tim.
(for) that such-like answer I received.

3. *Bir tabíb har-waqt qabristàn-gha bár-ur bol-sa chádir-i-ni*
One doctor every time grave-yard to going might be sheet his (acc.)
básh-i-gha yaf-in-ip (yap-in-ip) bàrur-idi. Adam-lar sur-di-lar kim: Mu-ning
head his to having-wrapped-himself used-to-go. Men asked that: This of
sabab-i nima. Tabíb aidi: Bu qabristàn-da-ghi ülük-lar-din uwat-
reason its what (is)? Doctor said: This grave-yard in being corpses from I-am-
ur-man, aning uchun-kim hama-si maning dawá-im-ni ye'p
abashed, that-of because that all of them of me medicine my (acc.) having eaten
ül-üp-dur.
have died.

4. *Bir kön pádshah ughul-i bilan áu-gha bàr-di hawà issigh bol-*
One day a king son his with hunt to went air hot be-
di; pádshah bilan shah-záda igin-lar-i-ni bir maskharah-ning dàlu-
came; king with prince cloaks their (acc.) one jester of shoulder-
si-gha qoï-di: Pádshah kül-di wu de-di: Ai maskharah san-da bir
his-to placed; King smiled and said: Oh jester thee on one
eshak-ning yük-i bàr-dur. Maskharah aidi: Balki iki eshak-ning
donkey of load-his (there) is. Jester said: or rather two donkey of
yük-i bàr dur.
load-their (there) is.

5. *Bir duk-adam-gha de-di-lar, kim: Tilâ'r-mu-san kim saning*
One crooked man to they said, that: desirest? thou that of thee
ucha-'ng tughrí bol-sun, ya hamah adam-lar-ning ucha-si san-dik
back thy straight should-become, of all men of back their thee like

* *Aidi* for *ait-di* from *ait-mak*.
† Lit. "one what."
‡ For *nán-ning parcha-si-ni*.

duk bol-sun—mu. Ul duk de-di, hamah kishi-lar-ning ucha-
crooked should become ? That crooked (man) said: all people of back
si man-dik igri bol-sun, ul köz-bilan mani köra-dur-lar man
their me like crooked should become, that eye with me (acc.) they-are-seeing I
ham ular-ni kör-aï.
also them (acc.) may-see.

6. *Bir kön Pádshah bir sha'r-din aghri-di; jallad-ni biyur-*
One day King one poet from was angry; executioner (acc.) he-
*di; maning aldi-'m-da ül-tür. Jallâd * qilich alip- kel-ga-*
ordered of me presence my in kill. Executioner sword having-taken in-order-to
li bâr-di. Ul sha'r házir ádam-lar-gha de-di; Qilich kel-guncha*
come went. That poet present men to said: Sword till-coming
mani musht-la-'nglar wu ur-unglar kim Pádshah-ning kungl-i khush
me (acc.) belabour and beat that King of heart his pleased
bol-sun. Bu söz-din Pádshah khush bol-up kül-di wu sha'r-ning
may-be. This speech from king pleased having-become he-smiled and poet of
gunàh-i-ni út-ti.
offence his (acc.) passed over.

7. *Bir ádam ulugh martaba tàp-ti. Bir dost-i ani kör-gà-*
One man great dignity received. One friend his him in-order-to
kel-di. Ul ádam de-di: San kim san wu nima ish-ka ke-
came. That man said: Thou who (art) thou and what business to came-st-
ding. Ul dost-i sharminda bol-di wu de-di: Mani tanu-ma'-
thou? That friend his abashed became and said: Me (acc.) recognisest not
m'-san.† Man saning kadîm-gi dost-ung man; san-ga 'iza tut-
? thou. I of thee old (adj.) friend thy I (am); thee to condolence in-or-
qali kel-dim ishit-dim kim qàrghu bol-up-san.
der-to-offer (hold) I came I heard that blind thou-hast-become.

TRANSLATION OF A PASS-PORT ISSUED IN KASHGHAR.

To

All Road and Station officials at this time,

This notice (is given), that at this season of auspicious arrangement, Shaw Sàhib's man Rahmat-Ullah, with a horse, is going to Yárkand on service. It is necessary that you, without offering molestation or impediment‡ at the road-stations (either) in (his) going or coming, pass him on and

* *Alip-kel-mak* (lit. having taken to come), *i. e.*, to bring; *alip-kel-gali* = in order to bring.

† Contracted from *tanu-maï-mu-san*. *Tanu-mak* is "to recognise;" *tanu-i-san* "thou recognisest" (simple Pres.); *tanu-maï-san* is the negative "thou recognisest not;" *tanu-maï-mu-san* is the interrogative "dost thou not recognise." See "Verbs Interrogative."

‡ Lit. "not having made molestation and impediment."

forward him. With this intent,* on the eleventh day of the Holy month Rámazán 1291, the exalted sign-manual has been impressed.

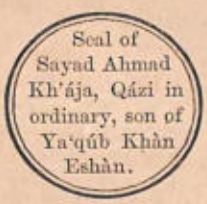
(on the reverse)

(Seal of the Amir).

TRANSLATION OF AGREEMENT WRITTEN AT KASHGHAR.

"The date was one thousand two hundred and ninety, the nineteenth of Muharram: Maláq, the son of Qábil Baï, made a legal agreement (as follows): that on account of contentions (with) my wife Aqlim Bibi, I, who now agree, having been unreasonable, henceforward† have undertaken *idi* to strike or beat‡ (her) without reason; to give (her) the necessary cost of living at the (proper) time, and have undertaken not to take any strange man into the house where my said wife is§ and whenever it shall be known and proved that I have taken‖ a strange man into my house into the presence of my wife, or have beaten‖ her without just cause, my said wife shall be free¶, if she chooses, to give to me the writer of this agreement, one** bill of divorcement separating herself."

Agreed to by both parties in Court. (Arabic).



* Lit. "having said" or "signified (thus)." The usual participle, *de'p*, which closes a quotation.

† *Mun-din bu-yán;* Lit. "on this side of this (time)."

‡ *Soqmas boldim;* Lit. I have become not-about-to-strike:" *Soqmas* is the negative of *Soq-ur* (Continuative Participle).

§ *Ahl-im bár ái-ga.* The root of the defective verb *bár* is here used as a Verbal Adjective.

‖ *Kirgan-im, soq-qan-im,* Verbal Substantives in the possessed form; lit. "my entering," "my striking." *Alip-kirmak* is a compound verb = "having taken, to enter" = "to take into."

¶ Lit. "having obtained the option, if she pleases, let her &c."

** *One* out of the three which Musalman law allows before the divorce is irrevocable under ordinary circumstances.

OPINION OF ONE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE AMIR OF KASHGHAR'S COUNSEL LEARNED IN THE LAW.

TRANSLATION.

Case put:

(Whereas) by his statement (it appears) that, as was pre-ordained, a sum of thirty-three tangas was lost from the house of Sufúrgi Baï from his bed, and afterwards Sufúrgi Baï said to (his) wife Aï Khán: "If you have put away this money, thirty-three tangas, produce it, (and) I will add twenty-four tangas, and will make a cloak after your heart's desire and give (it to you) [*or*, will cause to be made (for you) &c.]; (and) if (when) you have produced the money, I should not add the (other) money and give you the cloak, and should not stand to my promise, (then) be you thrice divorced." Thus he made* conditions.

[*Opinion:*]

Under these circumstances, according to the terms of the Holy Law, the said Aï Bibi may not have produced the money, and Sufúrgi Baï may not have given the twenty-four tangas to the said Aï Bibí; (but) the said Aï Bibi does *not*, by a breach† of Sufúrgi Baï's promise, become divorced three times as against‡ Sufúrgi Baï. *And God knows best.* (Arabic.)

"That which depends on a condition does not come into operation in the absence of that condition." (Qází Khán.)§

"That which depends on a condition is wanting previous to the existence of the same." (Niháya.)§

"And every thing which depends on a qualification does not come into operation without the existence of the same." (Doubtful.)§

[Seal.]

He who supplicates the mercy of the Lord of Evidence‖: Mufti Muhammad, son of Hisámu-'d-dín.

* All the verbs, excepting those supposed to be spoken by Sufúrgi Baï, down to this point, are in the Potential form as being dependent on the statement of the applicant.

† The negative expressed in the concluding verb applies to the preceding clause also. The phrase might be rendered "It is *not* the case that Sufúrgi Baï has broken his promise, and that (therefore) Aï Bibí has become divorced."

‡ Lit. "to the injury of."

§ These Arabic quotations are from the books of expounders of the law brought in as authorities for the decision come to. The authorship of the last is entered as "doubtful."

‖ Or, "the manifest Lord."

EXTRACTS

From the Tazkiratu-'l Bughra.

(Literal translation.)

Extract I.

* * * * * *

One day a disciple* of the holy Abu-an-nasar Sámáni inquired: "Oh; Reverend man, so much goods and wealth† being (in your possession), why do you (*lit.* they) carry on commerce?" he said: Then the holy Kh'ájah Abu-an-nasr Sámáni said: "Oh disciple, you say well; but since I have come to my wits I have never at any time set aside the traditions of the Holy Prophet of God. Therefore I do not choose to neglect them (lit. the neglecting them). When I go out on a journey (lit. in my going out to a journey) by paying customs (lit. having given customs), I cause advantage to Musalmáns; should I abandon trade I should remain excluded from the merit of paying customs."

And again he spoke: "Oh disciples, have ye not heard this story? One day the Prophet of God had sat down in the Blessed Mosque. Several indigent companions (of the Prophet) came in (lit. having entered, came). They said: 'Oh Prophet of God, other companions (of thine) (who are) rich, pay customs. To us also command some work that may obtain (for us) the merit of customs (paying), (that) we also having done that work may obtain the merit of customs (paying).' Thus they petitioned (lit. having said they made petition).

"The Holy Prophet said: 'Oh poor companions, daily the service of morning prayer having been recited, if you say thirty-three times '*Subhán-allah;*' thirty-three times '*Al-hamdu-'l Illah;*' thirty-three times '*Alláhu akbar;*' ten times '*La Iláha ill' Allah, wahdahu, la-sharíka lahu, lahu'l-mulku wa lahu-'l-hamdu wa hua 'ala kulli shai-in qadír,*'‡ ye will obtain the merit of giving customs. (Thus) saying he commanded."

"These indigent companions remained very happy. Some days after the rich companions having heard, they also recited (the words). These poor companions having again come into the presence of the Holy Prophet of God, said: 'Oh Prophet of God, the rich companions also having recited the prayers which we have to recite (lit. the us-to-be-recited prayers), are obtaining the merits of these also!' thus they represented.

* Here the word "disciple" is put in the plural out of respect, although a single one is indicated by the word *bir* "one." This is a very common usage. Abu-an-nasr seems to have lived in the 4th century after Muhammad.

† Lit. "to that extent goods and wealth having stood."

‡ There is no Divinity but Allah alone. He has no partner; Dominion is His, and praise is His, and His power extends over all. A.

"Then the Holy Prophet said: '*Zalika fazl-ullahi yutihi man yashà*';* that is: 'God the Exalted gives the merit of (paying) customs to (whatever) servant of His he chooses (lit. to his chosen servant). I, how shall I do (anything)?' Thus he answered.

"Therefore it is known that in (paying) customs there is exceeding profit. To this end I have not abandoned commerce," he said.

EXTRACT II.

'It is that Abu-an-nasr Sámáni' said the Holy Prophet of God 'who shall acquire Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán for the Faith.'

At once the companions computed the date and wrote: 'After the Prophet of God shall have passed from the world three hundred and thirty-three years, in the land of Turkistàn, one by name the Holy Sultán Satuq Bughrà Khán Ghází, a noble person, shall come into existence; at the age of twelve he shall be acquired to the Faith.' Thus they wrote.

And again on the spot the Prophet of God spoke: "*Awwalu man aslama min at-Turk.*"†

The meaning of this saying is this: as much as to say that: 'from the direction of Turkistán Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán Ghází will become a Musalmán.'‡

So that after a certain period the Holy Kh'ájah Abu-an-nasr Sámáni came into existence in this world; as he went on reading the revealed knowledge, he saw this saying: "*Awwalu man aslama min at-Turk.*" 'What sort of a person may this Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán be' he said (to himself). Without having seen him he began to love him.

He looks§ at the date; but little (time) remains to the coming into existence of the Holy Sultán. His love and friendship coming off victorious he started on a journey in search of the Sultán, in the direction of Turkistán.

* * * * *

EXTRACT III.

The Holy Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán Ghází entered the twelfth year of his age.‖ Until that (time) the Holy Sultán was in appearance an infidel.

* Lit. "That is the grace of God which falls upon whomsoever He chooses." A.

† Lit. "The first who professed Islám among the Turks." A.

‡ This is of course a very free rendering by the pious historian, for in the Prophet's traditional saying no name is reported.

§ Lit. "he might look," Pres. Pot. But this tense is used in an historic sense like the "historic present."

‖ He appears to have been the son of a King of Káshghar of the family of the mythic Afrasiab.

One day the Holy Sultán went out a-hunting. Going along hunting he arrived at a place called *Baqu* in Lower *Artüsh*. He looked; (and saw that) several men of pleasing appearance and of pure disposition had encamped on a grassy spot. The Holy Sultán, with his companions, started in the direction of these travellers.

Having looked, they were astonished saying: "In these cities there were not (ever) such people, such men. What people are these? Come! let us go and see." (Thus) saying they moved on.

But these travellers* were the Holy Kh'ájah Abu-an-nasr Sámáni (and his company). Abu-an-nasr† looks‡: several horsemen are coming. They came near. He looks (again): it must be the Holy Satuq Bughra Khán (whose mention he had) seen in the History (of the Prophet's sayings).

On seeing (him) Abu-an-nasr said: "Thanks be to God, (the object of) my petition has been obtained,"§ and he rejoiced exceedingly.

Immediately he said to his servants: "The Lord of the present and future worlds, (the object of) my desire comes. Or rather, the reason of my coming to this country was because of this noble person. Oh servants! leave the baggage open," (so) saying, with Abu-an-nasr leading, all the travellers stood up to prayer. Having finished their prayer, they came back to their places and sat down. Till that time the Sultán remained on the back of his horse.

The Sultán, astonished, said: "(These) are‖ wonderful travellers; without caring for us, leaving their baggage open, they have become occupied in striking their heads on the ground."

He was (saying) these words, (when) Abú-an-nasr came seven steps of ground into the presence of the Sultán, and made a salutation. The Sultán, getting off his horse, went to meet the Kh'ájah Abú-an-nasr. The Kh'ájah invited¶ the Sultán and brought (him) with honour and respect to the place (where he was) sitting; bringing out his best goods by pairs to the Sultán, he placed these choice things in (his) presence.

Then the Sultán with heart and soul accepted (the attentions of) the

* *Kárwán* is used in Central Asia to mean one of the persons composing what we should call a "caravan," and not to mean the entire assemblage, as is indeed evident from the word in the text being in the plural.

† The long titles are omitted for brevity.

‡ The "historic present."

§ The word "de'p" (having said), which comes in here, may be taken as answering to our inverted commas.

‖ *Duk* for *dur* (respectful form).

¶ *Taklif qelmáq*, a common Oriental expression for "to invite". Cf. French "donnez vous la peine d'entrer."

Kh'ájah. As it was in the Sultán's mind, (that) the Holy Khizr had said some one should be produced who should teach him Musalmánism,* he doubted whether this might not be the very person. He asked: "What (is your) name"? Then the Kh'ájah answered "my name is Abú-an-nasr Sámáni."

The Sultán recognised that this must be the person spoken of by Khizr† (on whom be peace).‡ He rejoiced and said: "Oh father, whatever you may say I will agree to. But, while we sat by on horseback, you left your baggage open, without fearing lest we should take (it), and became busied in striking your heads on the ground. We know you not. Tell us the truth of these proceedings of yours." (Thus) he spoke.

Then the Kh'ájah said: "Oh, Prince, in this world there is not an abiding world. Every one will go from this world; money, goods, riches, will not satisfy men; but rather by reason of money and goods men become captive to Hell. And again, we all are about making a journey from this world to the next, we have made ready the provisions and accoutrements (fitted) to a person who is travelling from this world." (Thus) he answered .....

The Sultán having heard this speech from the Kh'ájah, a fear was produced in his heart.

He said: "Oh Kh'ájah, what dost thou say (when) about to become a Musalmán; I also will say it and become a Musalmán."

The Holy Kh'ájah said: "Repeat the *Kalimah tayibah* '*Lá Iláha ill' Alláh, Muhammad Rasúl-illáh*' (there is no Divinity but Alláh, Muhammad is the Messenger of Alláh), (and) the *Kalimah-i-Shahádat* '*Ashhadu an lá Iláha ill' Alláh, wa ashhadu anna Muhammadan 'abduhú wa Rasùluhú*' (I testify that there is no Divinity but Alláh, and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and his messenger)."

The Sultán said the '*Kalimah-i-Shahádat* (the declaration of testimony) and the '*Kalimah tayibah*' (the beautiful declaration).

Then he asked: "Who is the person (you) call Muhammad?" The Holy Kh'ájah said: "(He who is) called Muhammad (is) the friend of God. God the Exalted has created this world and the next for the sake of that Muhammad. He, on the Day of Judgment, shall release sinners from

* This barbarous compound exactly represents the equally barbarous compound in the text. The entire phrase is literally: "..some one having been produced, that some-one shall teach me Musalmánism."

† The oriental name of the Prophet Elias, whose apparition to Sultán Satuq is related in a previous chapter of the Tazkiratu-'l-Bughra.

‡ This clause is followed by the inevitable "de'p" referring to words not spoken but thought.

Hell, and take them to Paradise. The Faith of that Muhammad is right, and his laws (are) right; (they) are not like the laws of other Prophets. The laws of other Prophets are abrogated.* Whoever walks in the path trodden by Muhammad he shall attain his desire and wish." Thus he described the Messenger of God.

Then the Sultán said to the Kh'ájah: "Oh (thou) who showest the way to those who have lost it†, if there be any other thing to be taught (to teach) besides the declaration of testimony, teach (me); that I also having learnt (it) may busy myself about the service of God."

* * * * *

Extract IV.

The Holy Sultán having called one by one the forty persons save one, (and they) having come, he said: "Oh friends, if you choose to maintain friendship with me, like me become Musalmán. The Faith of the Holy Muhammad, the Messenger of God, is the greatest of all Faiths‡, and the most distinguished. Into this Faith enter ye. (Thus) he exhorted (them).

* * * * *

Extract V.

The Holy Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán's (step) father§ Hárun Bughra Khán was even worse than a stone in infidelity. His army was numberless. By his sagacity he became aware that Sultán Satuq had become a Musalmán, but, moreover, in order to convince himself the better, he told no one.‖

* * * * *

Extract VI.

He formed the project of killing the Holy Sultán. The Sultán's mother having understood this matter, complained, and said: "Oh infidel! why dost thou slay my son, obtained after so many years of mortification and pain?" With such words she intervened.¶

* The text says منسوخ و باطيل 'abrogated and false,' but the Musalman transcriber refused to copy the word باطيل 'false', saying this would be wrong theology, as the laws of Moses and Christ are only *superseded* by the laws of Muhammad, but are not *false* in themselves! However, the word باطل has the meaning '*abolished*' as well as '*false*.'

† Lit. "Oh shower (of) the road to the road-losers."

‡ A good example of the Superlative.

§ He seems to have married Satuq's mother after the death of her former husband, Satuq's father, and become King in his place.

‖ Lit. "With sagacity he ascertained the Sultán's becoming a Musalmán. But, moreover, query that it may be better known, (thus) saying (to himself)," &c.

¶ Lit. "Descended in the midst."

Hárun Bughra Khán's anger having arisen, he said: "Oh woman!* (your son) having deserted our faith, the friendship of Muhammad has prevailed (with him)."

She replied: "Oh infidels, try my son and observe; if he has entered the faith of Muhammad, then kill (him)." This proposal was accepted by Hárun Bughra Khán.

* * * * *

Extract VII.

Hárun Bughra Khán, having consulted with all the chiefs, said: "Let us build an idol-temple." They made ready the bricks, and sent some one to call the Sultán. He came.

Hárun Bughra Khán said: "Oh child, we are doubtful whether you have not left our faith, and entered the faith of Muhammad."†

The Sultán, after the manner of the infidels, took‡ an oath. Hárun placed no confidence (in it).

He said: "Oh child, I place no confidence in this oath of yours. We are building an idol-temple. If *you* raise the wall of this idol-temple, I shall believe (you)."

The Holy Sultán arose in haste,§ and reflected saying (to himself) "How shall I act?" He consented, but became sad and perplexed.....

Extract VIII.

He went into the presence of the Holy Kh'ájah, and said: "Oh venerable one! Hárun Bughra Khán suspects my having become a Musalmán. In order to try me, I believe he is about building‖ an idol-temple. He says: 'Do *you* first raise the wall of that temple.' If I agree, I shall depart from the Faith of Islám and fall into infidelity.¶ What counsel is there for me."

The Holy Kh'ájah said: "Oh child! in order to preserve themselves**

* *Mazlúm*, lit. "oppressed one," is used in Káshghar, &c., instead of the word "woman."

† Lit. "You (acc.) we doubt, saying: from our faith having gone out, he has entered into the faith of Muhammad."

‡ Lit. "drank an oath."

§ Lit. "running arose."

‖ *Ita-dur-mish* (the Hear-say Compound Present) "he is understood to be about building," or "I believe he is about building."

¶ Lit. "Having gone out from the Faith of Islám, I am about entering into infidelity."

** *Muháfizat qelmáq* and *saqlamáq* are identical in meaning; one expression being half Arabic and the other Turki.

many people have held it lawful to do forbidden acts. If in laying out the wall you lay it out with the (mental) purpose, saying (I intend this as) a mosque, certainly in the presence of God you will obtain merit, (and) you will be delivered from the evil designs of the infidels. Be not over-much afflicted."*

The Sultán Satuq having heard these words, rejoiced (and) returned home.

In the morning (when) the sun rose Hárun caused to make proclamation, saying: "Let all the troops and chiefs assemble at the place (where) the temple is to be built." All the infidels assembled at the place (where) the temple was to be built.

Hárun having sent and fetched the Holy Sultán, said: "Oh child! if you are of our faith, do the same works that we do. What we bow† the head to, do you also bow (your) head to. We, this day, are building a temple. Do you first, leading, place the bricks; our heart will at once‡ become at ease."

The Holy Sultán said: "Very well," and of his own accord tucking up the front§ (skirt of his robe) to his waist, and turning up the sleeve of his fore-arm, with all his friends, (forming) the (mental) intention of (building) a mosque, lifting up the bricks by twos, he went and took and deposited them at the place for building the idol-temple.

The third time he had gone to take‖ a brick, Hárun called out saying: "Oh, my child! my son! stop; more than this it is not in my power to cause your body to work.¶ Even now there was an object of mine in my causing you to do thus. Now my heart has become at ease. Now whatsoever you may please, (that) do."

Having said (this) the whole of his troops returned and settled down.

* * * * * * *

Extract IX.

The Sultán, having spent half the night, went with those forty persons less one into the presence of the Holy Kh'ájah.

"Oh Venerable one! ..... If you give me the advice, I will make an assault and have a hit at** the infidels. Perhaps God the Exalted will give us victory."....

* *Fareshán* for *pareshán*.

† Lit. "The we-head-striking thing."

‡ Literally, "on that (spot)."

§ *Fesh* for *pesh*.

‖ Lit. "saying 'I will take.'"

¶ Lit. "there is no power of mine to the causing to work your body (acc.)."

** *Tig-mak* means "to hit" as a bullet hits the mark, or as a horse-load hits against a rock.

EXTRACT X.

The Holy Kh'ájah and the Sultán, with all their friends, arose and set out.

They arrived at the palace of Hárun Bughra Khán. The Holy Kh'ájah raising his hands made a prayer: "By Thy Divine grace and favour give the infidels a deep sleep, and to the Musalmáns give victory." Thus he prayed. At that moment, in fulfilment of the Holy Kh'ájah's prayer, (God) gave to the infidels such a (deep) sleep, that one might seize one (of them) by the waist and drag him out,* (and) none of the others would be aware of it .....

* * * * * *

EXTRACT XI.

The Sultán Satuq, dismounting from his horse and baring his sword, entered Hárun's palace.

He looks, Hárun Bughra Khán remains asleep. One of his servants sits attending to the lamp.

He raised his sword to cut off Hárun's head.† Again it came into his heart that the killing of an enemy in his sleep is the part of a coward.‡ 'It is best to awaken this infidel from his sleep, and exhort him to the Faith.§'

Again he paused and said: "However much an infidel he may be, I have eaten his salt. I will respect the claim of salt."

Thus saying, he touched his leg with the point of his sword, and said: "Hárun Bughra Khán!" Awaking suddenly he looks; (and behold) Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán, with his drawn sword presented at his head, stands there.

This infidel said: "Oh Sultán Satuq, having all this wealth, for what reason doest thou such a deed."

Then the Holy Sultán replied: "Oh infidel! The best of deeds is this, that thou do what I do. Arise, the time is short. Consider (this) opportunity (as) valuable. Say this holy profession of faith: 'there is no Divinity but Allah, Muhammad (is) the Messenger of Allah.' Repeat (it)" he said.

That luckless infidel consented not. However much the Sultán insisted, this hellish (one) consented not, guided by God to become a Musalmán.

* Lit. "Having seized by the waist of one (of them), (any one) would be likely to drag him out."

† Lit. "Saying 'I will cut off' &c."

‡ Lit. "Comes out from un-manliness."

§ Lit. "That is the good (course) that having awakened this infidel from his sleep, I should make him desirous of the Faith."

The Sultán several times brandished his sword to cut off his head.* Again he considered: "I have eaten his salt, he has a father's claim," and returned his sword. Finally having brought his hundred desires to the threshold of God, (who is) beyond (all) desire, he prayed saying: "Oh great God! Thou seest the state of all creatures, (and thou hast seen) how many times I raised my sword to cut off his head, but respected his father's claims and the claim of the salt. Although there may be (this) father's claim (on me), oh God, by thy avenging attributes, cause this infidel to be swallowed in the earth." Thus he prayed.

The Holy Sultán's prayers were accepted; the earth trembled, the earth was split, and swallowed up Hárun Bughra Khán to the knees.

The Holy Sultán said: "Oh infidel, seest thou what has happened.† Come! profess the Faith.‡ I will pray for thee.§ Free thyself from this evil." Thus he exhorted.

That wretch replied: "It is better for me to enter into the earth than to enter into thy religion."‖ So he consented not.

(The earth) swallowed him in up to the neck. Still he consented not. The Sultán's wrath arose. Again he prayed. The earth swallowed up Hárun Bughra Khán, and he was not.

At that auspicious moment a ray of light proceeded from the dawning of day. The Holy Sultán exclaimed: "Beat the drum of Islám in my name; go forth and say, that it is (now) the rule of Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán Ghází. Shout loudly the invitation to prayer." Thus he issued his commands.

Extract XII.

The Holy Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán, at the age of twelve and a half, became occupied in wars of religion. During the summer he made war on the infidels. In winter-time he performed the service and worship of God the Exalted.

The Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán Ghází until his ninety-sixth year, as far as the River Amu that is before Balkh¶ on this side towards sun-

* "Saying, I will cut off his head."

† Lit. "this state of affairs."

‡ Lit. "bring faith."

§ Lit. "to thee." But "*du'á*" must be understood as a prayer to God, or intercession.

‖ Lit. "my entering the earth is better, &c."

¶ Lit. "the in-front-of-Balkh river Amu."

rising* as far as the place called "Karák" on the north as far as the place called "Qarà-qurdum"† [*sic*] (the said) Sultán, having converted the infidels to Islám by his sword, established the laws and religion of the Holy Muhammad, the Messenger of God, and gave them currency.

..... They buried the Holy Sultán at a place called *Mashhad* in Lower *Artüsh*, in (the country of) *Kàshqar*.

..... At the time of the Holy Sultán's leaving this world, the date was *four hundred and twenty-nine.*‡.....

EXTRACT XIII.

The King Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán Ghází had§ four sons and three daughters. The name of one (of the) daughters (was) ..... *'Ala-núr Khànem.* Now 'Ala-núr Khánem was a sainted lady‖ of very pure appearance and chaste disposition, of right faith and firm belief¶; and her story is like that of the Blessed Mary [may peace be with her]. In this wise: that when she had arrived at maturity, one night she was worshipping God the Exalted; the Holy Gabriel [on whom be peace] came and distilled a drop of light into her sacred mouth.

Fainting she lost her consciousness. Again she returned to life.

Another tradition is, that one night she was going out to the door. At the door (behold) a lion is standing. At the sight of the lion the perspiration bedewed (her brow). Her consciousness forsook her; again she returned to life. After many days, after many months, on the tenth of the month Ashur, on a Friday at the time of assembly for prayer, a son came into existence, of ruddy countenance, with the eyes of a gazelle.

Great and small, all remained in wonder, saying: "What manner of an occurrence is this?" The king in anger commanded, saying: "Ascertain the truth of this matter."

The nobles, the learned, and great men, questioned 'Alanúr Khánem. She related the circumstances one by one. The assembled sagacious and wise men, and the learned and great, full of awe, exclaimed: "It is the Holy 'Alí."

* Probably for *kön qish* (which has no sense), should be read *kön chigish* which has the sense given above. Otherwise it might read "as far as *Kun-qish Karák*."

† The whole passage is confused in the original as is shown in the translation.

‡ Answering to A. D. 1037. The dates given agree with the age ascribed to Satuq Bughra Khán when he died, *viz.* 96 years. He is said to have been born in A. H. 333, and to have died in A. H. 429.

§ Lit. "of the king.... there were four sons," &c.

‖ *Za'ífa* is used as a term of respect equivalent to "lady"; and *marhúm* is used of the faithful dead.

¶ Lit. "mistress of certainty."

Deriving the lineage from that Holy personage, they named him saying: "Let his name be *Sayad 'Alí Arslán** Khán*.....

After the Royal Prince Sayad 'Alí Arslán Khán had reached the age of seven, (they) married 'Ala-núr Khánem to Toq Buba Bughra Khán according to law. From them were born three sons; these are† Muhammad Arslán, Yusuf Arslán (and) Kizil Arslán Khán Pádsháh.

EXTRACT XIV.

It is related by tradition that the Holy Sultán Satuq Bughra Khán's eldest son Hasan Bughra Khan was king at Káshqar. At that time *Juqta Rashíd* and *Nuqta Rashíd, Jigálu-álkhalkhál*‡ of China, came with an army of thirty thousand, and beleaguered the city of Káshqar for a certain time.

In the scarcity when the Musulmáns became straitened, having distributed all the provisions (of every sort),§ these did not suffice, and they were reduced to the last extremity. Lest he should become‖ answerable for (the deaths of) these Musulmáns, Hasan Bughra Khán (together with) Yusuf Qadir Khán, Sayad 'Alí Arslán, with all their nobles, taking a force of forty thousand (men), issued out of the city and, drawing up their army, stood fast. The infidels also drew up their line of battle and stood.

They threw themselves on the infidels, and dispersed¶ them. The infidels in flight went to the town of Yangi-Hissar.....

EXTRACT XV.

The Holy Sayad 'Alí Arslán, taking a force of ninety thousand (men), pursued the infidels. Fighting with them as they went, he joined battle with them at a place called *Urtang Qara* (the Black Station). Here also there were several thousands of infidels. Attacking them, he caused the blood of the infidels to flow like the River Jaïhún.** Sword and battle-axe had no effect on the Holy Prince. The infidels remained in astonishment. The Jigálu-álkhalkhál said: "Sword and battle-axe have no effect at all on him; nothing pierces him. How may (one) do (that) a sword shall pierce the

* *Arslán* means 'lion,' referring to the story of his birth.

† *Duk* for *dur* is a respectful form.

‡ I venture to suppose that this word (unknown to those natives of Turkistán whom I have consulted) is a corrupted Chinese or Kalmák name of some dignity or office.

§ Lit. "Water and food."

‖ Lit. "Saying, 'Let me not be answerable for these Musulmáns.'"

¶ *Farákanda* for *parákanda*.

** The Oxus. Lit. "From the infidels he caused to flow a Jaïhún of blood."

Holy Prince? Whoever may be likely to give intelligence (of) this, I will give (him) the equivalent of his (own) stature (in) gold." Thus he promised.

At that time there was an old man of Uját* amongst the infidels. He said: "I will accomplish this work."†

He betook himself with guile to the army of Islàm. For several days he went to and fro in the army, (and) entered into the service of the Prince's kitchen. No one paid any attention to him.

One day (the Prince) had returned from the holy fight and sat down. He related several occurrences of the fight, and (the man of Ujàt) having praised and commended the Prince, asked a question, saying: "Oh Prince, Refuge of the World, sword and battle-axe have no effect on your Highness. What circumstance is this?"

The Holy Sayad 'Alí Arslán in his good-humour, said: "At no time does a sword or battle-axe pierce me. Except (that) when I stand up to prayer, my body becomes water; at that time if (any one) were to strike me with a reed (even) he would pierce (me)." (The old man) was going about attentive (to discover) what (was) the case and what (were) the circumstances of this magical power. He heard this speech from the gem-scattering (lips) of the Holy Prince; no one became aware of the matter.

This traitor, having gone out from the midst of the army, told (the) good news to the Jigálu-álkhalkhál of China. This infidel rejoiced and gave much gold and jewelry to this traitor.

* * * * *

Extract XVI.

One day they were calling to morning prayer. The Musalmáns assembled and stood in rows. They performed the instituted rites; and saying the *Takbîr*‡ for the religious duty, they arose to prayer.

The Surah§ (beginning) "Verily we have given" was in the mind of the Mullá Imám.‖ But "Verily we have granted a victory"¶ came to his mouth.

* I am informed by a resident of Khotan that *Uját* is a village near the capital of that province; and that, in connection with the occurrence mentioned in the text, there is still a saying current applied to a disloyal or treacherous person: "He is an *Ujátliq*." See note at end of this Translation. In Eastern Turkistán the word *Kampîr* used in the text, generally means an old *woman*. Perhaps it should have been translated so here.

† Lit. "the work (acc.) of this."

‡ The words "God is greatest" with which the prayers begin.

§ Chapter of the Korán. The chapter beginning thus is the 108th, a short one.

‖ The Mulla who leads the prayer.

¶ This is the beginning of the 48th chapter of the Korán. The verse quoted below is the 28th-29th of the same chapter.

The infidels were on the alert; they considered the opportunity valuable. Entering (the field) rank on rank they sent the Musalmáns to martyrdom; and just as they (the worshippers) reached this verse—"and God is a sufficient witness, Muhammad is the Messenger of God"—a sword struck the sacred head of the Prince. The head was severed from the body. From the sacred head of the Prince there came a voice:

"Well, it is a careless Mullá" it said.

His proper name was "Mullá 'Alam." The nick-name "Kh'ájah Bé-gham" (careless Kh'ájah) became affixed to him.*

* * * * * * *

Extract XVII.

The infidels urged their horses against (the Prince's) household. These (men) stood still and fought. They made over ever so many infidels to Hell. The attacking infidels finally made martyrs of them.

Then the Lady Mariam Khánem, with several (of her) maids, drawing a sigh of grief, entered the battle. They sent five and twenty infidels to Hell. The unbelievers came on to the attack. She looked at the earth (for help). The earth split; at that moment she entered the earth and disappeared. After that they slew the maids.

* * * * * * *

Extract XVIII.

The Holy *Hasan* Bughra Khán Ghází, the Holy *Isan* Bughra Khán Ghází, the Holy *Yúsuf Qadír* Khán Ghází, these Princes entered the plain. Killing infidels, they made the blood to flow (like the River) Jaïhún; they cut (them) in pieces, and took their goods as booty.

Juqta Rashíd and Nuqta Rushíd, Jigálu-álkhalkhál of China, with a force of twelve thousand (men), fled. (The Princes) pursuing after, reached (the place) called *Kukiár*.† There they fought for seven nights and days. Many Musalmáns became martyrs. With all this fighting, (matters) did not come right. Othman Bughra Khán, a son of the Holy Sultán, with sixty persons, met with martyr's deaths. The infidels, fighting as they went, retreated to a town of China.

* * * * * * *

* A certain "*Hazrat Begam*" is reverenced as a local saint at Qizil. I was much exercised at hearing this saint spoken of as a *man*; whereas the title would mean "the Holy Princess." But perhaps it is the "Kh'ájah *Bégham*" of the text, who has been converted by local superstition into a saint, like Pilate.

† The last village on the winter route to Tibet, south of Yarkand.

EXTRACT XIX.

The Holy *Yúsuf Qadír* Khán Ghází and the Holy *Hasan* Bughra Khán Ghází came to the town of *Yárkand* and dwelt (there). They persuaded the people towards Islám. By the point of the tongue* they became Musalmáns, and professed the Faith. The people made an offering of their money and goods, their lives and bodies. They gave all of them to the poor.

On behalf of this people (the Princes) prayed for a blessing. All the Musalmáns said 'Amen.' The prayer on behalf of these Musalmáns (converts) met with acceptance. It is said that by virtue of this prayer the city of Yárkand shall never be destroyed.....

* * * * * *

EXTRACT XX.

Then they came to the place (where) the Holy Sayad Prince *'Alí Arslán* Khán Ghází (had been) martyred.....The Holy Sultán *Hasan* Bughra Khán Ghází having bared his head, and fixing† his eyes on Heaven, opened his hands‡ and prayed. The Musalmáns said 'Amen.'

The prayer was as yet not finished when a dark whirlwind arose. It was as if the sky and the earth were about to become one.§

After a short space of time the storm passed away. The world became bright (again). They look! (and behold) sand has settled over the martyrs; salt has settled on the infidels. For that reason they gave (to the place) the name "Qum Shahidán" (martyrs' sand).‖

* * * *

.....After this (the Sultán Hasan Bughra Khán) arose with all his troops and set out for Káshqar. He went and sat on his throne. The whole people of Káshqar, weeping tear upon tear,¶ like the rain of early spring, made mourning (for 'Alí Arslán).....

.....They say it was in the year four hundred and eighty-nine,** the tenth of the month 'Ashur, a Friday,†† (that) the Prince Sayad 'Alí Arslán

* As distinguished from the "point of the sword."

† Lit. "Sewing."

‡ In the manner usual in the Musulmán's prayers.

§ Lit. "It became as if about to make the sky the earth, and the earth the sky."

‖ Still known by that name, to the South-East of Yangi-Hissár.

¶ Lit. "Lamentation and lamentation."

** A. D. 1095.

†† This date of the month and week seems to be ascribed as a matter of course to every event of any importance or solemnity. *'Ashur* is really not a month, but the tenth day of the month Muharram.

Khán Ghází partook of the sherbet of Martyrdom, drank the purifying draught and became a martyr.

* * * *

Extract XXI.

It is related that these Princes, (namely) the Sultán *Hasan* Bughra Khán Ghází, the Prince *Isan* Bughra Khán, the Prince *Husaïn* Bughra Khán, and the Prince *Yúsuf Qadír* Khán, sat on the throne of sovereignty for twelve years.

In their time if they saw or heard of any one not dressed in a turban,* they used to drive an iron nail into his head. (The state of) cultivation was such that no one would take a '*chárak*' of grain (if offered) for a "*pul*."†.....

Extract XXII.

These Princes were sitting on the throne of abundance (when) it was reported to the Maulánáa Sa'íd of Káshqar‡ that one hundred persons, with their three chiefs, were coming as Ambassadors from Turkistán.

"Let them enter" said the king.

Kh'ájah 'Abdu'llah of Turkistán (and) Kh'ájah Abu-Bakr of Tàshkand entering kissed the earth in several places and stood up.

The king (said): "May you not suffer fatigue or hunger! What is your condition?§ Ye have suffered‖ privation and trouble." Thus he questioned them.

They also having made obeisance said: "Oh King, Protector of the World, the land of Turkistán has lapsed into infidelity. We have come to ask for the intercession of Your Highness." Thus they petitioned...

These Princes having gathered together a countless host beyond all reckoning, rode into Turkistán .....

When they had reached Turkistán,¶ all the people, great and small, of their own accord, came and professed obedience. They were collected together at the king's gate.

* Lit. "turban-not-putting on person." *Kí-ma-gan* is the negative Indefinite Participle of the verb *Kí-mak*.

† A modern "chárak" of grain is about 15½lbs., and a "pul" is about the tenth part of a penny.

‡ Lit. "They gave news to the Maulána....saying: 'one hundred persons....

§ *Nihálíng* for *Ní hál-íng* "what (is) your condition."

‖ Lit. "drawn out."

¶ The town and district called "Hazrat Turkistán" or "Hazrat Sultán" after the Saint "Sultán Ahmad Yasáwí," whose shrine is mentioned below. It lies north of Tàshkand, in what is now Russian Turkistán.

After this the Holy Sultán, having made a procession round the shrine * of the King Kh'ájah Ahmad Yasáwí, prepared food and drink, and gave (it) to his army.....

The Holy Sultán remained during that summer and winter, and conquered the whole of Turkistán and Tàshkand. The next† year he again rode forth.....

He went through city by city, tribe by tribe, striking with his father's‡ sword, walking in his ways, and alighting in his alighting places. Having defeated the infidels from the River Amun§ to the Sea Qulzum as far as Qurdum‖, by the gleam of his sword Islám became refulgent, and the pathway of the commandments was opened. The Faith of Islám (and) the religion of Ahmad [Muhammad] were firmly established. Up to this time several years passed. They then consulted, saying: "Let us return to the land of Káshqar. News has come that the land of Káshqar is drowned in infidelity."¶

Immediately they made proclamation on proclamation saying: "Let the army be assembled." The army was assembled.

The Sultán *Hasan* Bughra Khán said to the Prince *Yúsuf Qadír* Khán: "Go you to Madain, make petition to the Holy Imáms, saying: the land of Káshkar has gone over to infidelity we believe. We desire help from Your Holinesses." Thus make your petition, he said.

The Prince *Yúsuf Qadír* Khán went to Madaïn.** The King *Hasan* Bughra Khán came with seventy thousand men and sat down to besiege the city of Káshqar. They killed all these infidels, and made blood to flow (like the River) Jaïhún. The Musalmáns met with victory.

The infidels having brought over the people of Káshqar to their own faith, (these) had eaten the flesh of dogs, asses and pigs, (and) considered unclean snakes to be lawful (food); (thus) they had become and remained unrestrained infidels††.....

* "Mazárát-*lar*" a double plural of respect.

† "*Sung-gí*" = "áge-walla" (Hind.)

‡ *Jáfib* for *chápib*; *fadar* for *padar*, P.

§ For *Amu* (the Oxus).

‖ *Qulzum* means the Red Sea usually, but also any other sea or lake. *Qurdum* means in Turki a place where waters disappear in the soil. (*Qurdum Qáq* is the name given to the district where the Yárkand River disappears after stagnating in lakes and marshes.) But this *Qurdum* is perhaps the same as the *Qara* (black) *Qurdum* mentioned in Ext. XII, and is perhaps intended for the *Kara-koram* of Chingiz-Khan (by an anachronism). However, from what comes after, it might be thought that all these places should be in *Western* Turkistan.

¶ The Hear-say Tense in *mish*.

** Identified with the old city of Ctesiphon, on the Tigris.

†† A good instance of the favourite Turki formation of sentences.

From the side of the infidels *Juqta Rashíd* entered the plain. From the side of the Musalmáns the Prince *Isan* Bughra Khán entered the plain, and showed forth his bravery. He declared his name and lineage, and entered the battle-field. He fought in such a manner that his praise cannot be fittingly spoken.*.....

* * * * * *

EXTRACT XXIII.

In fine they thus relate: that these four Imáms were at Madaïn. They had gone out on a three-months' hunting excursion. The Prince *Yúsuf Qadir Khan* standing respectfully in the Presence, made petition "Oh, Seed of the Prophet of God! we come from Káshqar. The land of Káshqar has become entirely infidel. If victory be not obtained in the time of such descendants of the Prophet as you, after this there will be no victory. If your permission be given, should there be a certain force of Islám with us, please God the Exalted, if God shows favour, having gained the victory we will come to the door way of your Holinesses."

The Holy *Imám Násru-'d-dín* said: "Oh Chiefs! Quickly collect an army, and go (forth) with His Highness the Prince *Yúsuf*; if ye should be defeated, send a despatch to us." Thus he commanded.

* * * * * *

EXTRACT XXIV.

His Highness *Hasan* Bughrá Khán Ghází gave commandment: "Let an army be collected. No quarter is to be given to infidels."

In three days the army was collected. Taking the whole force, he went and encamped at the town of Yangi-Hissár. With its advanced posts at *Altunluq* (and) its rear (extending) to *Urtang Qara*, the infidel (army) was lying encamped. They fought for some days..... At that time several hundred infidels, making a sortie from the mountains, began to slaughter the Musulmáns. Then *Husain*† Bughra Khán foaming at the mouth, (and) bellowing like a mad camel, made fierce war. He moved on, causing the blood to flow (like the River) Jaïhún. By the Heavenly decree, being struck with arrows in several places, he fell a Martyr.....

EXTRACT XXV.

His Highness *Hasan* Bughra Khán came into the plain ..... Becoming exhausted, he raised a cry of grief and threw himself (on the foe). He caused the blood to flow from the infidels (like the River) Jaï-

* Lit. "that it will not come rightly into laudation."

† Here "Isan" should probably be read instead of "Hussain."

hún. Arrows struck the Holy King in several places. A flood of blood was poured forth. *Nuqta* Rashîd severed the sacred head of the Holy King from his body.....

After the Holy *Hasan* Bughra Khán Ghází had suffered martyrdom, the infidels slaughtered* all the Musalmáns. (It was) as if the Last Day had come. The light of the world became darkness.....

EXTRACT XXVI.

His Highness *Yúsuf Qadîr* Khán was at Madaïn..... Hearing that *Yúsuf Qádîr* was coming from Madaïn with an army of a hundred thousand men,† Juqta Rashîd fled away with all his forces to the cities of China.

The people of Káshqar took valuables and presents, and went to meet the Holy *Yúsuf Qadîr* in the Mountains of *Andijàn*. They pressed the skirt of his robe to their eyes, and kissed his feet.....

EXTRACT XXVII.

They further relate that the Prince *Yúsuf Qadîr* Khán took forty thousand men to‡ obtain vengeance for his father's (death). Having besieged *Khotan* and fought for twenty-four years, he took the land of Khotan, and slew the Jigálu-álkhalkhál of China. (Thus) he took vengeance for his father:

He brought (away) the goods and booty of Khotan; (on) the banks of the *Khán-Arik*§ he bought the Seven-Villages *(Yetti-kent)* of *Tàzghun* (at the rate of) a "chárak"‖ of land for one 'misqàl' of gold, and dedicated (them) to religious uses..

.....He returned to Káshqar by the upper road, and encamped at a place called *Qizil*. It being the place proper for building a "Langar"¶ in honor of the Holy Sayad *Arslán* Khán, he ordered a tank to be dug. Immediately they set to digging the tank. Loosening the ground with the points of

* Lit. "Caused to arrive at martyrdom."

† Lit. "Saying, Yúsuf Qadîr is believed to be coming..... ....." (the Hearsay tense in *mish*).

‡ Lit. "Saying: 'May I obtain &c.'".....

§ Or "Royal canal;" it is known by that name to this day, and is situated between Yangi-Hissár and Káshghar. *Tàzghun* means "stream." It is also the name of a River and district in the locality noted above.

‖ A "Chárak" of land is the extent which can be sown with one "chárak" of seed. A "chárak" of grain is about 15½lb. A 'miscal' of gold is the seventh part of a "sár" (3¾ rupees weight); at modern rates it is worth between 14 and 15 shillings. Land which took 1 lb of seed to sow was therefore bought for about 1 shilling.

¶ A "Langar" is a traveller's rest-house connected usually with some shrine.

their arrows, each man* carried away a handful of earth. In one day, it is said, the tank was completed.....†

Extract XXVIII.

‡The Holy Imáms having seen the letter, said :

"Oh friends ! a letter has come to us from the land of Káshqar. We are going in order to conquer the infidels. We have§ no other work than this."

.....They started in the direction of the land of Káshqar...After some time, having made Yúsuf Qádir Khán king over the land of Káshqar, (the Holy Imáms) set off in the direction of China. Having come there they sat down before a (certain) town. The infidels remained amazed at this army. At that time Juqta Rashíd had a magician. (This man) said : "Oh my King, why are you thus distressed. Is it necessary for them to see the town in order to take it, or can they take it without seeing it ?‖

Juqta Rashíd exclaimed : "Oh Vizier, what speech is this ? The city stands evident to the view,¶ (yet) he speaks thus !"

The magician responded : "However many days that army may stay here, (so long) will I conceal the town."

Juqta Rashíd having saluted him sat down. All the infidels were glad, and beat a roll on the drum of rejoicing.

Morning came. When the Holy Imáms had concluded their prayers, they ordered a certain one (saying) : "Go in (to the city) and say : These who have come are the descendants of the Holy Mustafa** (on whom be God's mercy and peace). Their Holy names are Imám Násiru-'d-dín, Imám Mu'inu-'d-dín, Imám Zuhúru-'d-dín, and Imám Qiwámu-'d-dín. They have come from Máwara an-Nahar in order to conquer the land of Káshqar, with an army of a hundred and forty thousand. They have ordered me (saying), go in and say to those infidels, hang your bows about your necks, come into my presence and become Musalmáns professing the Faith. If they do not profess the Faith, beginning with Juqta Rashíd,

* Lit. "By head of man."

† A similar story was told me at Qizil itself, where also I obtained my copy of the *Tazkiratu-'l-Bughra* (see Shaw's High Tartary, page 240).

‡ The story here returns to the time when *Yúsuf Qádir* had obtained assistance from the Imáms of Madaín, while *Hasan* Bughra Khán had gone on ahead (Ext. XXII) to recover Káshghar, and had been killed (Ext. XXV). We seem to have here a slightly different tradition.

§ Lit. "There is to us....."

‖ Lit. "Seeing will they take the town, will they also take it not seeing ?"

¶ Lit. "Standing showing itself."

** The Prophet Muhammad.

we will kill all the infidels, capture their children, and destroy their towns."*

Having heard these words, the light of the world became darkness to the infidels. The infidels considered and said: "We will not turn back from our faith." They pitched a green tent on (the roof of) the palace. The *Shamàn* leading, one and forty magicians became occupied in their magic.

They (the Musalmáns) prepared to fight. The city disappeared. They recognized that the magician must have exercised (his) enchantments. Morning broke, the city became visible again. They beat a roll on the battle drum. At the moment when the bold soldiers were urging their horses to the battle, the city disappeared.

In the same manner for forty years they fought together at (this) town of China. Finally one night Juqta Rashíd with all his army, fled.

* * * * *

Extract XXIX.

The Holy Imáms started in pursuit of Juqta Rashíd and Nuqta Rashíd.

.....The Imáms were at prayers, The infidels, finding the occasion opportune, slew† the Holy Imáms like sheep, at the time of prostration.

Then they all fought for the standard,‡ and cut off its bearer's hand. Without giving up the standard, he seized it between his knees. They cut off his (legs at the) knees also. He (then) held on to it with his neck (and shoulder). They severed his neck. The standard, soaring into the air, disappeared. The sun was eclipsed,§ the world became darkened. A voice came from the sky, a murmur came forth from the earth; the infidels went off towards China. One man fled and went to Káshqar, and gave the news to the King *Yúsuf Qádir* Khán.

Yúsuf Qádir Khán at once rode forth; (riding) night and day he arrived, and (when) he saw the sacred heads of the Holy Imáms severed from their bodies, his senses left him. Again, he became conscious, and saw that the bodies of men were lying scattered like the stones of the wilderness. He wondered at not being able to distinguish between infidels and Musalmáns.‖

* Lit. "having killed, &c., ...he destroys." Here the quotation is not kept to the proper person of the verb.

† Lit. "cut the throats."

‡ Lit. "saying, let us take the *tugh* (a standard made of a Yak's tail)."

§ Lit. "seized."

‖ Lit. "saying, it is not known whether infidels or Musalmáns, he remained in wonder."

He prayed, a thunder-storm arose, water flowed down from the mountains, rain fell from Heaven ; it placed the faces of the Musalmáns in the direction of the ' Qibla' ; it turned the infidels' bodies face downwards, and carried away the heads of the unbelievers.

Then they took the Holy Imáms' sacred bodies, and placed them in coffins. The other Musalmáns' bodies they buried.

The date was five hundred and ninety-six [A. D. 1199]. On the 10th day of the month Zi-'l Hajjah, a Monday, the Holy Imáms drank of the sherbet of martyrdom.

" But God knows best what is the truth."*

Note on the Ujatliqs.

[In the " Report of a Mission to Yarkand under Sir D. Forsyth, K. C. S. I." (Calcutta 1875) in the History of Káshghar, p. 127, Dr. Bellew on the authority of the " Tazkira Bughra Khan" with reference to a passage translated in Extract XV (above), says: "A poor and aged *Játlic*=Christian priest.....came forward as a candidate for the offered reward.". Now although it is not to be denied that there were Nestorian Christians in Eastern Turkistán at that time and later, I cannot think that there is any reference to them in the present text. The word in my copy of the work (Tazkiratu-'l-Bughra) is distinctly اوجاتليق " Ujàtliq", and besides the evidence given in the note at the place (see above), I find the name " Uját" occurring as the name of a town or village in a modern song called "the Maids of Turkistán," extending to 22 lines and celebrating the peculiarities of the maidens of different towns of Kashgharia. The following will suffice as a specimen :

اوزي توزوك بيلے اوزوك كاشقر ليك ننگ قزلاري - اوزي كلته بويي خالته
ينگے حصار ننگ قزلاري - اوستون پوقاق توبان پوزداق ياركندليك ننگ
قزلاري * * * چينے تختے كا تيزگان آلمه ختن ايلچي قزلاري - كشمش اوزوم
تولا بيگان اوجات ليق ننگ قزلاري * * * * كيگان قالپاق پشانه يالپاق
سريقول ننگ قزلاري - بورني پوچوق تيلي سچوك قرغزلار ننگ قزلاري

Which may be rendered thus :

" Straight and slender-waisted are the maids of Káshghar.

" Short, with sack-like figures, are the maids of Yangi-Hisár.

" A goitre above, fat below, (such) are the maids of Yárkand.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* This saving clause is added by the transcriber. It is of course Arabic.

"Arranging apples on saucers are the maids of Khotan-Ilchi.
"Eating many currants and grapes are the maids of UJAT (of the Ujàt-liqs).

* * * * * *

"Wearing felt caps, with foreheads wide (*or* high) are the maids of Sariqol.
"Snub-nosed, (but) sweet-tongued are the maids of the Kirghiz."

The reference to the foreheads of the Aryan Sariqolis is interesting.

After the foregoing portion of this note was in the press, I came across a passage in the later part of the Tazkiratu'l-Bughra which settles the question about the religion of the *Ujàt-liqs*, and shows them to have been Musalmáns, though bad ones. It is as follows:

آیدی ای پادشاهم اوجات دیب برپاره خلق بار انینگ خلقي تیلیدا
مسلمان دور دین‌دا جاسوس‌لوق قیلیب قاچقان کافرلار نذگ ارقه سیدین
نامه ایباریب دور دیب حضرت امام لارغه عرض قیلدیلار

"He said: 'Oh my king! there is a set (?) of people called *Ujàt*. The people of that (? place or tribe) are Musalmáns with their tongues, but their (real) religion is spying. Having spied they have sent letters after the infidels who have fled (*lit.* they are in tongue Musalmáns, in faith doing espial, they have sent &c.).' Thus he represented to the holy Imáms."

This character of spies and traitors is that in which the Ujàt-liqs are represented each time in the Tazkiratu'l-Bughra. With this agrees the popular saying regarding them recorded in the note to the original passage (Ext. XV. above).

In a versified account of the same events as are recorded in the latter part of the Tazkiratu'l-Bughra, I find the following parallel passage:

دیدی ای پادشاه نیک صفات کنتمیز بار انے اتارلار اوجات
ظاهراً دینغـــه قیلادور اقـــرار لیک کونکلیدا کوب عداوتي بار
دیدیلار اندغ اولسه اهل اوجات تاپمغایلار ایکی جهاندا نجات

"He said: 'Oh king (possessed) of good qualities, we have a village which they call Ujàt;
In appearance they assent to the (true) Faith, but in their hearts they have much enmity.'
They (the Imàms) replied: 'If the people of Ujàt be so, they will not obtain salvation in both worlds.'"

In the same book I find the following verses which identify the my-

thical personages Juqta Rashîd and Nukta Rashîd as the then chiefs of Khotan:

ایکي کافر ختن کا شاه ایردی ختن اهلي انکا سپاه ایردی
بري سینے دیر ایردی جوقتے رشید ینه سک آتینے نکتــه رشیــد

"Two infidels were kings of Khotan, the people of Khotan were their soldiers;

"One of them they called Juqtá Rashîd; the name of the other dog Nukta Rashîd."

In the Tazkiratu 'l-Bughra we hear of Juqta Rashîd and Nukta Rashîd from a little later than 429 A. H. (A. D. 1037) until 596 A. H. (A. D. 1199). They are probably mere representative names. Khotan seems here to be considered as belonging to China. R. B. S. 1877.]

STORIES

From Forbes' Persian Grammar translated into Turki.

۱ بر آدم افلاطوندین سوردی کیم تولا یل‌لار کیمه ده ایدینگ و دریا سفرینی قیلدینگ دریا ده نیمه عجایب‌لار کوردونگ جواب آیدی عجایب شبو ایردی کیم دریا دین سلامت یقاسیغه ییتدیم *

۲ بر گدا بر بای نینگ دروازه‌سیغه باردی و بر نیمه تیلادی آوی ننگ ایچیدین آواز کیلدی کیم آغاچه آویده یوق گدا دیدی نان پرچه‌سینی تلاب ایدیم آغاچه نی تلاماب ایدیم کیم شوندای جواب تاپتیم *

۳ بر طبیب هر وقت قبرستانغه بارور بولسه چادرینی باشیغه یاغنیب بارور ایدی آدم‌لار سوردیلار کیم مونگ سببی نیمه طبیب آیدی بو قبرستانداغی اولوک‌لاردین آو واتورمن آنگ اوچون کیم همه‌سی منینگ دوایمنی ییب اولوبدور *

۴ بر کون بر پادشاه اوغلی بیلان آوغه باردی هوا اسیغ بولدی پادشاه بیلان شاهزاده ایگین‌لارینی بر مسخره ننگ دالوسیغه قویدی پادشاه کولدی و دیدی ای مسخره سنده بر ایشاك ننگ یوکی بار دور مسخره آیدی بلکه ایکی ایشاک ننگ یوکی بار دور *

۵ بر دوك آدم‌غه دیدیلار کیم تیلارموسن کیم سنینگ اوچانگ توغری بولسون یا همه آدم‌لارنینگ اوچاسی سندیك دوك بولسون‌مو اول دوك دیدی همه کشی‌لارنینگ اوچاسی مندیك ایگری بولسون اول کوز بیلان منی کورادورلار من هم اولارنی کورای *

۶ بر کون پادشاه بر شاعر دین آغریدی جلّادنی بیوردی منینگ آلدیمده اوقور جلّاد قلچ آلیب کیلگالی باردی اول شاعر حاضر آدم‌لارغه دیدی قلچ کیلگونچه منی مشت‌لانگ‌لار و اورونگ‌لار کیم پادشاه ننگ کونگلی خوش بولسون بو سوزدین پادشاه خوش بولوب کولدی و شاعر ننگ گنا هینی اوتدی *

۷ بر آدم الوغ مرتبه تاپتی بر دوستی آنی کورگالی کیلدی اول آدم دیدی سن کیم سن و نیمه ایش‌کا کیلدینگ اول دوستی شرمنده بولدی

و دیدی منی تانومام‌سن من سنتنگ قدیمگی دوستونگ من سنگا عزا توتقالی کیلدیم ایشتدیم کیم قارغو بولوب سن *

COPY OF PASSPORT ISSUED AT KÁSHGHAR.

بو اوجور ده تمامي
یولچي قراول چي لارغه

اعلام بو که بو ایام سعادت انتظام‌ده شاه صاحب نے* آدمي رحمت الله برآط برلان یارکندگه خدمت‌که بارادور کراک کیم سیزلار یول قراول لارده بارعوچه کیلگوچه دخل و تعرض قیلماي اوتکاریب یوبارینکلار دیب ماه شریف رمضان نے* اون بري کونے نشان عالي پتیلدي

سنه ۱۲۹۱

COPY.

Agreement made at Káshghar.†

تاریخقه برمینگ ایکي یوز توقسان محرّم نینگ اون توقوزي ایردي قابل باي ننگ اوغلي ملاق اقرار شرعي قیلدي که اهلیم اقلیم بیبي مجادله قیلغان جهت دین من مقر نامعقول بولوب موندین بویان بیوجه ضرب ولت سوقماس بولدیم و نفقه‌سینے وقتیده بیریب مذکور اهلیم بار اریکا اجنبي آدمي‌نے آلیب‌کرماس بولدیم و هر وقت اجنبي آدم‌نے اویومکا اهلیم نینگ آلدیغه آلیب‌کرگانیم و یا بیوجه شرعي سوققانیم معلوم و ظاهر بولسه مذکور اهلیم مخیّره بولوب اگر خواهلاسه اوز نفسي ني من

* نے for نینگ.

† This was found between the leaves of books purchased in Káshghar.

مقرغه برطلاق باين حرام قيلسون مع قبولها و كان عند الثقات *

يعقوب خان ايشان
قاضي رئيس بن سيد
احمد خواجه

COPY OF A LEGAL OPINION GIVEN IN KÁSHGHAR.*

مسئله

مونينگ بيانيدا كيم بر تقديري سفورگے باى نينگ اوييدين كات دين اوتوز اوچ تنگه فلي يوقاليب كيتكان بولسه بعده سفورگي باي خاتوني آي خانغه اوشبو اوتوز اوچ تنگه فل نے آليب قويغان بولسانگ ظاهر قيلغيل من يگرمه تورت تنگه فل قوشوب كونگلونگ خواه‌لاغان ايگين نے ايتيب بيراي اگر سن فل‌نے ظاهر قيليب من يگرمه تورت تنگه نے قوشوب ايگين ايتيب‌بيرمسام وعدم‌گا تورمسام سن اوچ طلاق بولغيل ديب شرط قيلغان بولسه اوشبو صورتدا شرع شريف حكم‌لاري برله مذكور آي بيبي فل نے ظاهر قيلماسه سفورگے باي هم يگرمه تورت تنگه فل‌نے مذكوره آي بيبي‌گا بيرماسه سفوركي باى قسمي‌ده حانث بولوب مذكوره آي بيبي سفوركي باي نذك ضرريگه اوچ طلاق بولمايدور و الله اعلم *

لمعلق بالشرط لا ينزل عند عدم وجود الشرط قاضي‌خان
المعلق بالشرط عدم قبل وجوده نهايه

* This was found between the leaves of a book purchased in Káshghar.

وكل ما علق علي صفحه لم يقع دون وجود ها اشباه

EXTRACTS FROM THE "TAZKIRATU-'L-BUGHRA."

Extract I.

بر كون حضرت ابو النصر سامانی نینگ بر مریدلاری سوال قیلدیکه یا بزرگوار شونچه مال دنیالاری توروب نیمه اوچون سوداگر لیك قیلادورلار دیدی آندا حضرت خواجه ابو النصر سامانی آیتقیلار کیم ای مریدلار خوب آیتورسیزلار لیکن من عقلمغه قیلیب حضرت رسول الله نینگ سنّت لاربنی هیچ وقت دا ترک قیلغان ایماس آنینگ اوچون ترک قیلشنی خواهلامای دورمن سفرگا چققانیمدا زکوات بیزیب منفعت ییتکوزادورمن سوداگر چیلیك نی ترک قیلسام زکوات نینگ ثوابیدین محروم قالادورمن دیدیلار وینه آیدیلار † ای مریدلار بو حکایت نی ایشتمادینگلارمو بر کون حضرت رسول خدا مسجد مبارکده اولتوروب ایردیلار بر نیچند نامراد صحابه لار کریب کیلدیلار آیدیلار یا رسول الله اوزگا صحابه لار زردار زکوات بیرادورلار بیزگا هم زکوات نینگ ثوابینی تاپقودیك بر ایش بیورسنلار بیزلارهم شول اشنی قیلیب زکوات نینگ ثوابینی تاپقای میز دیب عرض قیلدیلار حضرت رسول جدا آیدیلار که ای نامراد صحابه لار کونده نماز بامداد نینگ فرضینی تاب بولغاندین کین اورتوز اوچ مراتبه سُبْحَانَ اللّٰهِ اورتوز اوچ مراتبه اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ اورتوز اوچ مراتبه اَللّٰهُ اَكْبَر اون مراتبه لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ لَهُ الْمُلْكُ وَلَهُ الْحَمْدُ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ دیسانگلار زکوات برگان نینگ ثوابینی تاپارسیزلار دیب امر قیلدیلار بو نامراد صحابه لار بسیار خوشوقت

* This is to be read upwards and downwards from the middle.

† آیدیلاو for آیتّیلار.

بولوب قالديلار نچند كوندين كين زردار صحابه‌لار ايشتيب اولار هم اوقو ديلار بو نامراد صحابه‌لار ينه حضرت رسول خدا نينگ كاشلاريغه كيليب آيديدلار يا رسول الله زردار صحابه‌لار هم بيز اوقويدورغان دعاني اوقوب آنينگ هم ثوابيني تاپادورلار ديب عرض قيديلار اندا حضرت رسول خدا آيتتي‌لار كه ذٰلِكَ فَضْلُ اللّٰهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَن يَشَاءُ يعني خداي تعالے زكوات نينگ ثوابيني خواهلاغان بنده‌سيگا بيرادور من قايداغ آيتاي ديب جواب بيرديلار بس معلوم بولا دور كيم زكوات‌ده بي نهايت ثواب بار ايكان شول جهت دين من سوداگرچيليك‌نے ترك قيلماديم ديديلار

EXTRACT II.

حضرت رسول خدا آيديلار سلطان ستوق بغرا خان‌ني شول خوجه ابوالنصر سامانی ايمانغه مشرف قيلور ديديلار شول زمان صحابه لار تاريخ قيليب پتديلار حضرت رسول خدا عالم دين اوتوب اوچ يوز اوتوز اوچ يلدين كين تركستان ولايتيده حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي آتليغ بر ذات شريف وجودغه كيلور اون ايكي ياشلاريدا يمانغه مشرف بولور ديب فيتديلار وينه شول يرده رسول خدا آيتتي‌لار اَوَّلُ مَن اَسلَمَ مِن التُّرك بو حديث نينگ معني‌سي اول بولور كه تركستان طرفيدين سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي مسلمان بولادور ديگان بولور چنانچه نيچند زماندين كين حضرت خواجه ابو النصر سامانی بو عالمگا وجودغه كلديلار علم ظاهر ني اوقوب يورگونچه اَوَّلُ مَن اَسلَمَ مِن التُّرك ديب بو حديث نبي كوردیلار اول سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي قايداغ كمرسه ايكين ديب غايبانه عاشق بولديلار تاريخغه باقسه‌لار حضرت سلطان نينگ وجودغه كيلش‌لاريغه آز غنه قاليب دور عشق محبّت‌لاري غالب كيليب حضرت سلطان ني ايرلاب تركستان ظرفيغه سفر قيلديلار × × ×

EXTRACT III.

حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي اون ايكے ياشقه كرديلار شونگا چه حضرت سلطان كافر صورتيدا ايرديلار بر كون حضرت سلطان شكارغه چقتي

لار شکار قیلا قیلا آستین آرتوشدا بقو دیگان یرگا یتّی لار باقسه لار نچند جوش صورت و پاکیزه سیرت آدملار علف‌زارغه توشوبدورلار حضرت سلطان همر لاری برله بو کاروانلار طرفیغه روان بولدیلار کوروب بو شهر لارده موندا غ خلق موندا غ آدم لاریوق ایردی بو نیمه کشی لار ایکین دیب حیران قالیب یورونگلار باریب کورالی دیب روان بولدیلار امّا بو کاروانلار حضرت خواجه ابو النصر سامانی ایردیلار خواجه ابو النصر سامانی باقسه لار نچند آطلیغ کیلادور یقین یتّیلار باقسه لار تاریخ دا کورگان حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازی ایکانلار حضرت ابوالنصر سامانی کوروب آیدیلار الحمد لله طلبیم مُیسّر بولدی دیب بسیار خوشحال بولدی لار در حال خدمتکارلاریغه آیدیلار دنیا و آخرت نینگ سلطانی منینگ مقصودوم کیلادور بلکه منینگ بو دیارغه کیلشیم نینگ باعثی شول ذات شریف نینگ طفیلی دین ایردی ای خدمت کارلاریوکنی آچیپ قویونگلار دیب خواجه ابو النصر باشلغین همه کاروانلار نمازغه توردیلار نماز دین فارغ بولوب ینه اورون لاریغه کیلیب اولتوردیلار تا شول وقت غه چه حضرت سلطان آط نینگ اوزه سیده توردیلار حضرت سلطان حیران قالیب آیدیلار عجایب کاروان ایکاندوک لار بیز دین پروا قیلماي یوک لارینی اوچوق قویوب باشینی یرگا اوروشقه مشغول بولدی دیب شبو سوزده ایردیلار حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی یتی قدم یرگا حضرت سلطان نینگ الدیلاریغه کیلیب سلام قیلدیلار حضرت سلطان آطدین توشوب حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی بیله کوروشتیلار حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی حضرت سلطان‌نی عزت اکرام بیله توشکان یرلاریگا تکلیف قیلیب آلیب کیلیب اربدان متاع لاردین ایکی دین ایکی دین حضرت سلطان تحفه آلیب کیلیب آلدیلاریده قویدیلار اندین کین حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی نی حضرت سلطان بجان دل قبول کیلدیلار چونکه حرت سلطان ننگ کونگل یده بار ایردی برکمرسه پیدا بولوب مسلمانچیلیق نی بیزگه شول کمرسه اورگاتور دیب حضرت خضر آیتیب ایردیلار شول کمرسه شبو میکین دیب گمان قیلیب سوردیلار که آنلاری نیمه دیب اندا حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی آیدیلار منینگ آتیم خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی دیدیلار حضرت سلطان بیلدیلار کیم خر علیه

السلام آیتغان کشي شبو ایکان دیب خوشحال بولوب آیدیلار که اي بابا هرنیمه دیسانگز قبول قیلای امّا بیز آطلیغ نوروب یوکونگزنے اوچوق قویوب بزنی آلور میکین دیب پروا قیلمای باشنگزلارنی یرگا اوروشقه مشغول بولدونگزلار بیز سیز لارنی بیلمایدورمیز شبو ایشنگزلارنگ حقیقتینی بیزگا بیان قیلینگ دیدیلار اندا حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی آیدیلار که ای پادشاه‌زاده بو دنیادا تورادورغان دنیا ایماس هر کشی بو دنیادین کیتادور پل‌مال‌دولت آدمیلارکه وفا قیلادورغان ایماس بلکه پل مال‌نگ سببیدین آدم دوزخقه کرفتار بولادور و ینه همه‌میز بو دنیادین آخرتکا سفر قیلادورمیز بو دنیادین سفر قیلادورغان کشیکا اوزوق جابدوقنی طیّار قیلدوق دیب جواب بیردیلار حضرت سلطان حضرت ابوالنصر سامانی دین بو سوزني ایشتیب کونگل‌لاریکا بر قورقنجی پیدا بولدي آیدی ای خواجه مسلمان بولادورغان نیمه‌نے آیتینگ من هم آیتیب مسلمان بولای دیدیلار حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی آیدیلار که کلمه طیّبه لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللّٰهِ کلمه شهادت اَشْهَدُ اَنْ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ و اَشْهَدُ اَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَ رَسُولُهُ دینگ دیدیلار حضرت سلطان کلمه شهادت نی کلمه طیبه آیتیلار آندین کین محمّد دیگان نیمه کشي دور دیب سوردی حضرت خواجه ابو النصر سامانی ایتتی‌لار که محمّد دیگان خدا ننگ دوستي دنیا و آخرت‌ني خدای تعالے شول محمّد اوچون خلق قیلغان اول قیامت کوني گناه‌کارلارني دوزخ دین خلاص قیلیب بهشت‌کا آلیب بارور اول محمّد ننگ دیني راست و شریعت‌لاري راست اوزگا پیغمبرلار نینک شریعتی دیک ایماس اوزگه پیغمبرلارنگ شریعتی منسوخ هرکشی محمّد یورگان یولده یورسه مراد مقصودیغه یتارلار دیب حضرت رسول خدانی بیان قیلدیلار اندین حضرت سلطان خواجه ابو النصر سامانی غه آیتتي‌لار که ای گمراه‌لارغه یول کورساتکوچي‌لار کلمه شهادت دین بولک یینه اورگاتادورغان نیمه بولسه اورگاتینگ من هم اورگانیب خدا ننگ طاعتیگه مشغول بولای دیدیلار *

EXTRACT IV.

حضرت سلطان برکم قرق کشي‌ني بردين‌بردين چراب کيليب آيدی
ای يارانلار اکر منينگ برله آشناچيليق قيلشني خواه‌لاسانگلار منگا اوخشه
مسلمان بولونگلار حضرت محمّد رسول الله نينگ دين‌لاري همه دين‌لار
ننگ اولوغی و افضلی قرور شول دين غه مشرف بولونگلار ديب
نصيحت قيلديلار *

EXTRACT V.

حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان ننگ دادالاري هارون بغرا خان کافرلق
دا تاش دين هم يمانراق ايردي لشکری بی نهايت تولا ايردي فراست
بيلان حضرت سلطان ننگ مسلمان بولغانيني بيلديلار امّا تخی مو
اوبدانراق معلوم بولسون ديب هيچ کشيگا آيتمادی × × ×

EXTRACT VI.

حضرت سلطانني اولتوروشکا قصد قيلدی بو سوزني حضرت سلطان
ننگ والده‌لاری آنگلاب فرياد قيليب آيتتی‌لار که ای کافرلار نچند يل
ننگ بو يوزيکا رياضت و مشقّت بيلان تاپقان فرزنديم‌نے نيمه اوچون
بيگناه اولتوراسن ديب آراغه توشتيلار هارون بغرا خان ننگ اچيغی کيليب
آيتتی ای مظلوم بيز نينگ دينمزنی ويران قيليب محمّد ننگ مهری
زياده بولدی ديدی آيتتي‌لار که ای کافرلار منينگ فرزنديم نی امتحان
قيليب با قتيل اکر محمّد ننگ دينيغه کرکان بولسه اندين اولتورگيل
ديب آيتتی‌لار هارون بغرا خانغه بو سوز معقول بولدي × ×

EXTRACT VII.

هارون بغرا خان جمعي بيک‌لاری بيلان مصلحت قيليب آيتتی‌لار
که بر بُتخانه ايتالی ديب خشت طيّار قيليب بر کشيني ايباريب
حضرت سلطان ني چراب کيلدي هارون بغرا خان آيتتيکه اي فرزند

سیزني بیز ننگ دینمزدین چقیب محمّد ننگ دینیغه کردی دیب گمان قیلادورمیز دیدی حضرت سلطان کافرلار رسمیچه آنط ایچتي لار هارون بغرا خان چین فوتمادی آیتي که ای فرزند بو آنتنگزغه چین پوتمایدورمن بیز بر بُتخانه ایتادورمیز شول بُتخانه ننگ تا میني سیز قوپارسانگز چین پوتادورمن دیدی حضرت سلطان یوگوروب قوپوب اندیشه قیلیب آیتتی لار که قایداغ قیلسام بولور ایکین دیب قبول قیلدیلار امّا یمان پریشان بولدیلار ×

EXTRACT VIII.

حضرت ابو النصر سامانی ننگ قاشلاریغه باریب آیتتیلار که ای بزرگوار هارون بغرا خان منینگ مسلمان بولغانیمني گمان قیلادور مني إمتحان قیلماق اوچون بر بُتخانه ایتادورمیش اوّل بُتخانه ننگ تامیني اوّل سیز قوپاریب بیریگ دیدور اگر قبول قیلسام دین اسلام دین چقیب کفر غه داخل بولادورمن منینگ مصلحتیم نیمه دیدیلار حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر سامانی ایتتیلار که ای فرزند اوزني محافظت قیلیب ساقلاماق اوچون بعضی ممنوعات ایش قیلاش نے جایز قیلیب دورلار اگر تام سالیش دا به نیّت مسجد دیب سالسانگز خدا ننگ آلدیده البتّه ثواب تاپارسیز کافرلار ننگ بلاسیدین خلاص بولورسیز تولا فریشان بولمانگ دیدیلار حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان بو سوز نی ایشتیب خوشحال بولدي لار اویلاریگه یاندیلار ایرتهسی آفتاب چقیب ایردي هارون بغرا خان جمیع لشکر و بیک لار بُتخانه ایتادورغان یرگه جمع بولسون دیب منادی قیلدوردی همه کافرلار بُتخانه ایتادورغان یرگا جمع بولدي هارون بغرا خان حضرت سلطانني چرلاب آلیب کیلیب آیتّی که ای فرزند اگر سیز بیزنینگ دینمز ده بولساگز بیز قیلغان ایش لارنی سیز هم قیلینگ بیز باش اورغان نیمه گه سیز هم باش اور رنگ بیز بوکون بر بُتخانه ایتادورمیز اوّل سیز باشلاب خشت قویرب بیریگ بیز نینگ کونگلمز شوندا دلجمع بولادور دیدی حضرت سلطان خوش دیت ارز رغبت لاری برله فیش لارینی بیل لاریگا قیستوروب بلاک لارینی شیمالاب جمیع یارا لاری برله به نیّت مسجد

ديب ايكے دين خشت كوتاريب باريب بُتخانه ايتادورغان يرگه آليب باريب قويديلار اوچونچى مرتبه‌دا خشت آلاى ديب باريب ايديلار هارون بغرا خان قچقريب آيتتے كم اى بالام فرزنديم توختانگ موندين زياده بدنينگزني ايش قيلدوروشقه طاقتيم يوق حالا هم سيزگا موندا غ قيل دوروشومدا غرضيم بار ايردي ايمدي خاطريم جمع بولدي ايمدي هرنيمه خواه‌الاسانگز قيلينگ ديدي همه لشكرلاري يانيب توشتي ×

EXTRACT IX.

حضرت سلطان تون ياريمي‌ني اوتكاريب بو بركام قرق كشي بيلان حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر ساماني قاشلاريغه باريب يابزوگوار ...×...× اگر مصلحت نے منگا قويوب بيرسه‌لار خروج قيليب كافرلارغه تيكايمن شايد كه خدايتعالے بيزگا ظفر بركاي ديديلار ...×...×...

EXTRACT X.

حضرت خواجه ابو النصر سامانے حضرت سلطان جميع يارانلاري بيله قپوب يولغه روان بولديلار هارون بغرا خان ننگ اوردا سيغه يتتي‌لار حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر ساماني قول كوتاريب دعا قيلديلار كه الهى فضل احسانينگ بيله كافرلارغه قاتيغ اويقو بيرگيل مسلمانلارغه ظفر برگيل ديب دعا قيلديلار شولزمان حضرت خواجه ابوالنصر ساماني ننگ دعا لاري مستجاب بولوب كافرلارگا شوندا غ اويقو برديلار كيم بري ننگ بيليدين توتوب سودراگوديک بولسه يته بري ننگ خبريدا كيچماس ايردي ××

EXTRACT XI.

حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي آط لاريدين توشوب شمشيرلاريني يالانگلاب هارون بغرا خان ننگ اوردا سيغه كرديلار كورسه‌لار هارون بغرا خان اويقولاب قاليب دور بر خدمتكارى چراغ چقاريب اولتورادور هارون بغرا خان ننگ باشيني كيسا ى ديب شمشيرلاريني تنگلاب يته كونگل لاريگه يتتي كه دشمن ني اويقولوقدا اولتورماك ليک نامرديكدين چقادر

اوبداني شبو كه بوكافرنے اويقوسيدين اوياتيب ايمانغه ترغيب
قيلاي . . x . . x . . يغه توروب آيديلار كه هرنچه كافر هم بولسه‌مو توزيني
ييب ايديم توزنينگ حقّي‌ني ساقلاي ديب شمشير ننگ اوچي بيلان
فوتيغه سانجيب آيديلار هارون بغرا خان اضطراب اويغانيب باقسه
حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان شمشيرلاريني برهنه قيليب باشيدا تنگلاب
تورادور بو كافر آيتيكه اى سلطان شومداغ دولت سنده توروب نيمه سببدين
شومداغ ايشني قيلاسن اندا خضرت سلطان ايتتي‌لار كه اي كافر ايش
ننگ اوبداني شبو گه من قيلغان ايس قيلغيل قوبغيل وقت تنگ فرصت
ني غنيمت بلگل آيتغيل كه بو كلمهٔ شريف ني لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ
اللّٰه ديگيل ديديلار اول كافر بي‌سعادت قبول قيلمادى حضرت سلطان
هرنيچه جدل قيلديلار بو جهنمي توفيق تاپيب مسلمان بولغالي او
نامادى حضرت سلطان نچند مراتبه شمشيرلاريني حواله قيلديلار باشيني
كيسای ديب يغه انديشه قيلديلار كه توزيني ييب ايديم دادالبق حقّي
بار ديب شمشيرلاريني ياندوريديلار اخر حاجت يوزلاريني بےحاجت
خداى تعالے ننگ درگاهيغه كلتوروب دعا قيلديلار كه اى بارا خدا يا سن
جميع مخلوقات ننگ حاليني كوروب توراسن كه نچند مراتبه شمشيرنے
حمله قيلديم باشيني كيسای ديب امّا دادالبق حقي ني توزنينگ
حقيني ساقلاديم اگر چندبكه سببي دادالبق حقي بولسه هم خدا يا قهّار
ليق صفتينگ برله بو كافرنے يرگا يوتتورسانگ ديب مناجات قيلديلار
حضرت سلطان ننگ دعالارى مستجاب بولوب يير تيبراب يير يارپليب
هارون بغرا خان نے تيزي‌غچه يير يوتتي حضرت سلطان آيتتي‌لار كه
اى كافر كوردونگمو بو حالني كيلكيل ايمان كلتورگيل من سنگا دعا قيلاي
بو بلادين خلاص بولغيل ديب نصيحت قيلديلار بو بدبخت ايتتيكه يرگا
كيرگانيم يخشيراق دور سنينگ دينگنغه كرگونچه ديب قبول قيلمادي
گالي‌غچه يوتتي تخي هم قبول قيلمادي حضرت سلطان نينگ غضب
لاري كيليب يغه دعا قيلديلار هارون بغرا خان‌نے يير يوتوب يوق بولدي
شول زمان سعادت صبح نينگ مشرقدين بر روشن‌ليک پيدا بولدي
حضرت سلطان آيديلار كه كوس اسلامني منينگ اتيمغه سوقونگلار منارغه

چقيب دوري مودوري حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي نينگ دوري دينگلار نماز نينگ آذانيني بلند اوقونگلار ديب امري قيلديلار ×××

EXTRACT XII.

حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان اون ايکي ياشلاريدا غزاتقه مشغول بولديلار يازيليقدا کافرلار بيله غزات قيلديلار قيش ليقدا خداي تعالي غه طاعت و عبادت قيلديلار خضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي توقصان آلتي ياشلاريغه چه بلخ نينگ آلديداقي آمو دريا سيغه چه بوطرفي تا کون قيش کراک ديگان ييرغچه شمال طرفي قراقوردوم ديگان ييرغه چه حضرت سلطان نينگ شمشيرلاري بيلان کافرلارني مسلمان قيليب حضرت محمّد رسول الله نينگ شريعت لاريني و ملّت لاريني برقرار قيليب رواج بوديلار ××× حضرت سلطان نے کاشقردا آستين آرتوشدا مشهد ديگان يردا دفن قيلديلار × .. × .. × حضرت سلطان بو عالمدين بارغاندا تاريخغه تورت يوز يگرمه توقوز ايردی ..×...×

EXTRACT XIII.

حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازي پادشاه نينگ تورت اوغلانلاري اوچ قيزلاري بار ايکان × × × برقيزلاري نينگ آتلاري اعلا نور خانيم امّا اعلانور خانيم بسيار پاک صورت و پاکيزه سيرت راست دين و صاحب يقين ضعيفهٔ مرحومه ايرديلار و اولار نينگ قصّه لاری حضرت مريم عليه السلام نينگ قصّه لاري ديک دور انداغ کيم بلاغت کا يتتي لار ايرسه برکچه حضرت حق سبحانه و تعالی غه عبادت قيلور ايرديلار حضرت جبرائيل عليه السلام کليب اولار نينگ مبارک آغزلاريغه برقطره نور تاميز ديلار برراحت بولوب هوشلاريدين کيتب ينه هوشلاريغه کلديلار و ينه روايت قيليب دورلار که برکيچه ايشک کا چقتي لار ايشک توبيدا بر شير توراور شيرني کوروب تير باستيلار هوشلاريدين کيتيب ينه هوشلاريغه کيلديلار نچند کوندين نچند آي دين کين عشور آي نينگ اونی آذينه کوني نماز جمعه وقتيدا فرزند وجودغه کيلديلار قزيل يوزلوک آهو کوزلوک

الوغ کچیک همه حیران قالدیلار بو نچوک واقعه دور دیب حضرت پادشاه در غضب بولوب بو ایش نینگ راستینی آلنگلار دیب امر قیلدیلار اُمرالار آخون اکابرلار اعلانور خانیم دین سوردیلار واقعه نی بر بر بیان قیلدیلار عاقیل و دانالار و اخون اکابرلار جمع بولوب پور هیبت حضرت علي دور دیب نسب نے شولاردین آلیب آتلرینی خضرت سیّد علي ارسلان خان بولسون دیب آت قویدیلار حضرت سیّد علي ارسلان خان بادشاه یتي یاشقه کرگاندین کین اعلانور خانیمنی از روي شریعت توق بوبا بغرا خانغه نسبت قیلغان اولاردین اوچ اوغول وجودغه قلیب دورلار محمّد ارسلان یوسف ارسلان قزیل ارسلان خان پادشاه ایکاندوک لار ××

EXTRACT XIV.

خبرده انداغ کیلتوروبدورلار کیم حضرت سلطان ستوق بغرا خان غازی نینگ الوغ اوغلانلاری حضرت سلطان حسن بغرا خان غازي کاشغرغه پادساه ایکاندوک لار شولوقت ده جوقته رشید نوقته رشید چگالو الخاخال ماچین اوتوز مینگ لشکر بیلان کیلیت نچند محل کاشغر شهرینی قباب قحطالیک بولغاندا مسلمان لار تنک بولغان محلدا این همه آب آش بیریب راست کیلمدی ناچار بولدیلار بو مسلمانلارغه ضامن بولمای دیب کاشغر شهریدین حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازی حضرت یوسف قدیر خان غازی حضرت سیّد علي ارسلان خان غازی جمیع اُمرا لاری برله قرق منگ لشکرني آلیب شهر دین چقیب صف تارتیب توردیلار کافرلار هم صف تارتیب توردی اوزلارینی کافرلارغه اوروب کافرلارني فراکنده قیلیب کافرلار قاچیب ینگي حصار موضعیغه باردی ×××

EXTRACT XV.

حضرت علي ارسلان خان غازی توقسان منگ لشکر نے آلیب کافر لارني قوغلاب سوقوشا سوقوشا اورتنک قرا دیگان یردا قرار تاپتي لار آندا هم نچند مینگ کافر بار ایردی جنگ قیلیب کافرلاردین خون جیحون آقتیلار حضرت پادشاه غه تیغ تبر کار قیلمادی کافرلار حیران قالدی چگالو

الخلخال آیدیکم بولارغه تیغ بتر اصله کار قیلمایدور هیچ نمرسه اوتمایدور حضرت پادشاهغه قایداغ قیلسه تیغ اوتار هر کشي شوني آنگلاب بیر گودیک بولسه بویي تینگي آلتون بیرای دیب وعده‌لار قیلدی شول وقت ده کافرلار ایچیده اوجاتلیق بر کمپیر بار ایردی آیدیکه مونلک ایشیني من قیلورمن دیب حیله‌لار بیله اسلام لشکریگا اوزیني آلدی نچه کون چیریک ایچیدا یوروب حضرت پادشاه ننک بورچي‌خانه‌لاریده خدمت دا یوروب موندگدین هیچ کشي خبردار بولمدی بر کوني غزاتدین یانیب اولتوروب ایدیلار بر نچند جنگ ننک واقعه‌سیني بیان قیلیب حضرت پادشاه ني تعریف و توصیف قیلیب سوال قیلدی آیدیکه ای پادشاه عالم‌پناه حضرتلاریگا تیغ تبر کار قیلمایدور نه واقعه دور دیدی حضرت سیّد علي ارسلان خان پادشاه غازی خوشوقت‌لیک‌لاریده آیدیلار کیم منگا هیچ وقت‌دا تیغ تبر اوتماس مگر نمازغه تورغانده بدنیم سو بولور شول محل ده یگان برله سالسه هم کیسار دیدیلار بو جادو نیمه سوز نیمه واقعه بولوب دور خبردار بولوب یورور ایردي حضرت پادشاه ننگ گوهر نثارلاریدین بو سوزني ایشتتي آنگدین هیچ کشي ننک خبر بولمادي بو دلّه لشکر اراسیدین چقیب جگالو الخلخال ماچین غه خوش خبر آیتتي بو کافر خوشوقت بولوب بو دلّه‌گا زر زیور بسیار بیردي × × ×

EXTRACT XVI.

بر کون نماز بامدادغه آذان اوقودیلار مسلمانلار جمع بولوب صف صف بولوب توردیلار سنت ني ادا قیلیب فرض گه تکبیر ایتتي‌لار نماز غه توردي‌لار ملا امام ننک کونگلیده سوره إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَا ایردي اغزلاریغه إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا کیلدی کافرلار خبردار بولوب وقت ني غنیمت بیلیب صف در صف کریب مسلمانلارني شهادت‌کا یتکوزدیلار وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ شَهِيدًا مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ آیت اوشبو یرگا یتکاندا حضرت پادشاه ننک مبارک با شلاریغه شمشیر سالدي مبارک باشلاري تن‌لاریدین جدا بولدي حضرت پادشاه ننک مبارک باشلایدین آواز کیلدي کم خوشمو بیغم ملّا ایکاندوک‌لار دیدیلار ذات اسم شریف‌لاري مُلّا علم ایکان‌دوک‌لار خواجه بیغم آت لقب بولدي ×

EXTRACT XVII.

كافرلار اهل‌بيت‌لاريگا آت سالديلار بولار توختاب توروب جنگ قيلديلار نچند كافرلارنے دوزخقه سپاريش قيلديلار كافرلار غلبه قيلب اخر بولارنے شهيد قيلديلار آندين كين نچند قيزلار بيله بوبي‌چه مريم خانيم آه دردناک تارتيب جنگ‌گا كيردىلار يكرمه بش كافرني جهنم‌گا ايبارديلار كافرلار غلبه قيليب كيلدي يرگا قرالديلار يير يارىلدي شول ساعت يرگا كريب غايب بولديلار آندين قيزلارني شهيد قيلديلار × × ×

EXTRACT XVIII.

حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازى حضرت ايسن بغرا خان غازى حضرت يوسف قادير خان غازى بو پادشاه‌لار ميدانغه كرديلار كافرلارنى قريب خون جيحون آقتيب پاره پاره قيليب مال‌اموال‌لارينى آلديلار جوقته رشيد نكته رشيد جگالوا خلخال ماچين اون ايكي منک لشكر بيلان قاچيب كيتدى آرقه‌سيدين قوغلاب كوكيار ديگاندا يتتي‌لار اندا يتّي كيچه كوندوز جنک قيلديلار نچند مسلمان‌لار شهيد بولدى اينهمه جنگ قيليب راست كيلمادى حضرت سلطان ننک بر اوغلانلارى عثمان بغرا خان غازي آتميش كشي‌لارى بيلان شهادت تاپتي‌لار كافرلار جنک قيلا قيلا چين شهريگا قاچيب كيتدي ×

EXTRACT XIX.

حضرت يوسف قدير خان غازے حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازي يارکند شهريگا كيليب توشتيلار خلق ني ايمانغه دلالت قيلديلار بنوک زبان مسلمان بولديلار ايمان كيلتوردىلار خلق پل مالينى جان تن‌لارينى نثار قيلديلار همه‌سيني فقرالارغه بيردىلار بو خلق ننک حقيدا دعاى خير قيلديلار جمعي مسلمانلار آمين ديديلار بو مسلمان‌لار ننک حقيدا دعا اجابت بولدي بو دعا ننک بركاتيدين يارکند شهر هرگيز خراب بولماس ديب دورلار ×

EXTRACT XX.

آندین حضرت سیّد علی ارسلان خان غازي پادشاه شهید بولغان یرگا کیلدیلار × × × حضرت سلطان حسن بغرا خان غازي باشلارینی یلانک قیلیب کوزلارینی کوکا تیکیب قول آچیب دعا قیلدیلار مسلمانلار آمین دیدیلار هنوز دعالاري تمام بولماب ایردیکیم بر قرانغو بوران پیدا بولدي آسمان نے یر یرنے آسمان قیلغاندیک بولدي بر ساعت دین کین بوران فست بولدي جهان یاروغلوق بولدي باقسهلار شهیدلار ننگ اوستونیگا قوم تو شوبدور کافرلار ننگ اوستونیگا شور توشوب دور اول باعث دین قوم شهیدان آت قویدیلار × × ×

آندین کین قوپوپ جمیع لا و لشکرلاري بیلان کاشقرغه روان بولدیلار باریب تخت گاهلاریدا اولتوردیلار تمام کاشقر خلقي زار زار چون ابر نو بهار یغلاب ماتم توتتیلار ×

راوي انداغ کیلتوروب دورلار کیم تاریخده تورت یوز سکسن توقوز ایردي عشور آی ننگ اوني کوني حضرت سید علی ارسلان خان غازي پادشاه شربت شهادت نوش قیلیب شَرَاباً طَهُوراً ایچیب شهید بولدیلار × ×

EXTRACT XXI.

راوي انداغ روایت قیلیب دورلار کیم حضرت سلطان حسن بغرا خان غازي و حضرت ایسن بغرا خان غازي و حسین بغرا خان غازي و حضرت یوسف قادیر خان غازي بو پادشاهلار اون ایکی ییل تخت خلافت دا التور دیلار اولارننگ وقتلاریدا دستار کیمکان کشي نی کورسهلار یا خبر آلسهلار باشیغه تمور میخ قاقار ایردیلار شونداغ معمورلوق بولدي کم جارک اش لیق نے بر پل غه آلمادیلار × × ×

EXTRACT XXII.

بو پادشاهلار تخت تجمّل ده اولتوروب ایردیلار یوز کشي اوچ سرداري بیلان تورکستان دین ایلچي کیلیب دور دیب مولانا سعید کاشقریغه خبر بیردیلار حضرت پادشاه کیرسون دیدیلار خواجه عبدالله ترکستاني و خواجه ابو بکر تاشکندي کورب نچند یرده زمین بوسه قیلیب توردیلار حضرت

پادشاه‌لار هارمانگلار آچمانگلار نحالینک‌لار بار ریاضت و مشقّت تار تینگزلار دیب سوال قیلیدیلار اولار هم تعظیم قیلیب آیدیلار کیم ای پاشاه عالم‌پناه ترکستان ولایتي کفار بولدی حضرت‌لاریدین شفاعت تیلاب کیلدوک دیب عرض قیلدیلار × × ×

بو پادشاه‌لار و امرالار بي‌حد بي‌قیاس لشکر یغیب ترکستان ولایتیغه اطلاندیلار × × ×

ترکستانغه یتیب ایردیلار چونك کچیک همه خلق اوزیچه کلیب اطاعت قیلدیلار حضرت پادشاه ننک درگاه‌لاریغه یغیلدیلار آندین حضرت سلطان خواجه احمد یاسوی پادشاه ننك مزارتلاریغه طواف قیلیب آب آش قیلیب لشکرگا بیردیلار ختم قُران قیلیب ثوابیني ارواح شهدا لارغه باغیشلادیلار × × × حضرت پادشاه شول یازی قشي بله توروب ترکساننی تاشکندني تمام مسخر قیلیب سونگقي یلي ینه اطلاندیلار × × شهر مو شهر قبیله به قبیله یوروب فدرلاری ننک قلچ‌لاریني جافیب یورگان یوللاریدا یوروب توشکان یرلاریده توشوب کفّارني فتح قیلیب دریاي عماندین دریای قلزوم تا قوردوم‌غچه بولار ننک شمشیرلاری ننک شعله‌سیدین اسلام منوّر بولدی راهي شریعت کشاده بولدي دین اسلام ملّت احمد بر قرار بولدي بو وقت‌غچه نچند یل اوتتي ایمدی کاشقر زمین‌غه یانالي دیب مصلحت دا ایردیلار کاشقر زمین غرق کافرستان‌لیق ایمش دیب خبر کیلدي شول ساعت لشکر جمع بولسون دیب منادي در منادی قیلدیلار لشکر جمع بولدیلار ×

حضرت سلطان حسن بغرا خان غازی حضرت یوسف قادیر خان غازی پادشاه‌غه آیدیلار کیم سیز مداین‌غه بارینک حضرت امام‌لارغه عرض قیلینک کاشقر زمین کافرستان‌لیق ایمش حضرت‌لاریدین مدد تیلاي دورمیز دیب عرض قیلینك دیدیلار ×

حضرت یوسف قدیر خان غازی پادشاه مداینغه یوردیلار حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازي پادشاه یتمش منك کشي برلان کیلیب کاشقر شهریني قورشاب توشتي‌لار اینهمه کافرلارنے قریب خون جیحون آقتتي‌لار مسلمانلار ظفر تابتي‌لار کاشقر خلقی نے کافرلار اوز دینیغه کیرکوزوب ایت ایشاک

تونگوز گوشتي في يبب حرام حريش ني مباح بيليب مطلق كافر بولوب قاليب ايكان - - - - كافرلار طرفيدين جوقته رشيد ميدانغه كردى مسلمان‌لار طرفيدين حضرت ايسن بوغرا خان غازي پادشاه ميدانغه كريب بهادرلوق كوركوزوب نام نصب‌لاريني اعيان و بيان قيليب جنك‌گه كيردىلار انداغ جنك قيلديلار كيم صفت‌كا راست كلماس ×

EXTRACT XXIII.

القصه انداغ روايت قيلورلار كيم بو تورت امام‌لار مدايين ده ايرديلار اوچ آى‌چيلق آوغه چقيب ايرديلار حضرت يوسف قادير خان غازي پيش‌گاه دا توروب قيام كيلتوروب عرض قيلديلار كيم اى اولاد رسول الله بيز كاشقر زمين دين كيلورميز كاشقر زمين به تمام كفار بولدى سيزلار ديك اولاد رسول الله نذگ وقتيدا فتح تابماسه موندين كين فتح بولماس رخصت لارى بولسه بر نيچه لشكر اسلام همراه بولور ميكين انشاء الله تعالے خداي تعالے نذك عنايتي بولسه فتح قيليب حضرت‌لار نينك درگاه لاريغه كيلگايمز ديديلار حضرت امام ناصرالدين آيديلار اى امرالار حضرت يوسف قادير خان غازى پادشاه بيله تيز تند لشكر جمع قيليب بارينگلار اگر عاجز كيلسانگزلار بيزلاركا نامه ايبارينگلار ديب يارليغ قيلديلار × × ×

EXTRACT XXIV.

حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازى پادشاه يارليغ قيلديلار كيم لشكر جمع بولسون كافرلارغه امان بيرگولوك ايماس ديب اوچ كونده لشكر جمع بولدى تمام لشكرنے آليب ينگے حصار موضعيغه باريب توشتيلار باشي آلتونلوق اياغي اورتذك قراغچه كافرلار توشوب ياتيب ايردى نچند كون جنگ قيلديلار جنگ قيلا قيلا تاغ قيرغاقيغه يتتي‌لار ××× اول محلده تاغ ايچيدين نچند يوز كافرلار چقيب مسلمانلارني شهيد قيلا باشلادى اول محلده حسن بغرا خان غازى پادشاه اغزلاريدين كوفوك پيدا بولوب مست تيوه ديك بورقوراب جنك سخت قيلديلار خون جيحون آقتيب يوروب قضاى آسماني يرله بولارغه نچند يردا ارق تيگيب شهادت تاپتيلار ×

EXTRACT XXV.

حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازی پادشاه میدانغه کیلیب بیطاقت بولوب نعره جگربند تارتیب اوزلارینی اوردیلار کافرلارنی خون جیحون آقتیلار حضرت پادشاهغه نیچند یرده اوق تیگدی قان سیراب یقیلدیلار نکته رشید حضرت پادشاه نذگ مبارك باشلارینی تن‌لاریدین جدا قیلدی × حضرت حسن بغرا خان غازی شهادت تاپقاندین کین کافرلار تمام مسلمانلار نی شهادت‌کا یتکوزدیلار گویا قیامت قایم بولدی یاروق جهان قرانغولوق بولدی × × ×

EXTRACT XXVI.

حضرت یوسف قادیر خان مداین‌دا ایردیلار . . . . مداین دین یوسف قادیر خان غازی یوز منگ لشکر بیلان کیلادورمیش دیب جوقته رشید تمام لشکری برلان قاچیب چین شهریگا کیتدی کاشقر خلقی تحفه‌لاری هدیه لار آلیب حضرت یوسف قادیر خان غازی نذگ الدیلاریغه اندیجان تاغیفه باردیلار اوزانگولارینی کوزلاریگا سورتوب پشت پای‌لاریغه سویدیلار ××××

EXTRACT XXVII.

یغه روایت‌دا کلتوروب‌دورلار کیم حضرت یوسف قادیر خان غازی پادشاه قرق مذك لشکرنی آلیب دادام نذك انتقامینی آلسام دیب ختن قباب یگرمه تورت یل اوروشوب ختن یورتینی آلیب جگالو الخلخال ماچین نی اولتوروب داداسی نذك انتقامینی آلیب ختن نذك مال امواليني آلیب کیلیب خان اریقی نذك برقاشینی تازغون نذك یتّی کنت نی چارك‌لیك یرنی بر مثقال آلتونغه آلیب وقف اوقاف قیلدی × ×

کاشقرغه یاندیلار یوقارغی یول برله قزیل دیگان یرگا توشتیلار حضرت سلطان سیّد ارسلان خان غازی پادشاه نذك حقّی‌لاریده لنگر بنا قیلغودیك یبر ایکان برکول چاقنگزلار دیب امری قیلدیلار اوشول ساعت کول چاقالی مقیّد بولدیلار اوق بشاقیده بوشاتیب آدم باشیغه بر مُشت دین تفراق آلیب برکونده کول قوتکان دیب‌دورلار ×××

EXTRACT XXVIII.

حضرت امام‌لار نامه نے کوروب آیدیلار کیم ای یارانلار بیزگا کاشقر زمین
دین نامه کیلدي بیز از براي فتح کفّار اوچوق بارادورمیز بیز ننگ موندین
اوزگا ایشیمیز یوق ترور دیب × × × بطرف کاشقر زمین روان بولدیلار ×
× × پخند کوندین کین حضرت امام‌لار حضرت یوسف قادیر خان
غازي نے کاشقر ولایتیغه پادشاه قیلیب بطرف ماچین روانه بولدیلار
کیلیب شهر ننگ آلدیغه توشتیلار کافرلار بو لشکرگا حیران قالدیلار شول
وقت‌دا چوقته رشید ننگ بر سحرگري بار ایردی آیدیکیم اي پادشاهم
نیمه مونچه بے طاقت بولورسیزلار شهرنے کورسه آلورمو کورمسه هم آلور
مو دیدي چوقته رشید آیدي اي وزیر بو نه سوز دور شهر کورونوب تورور
مونداغ دیدور دیدي ساحر دیدي شول لشکر نجه کون مونده تورسه
من شهرنے یاشوراي دیدي چوقته رشید تعظیم قیلیب اولتوردی همه
کافرلار خوشحال بولوب طبل شادیانه چالدیلار تانگ آتقے حضرت امام
لار نماز دین فارغ بولوب ××× بر کشي نے بویوردیلار کریب ایتغیل
بو کیلگان کشي خضرت محمّد مصطفے صلّے الله علیه و سلّم ننگ اولاد
لاري تورلار مبارک اسملاري حضرت امام نا صرالدین و امام معین‌الدین
و امام ظهور الدین و امام قوام الدین تورلار بو ماوراء النهر دین کاشقر زمین
نے فتح قیلماق اوچون یوز قرق مینگ لشکر بیلان کیلدیلار منگے بویور
دیلار کیم سن کریب اول کافرلارغه ایتقیل ساغداق‌لاریني بویونلاریغه
آسیب منینگ الدیمغه کیلیب مسلمان بولوب ایمان کیلتورسونلار اگر
ایمان کیلتورمسه‌لار چوقته رشید باشلیغن همه کافرلارنے اولتوروب بالا
لایيني اسیر قیلیب شهرلاریني ویران قیلادور دیدي بو سوزني ایشتب
کافرلارغه یاروق جهان قرانغو بولدی کافرلار اندیشه قیلیب ایدی دینمز
دین یانماس‌میز دیدي بر یاشیل چادیر اورداغه تیکدیلار شمعان باشلیغ
قرق بر ساحر سحرغه مقیّد بولدي ××× جنگ قیلغالي راست بولدیلار
شهر غایب بولدی بیلدیلار کیم سحرگر سحر قیلغاندور دیدیلار × × × تانگ
آتقے شهر ینه آشکارا بولدی طبل جنگ چالدیلار شجاعت‌لیگ یگیت‌لار

جنگ گا آت سالیش‌لاری همان شهر ینه غایب بولدی شبو طریقه یرله مدّتی قرق یل چین‌شهری ننگ ایچیدا قرار تابتیلار عاقبت الامر چوقته رشید بتمام لشکری برله بر کیچه قاچیب کیتتي × × ×

EXTRACT XXIX.

حضرت امام‌لار چوقته رشید نکته رشید ننگ ارقه‌سیدین قوغلاب روانه بولدیلار × × × حضرت امام‌لار نمازده ایردیلار کافرلار وقت نے غنیمت تافیب حضرت امام‌لارنے وقت سجده دا قویدیك بوغوزلادی ×××

اندین کین توغنے آلاي دیب این همه جنگ قیلدیلار توغچي ننگ قولینے کیستي توغنے بیرمای تیزلاریغه آلیب توتقه‌لار تیزلارینے هم کیستے لار بویونلاریغه قیستي بویونلارینے کیستے توغ هواغه اوروب غایب بولدی کون توتولدي جهان قرانغولوق بولدی آسماندین آواز کیلدي یبردین غریبی چیقتے کافرلار بطرفے ماچین‌گا کیتدی ××× برکشي قاچیب کاشقرغه باریب حضرت یوسف قادیر خان غازي پادشاه غه خبر قیلدی یوسف قادیر خان پادشاه غازی شول زمان آطلاندیلار کیچه‌لاب کوندوز لاب کیلیب کوردیلار کیم حضرت امام‌لار ننگ مبارک باشلارینے تن‌لاریدین جدا کوروب بیهوش بولدیلار ینه هوش‌لاریغه کیلدیلار ××× کوردیلار کیم آدم ننگ اولوکي سای ننگ تاشي دیك یا تادور معلوم بولمایدور کافرمو مسلمانمو دیب حیران قالدیلار ××× مناجات قیلدیلار شول ساعت بر صاعقه پیدا بولوب تاغ لاردین سو قویولدی اسماندین یمغور یاغدي مسلمانلار ننگ یوزینے قبله‌غه قیلیب قویدی کافرلار ننگ تنیني یوز توبان سالدی کافرلار ننگ باشینے آقتیب‌کیتدی آندین کین حضرت امام‌لار ننگ مبارک جسدلارینی صندوق ایچیگا آلیب قویدلار اوزگا مسلمانلار ننگ تنینے دفن قیلدیلار × × × تاریخقه بش یوز توقسان آلتے ایردی ذي الحجّه آی ننگ اوني دوشنبه کوني حضرت امام‌لار شربت شهادت نوش قیلدیلار—

و الله اعلم بالصواب

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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Pali Studies. No. 2.—By Major G. E. Fryer, *Deputy Commissioner, British Burma.*

II.—The Páli Text of the Vuttodaya, or 'Exposition of Metre', by Sangharakkhita Thera, with Translation and Notes.

Introduction.

The Vuttodaya ('Exposition of Metre') is the second metrical treatise written in Ceylon during the twelfth century by the Páli grammarian Moggallána, under his priestly title of Saṅgharakkhita Thera. It is the only work on Páli prosody extant, and is founded on the *Vrittaratnákara* (Ocean of Metres), a Sanskrit work on post-vedic metres by Kedára Bhatta. It contains 136 stanzas or portions of stanzas, divided into six chapters which treat of the following subjects:

Chap. I.—The technical terms, and symbols in prosody.
Chap. II.—Metres regulated by time.
Chap. III.—Metres with quarter verses similar.
Chap. IV.—Metres with half lines similar.
Chap. V.—Metres with quarter verses dissimilar.
Chap. VI.—The six problems.

The work opens with the usual adoration to Buddha. Then follow an explanation of the technical terms, and a description of the various metres in Páli prosody. In the second, third, fourth, and fifth chapters, each variety is illustrated in its own metre. The sixth chapter enunciates the

six problems, and the work closes with a tribute of regard to the author's instructor, Síla Thera.

The text has been collated from several Burmese MSS. and compared with two other valuable copies, one, a transcript from a Singhalese MS. in the India Office, kindly presented to me in 1870 by the late Professor Childers; the other, a tract, derived from two Singhalese MSS. by Professor Joh. Minayeff, published in 1869 by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. Mr. Childers' copy has 138 verses, but the last two are merely portions of postscripts to other treatises of the author. Mr. Minayeff's text from wrong numbering has only 119 verses, though the matter forms 136. In this sketch C stands for the first of these, and M for the second.

There are several Páli commentaries on *Vuttodaya*, and glosses on the commentaries. It is believed, the following comprise all that are to be met with in Burma.

1. *Vuttodaya Ṭíká*, by Nava Vimalabuddhi at Pugan during the reign of the Burman king Kyatswá, *circa* 1212 A. D.
2. *Chandosárattha*, by Sadhamma ñáṇa at Pugan during the same period.
3. „ *Ṭíká*, by the same author.
4. *Cha-ppaccaya*, by the same author.
5. *Vacanatthajotiká*, by Vepulla at Pugan during the same period.
6. „ *Ṭíká*, by the same author.
7. *Kavisára*, by Dhammananda at Pegu during the reign of the Pegu monarch Dhammarájádhirája, *circa* 1385—1421, A. D.
8. „ *Ṭíká*, by Buddhadhátа during the same period.

Of these, the three principal commentaries, *viz.*, the second, fifth, and seventh have been consulted, and are referred to under the abbreviations of *Chando.*, *Vac.*, and *Kav.*

My grateful acknowledgements must here be made to the subjoined works from which I have derived great assistance; C. P. Brown's *Sanskrit Prosody Explained;* Weber's *Ind. Stud., Vol. VIII;* Colebrooke's *Life and Essays, Vol. III;* and the translation of the *Vrittaratnákara* now passing through the pages of the *Pandit* at Benares.

A table of the prosodial feet is given at page 391, they are denoted in these pages by the initial letter of their symbols in capitals. A single long syllable is marked G, a spondee Gá; a breve is marked L, a pyrrhic Lá.

TEXT.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÁSAMBUDDHASSA.

1. nam' atthu janasantánatamasantánabhedino,
dhamm' ujjalantarucino, munindodátarocino.
2. Piṅgalácariyádíhi chandaṃ yam[1] uditaṃ purá
suddhamágadhikánan taṃ na sádheti yat' icchitaṃ,[2]
3. tato Mágadhabhásáya, mattávaṇṇavibhedanaṃ,
lakkhyalakkhaṇasaṃyuttaṃ,[3] pasannatthapadakkamaṃ,
4. idaṃ Vuttodayaṃ náma, lokiyacchandanissitaṃ,
árabhissám' ahaṃ 'dáni[4] tesaṃ sukhavibuddhiyá.

5. sabba-gla mn', ádi-[5]ga-lahu bhyá, majjhanta garú[6] ja sá.
majjhanta-la ra t', ete 'ṭṭha' gaṇá ; go garu, lo lahu.
6. bha-ja-sá sabbaga-lahu pañc' ime, saṇṭhitá gaṇá
ariyádimhi viññeyyá : gaṇo idha catukkalo.
7. saṃyogádi ca, dígho ca, niggahítaparo ca, yo.
garu vaṅko pádanto[8] vá ; rass' añño[9] mattiko l' uju.
8. pare pádádi-saṃyoge, yo pubbo garuk' akkharo,[10]
lahu sa kvaci viññeyyo ; tad udáharaṇaṃ yathá :—
" dassanarasánubhavane" || nibaddhagedhá jinass' ayaṃ janatá.
" vimhayajananí saññata-|| kriyá nu kan nánurañjayate."
9. viññeyyá, lokato, saññá sammuddosurasádinaṃ ;
pádo ñeyyo catutthaṃso ; padacchedo yati bbhave.[12]

---

[1] chanda' yam, C.
[2] yath' icchitam, C ; yad icchitaṁ, M.
[3] lakkha, C.
[4] árabhissam ahan dáni, C and M.
[5] ma n' ádi, C : m-nâ 'digalahu, M.
[6] guru every where for garu in C.
[7] ra te-t' aṭṭha, C ; rat' et' aṭṭha, M.
[8] padanto, C. and M.
[9] rasso 'ñño, C.
[10] guru-v-akkharo, C.
[11] rasânubhavane, M.
[12] yati bhave, M.

10. samam aḍḍhasamaṃ[1] vuttaṃ, visamañ cáparaṃ tidhá.
samá lakkhaṇato pádá cattáro yassa, taṃ samaṃ.
11. yass' antimena dutiyo tatiyen' ádimo samo
tad aḍḍhasamam ;[2] aññan tu bhinnalakkhaṇapádikaṃ.
12. pádam ekakkharárabbha, yáva chabbísatakkhará,
bhave pádehi taṃ chandaṃ nánánámoditaṃ tato.
13. daṇḍakácaṇḍavuṭṭhyádi, pádehi chahi, tíhi tu,
'gáthá 'ti ca, paratth' evaṃ chandosaññapakásitá.
14. anantaroditaṃ, c' aññam etaṃ, sámaññanámato
'gáthá 'icc eva,[3] niddiṭṭhaṃ,[3] munindavacane pana.
15. visesanámato, kiñci gahetvá sabbathocitaṃ[4]
dassayissám' ahan,[5] t'ettha námán' ávibhavissare.[6]

iti Vuttodaye chandasi saññá paribhásániddeso náma paṭhamo paricchedo.

---

16. chattho 'khilalahu jo vá ga-yutá, 'ññe chaggaṇá na jo visame ;
ariyá y antaḍḍhe' lo chattho 'nte gaṇá ech' aññe.
17. paṭhamaḍḍhe chattho ce sabbalah 'etth' ádilahuni[8] bhavati yati
tapparako 'nte pi sace carime pi bhavati catuttho 'nte.
18. ariyásámaññañ ce pubboditalakkhaṇaṃ bhave yassá.
19. ádimam atha pádayugaṃ yassá tyaṃsehi sá pathyá.
20. yattha gaṇattayam ullaṅghiyobhayatth' ádimo bhave vipulá.
21. garumajjhako jakáro catutthako dutiyako capalá.
22. capalágatákhilañ ce daládimaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ bhajati yassá
pathyá-lakkhaṇaṃ aññaṃ mukha-capalá náma sá bhavati.
23. pathyáya[9] lakkhaṇañ ce paṭhamaḍḍhe lakkhaṇan tu capaláyaṃ.[10]
dutiye dale 'tha yassá pakittitá sá jaghana-capalá.

Ariyájátiyo.

24. sabbaṃ paṭhamadale yadi[11] lakkhaṇam ariyáya vuttam ubhayesu
yassá dalesu yuttaṃ vuttá sá gíti vutta yati lalitá.

---

[1] addhasamam, C.
[2] gáthá-m-icceva, C.
[3] niddiṭṭhá, C. and M.
[4] sabbato 'citam, C.
[5] aham, M.
[6] ávibhavissare, C and M.
[7] ariyá anta, C and M. addhe for aḍḍhe everywhere in C.
[8] sabbalahetvádi, C.
[9] pathyá, C.
[10] capaláya, M.
[11] yadi wanting in M.

25. ariyáyaṃ dutiyaḍḍhe gaditákhilalakkhaṇaṃ yantaṃ bhavati dales' ubhayesu pi yadi yassá sá yam upagíti.
26. ariyáy 'aḍḍhadvitayaṃ' pubboditalakkhaṇopetaṃ[2] vipariyayenábhihitaṃ yassá sambhavati ce 'ha soggíti.
27. ariyá pubbaḍḍhaṃ yadi garun 'ekenádhikena nidhane yuttaṃ yadi pubbaḍḍhasamánaṃ dalam itarañ coditá yam ariyágíti.

Gítijátiyo.

28. visame cha siyuṃ kalá mukhe same tv aṭṭha ra la gá tato 'pari[3] vetáliyan tam uccate ; lahuchakkaṃ na nirantaraṃ same.
29. vetáliyopamaṃ mukhe taṃ opacchandasakaṃ ra yá yad ante.
30. ápátaliká kathitá 'yaṃ bha ga gá 'nte yadi pubbamiv' aññaṃ.
31. yad ádito lakkhaṇantiká[4] ṭhit' ettha padesvákhilesu[5] jo.
32. udiccavuttítiv-uccate[6] jo c' ádo visamesu saṇṭhito.
33. pubbaṭṭha samesu[7] ce ga já paccavuttir uditá 'ti saṇṭhitá.[8]
34. samásamá' 'tr' ádinaṃ[9] samásaṃyutá bhavati taṃ pavattakaṃ.
35. assa sá[10] samakatá 'parantiká.
36. tad aññajá cáruhásiní.[11]

Vetáliyajátiyo.

37. dvikavihatavasulahur[12] acaladhitir iha.[13]
38. mattásamakaṃ navamo lgá 'nte.[14]
39. jo nlá[15] 'thavá 'ṇṇavá visiloko.[16]
40. tadvayato vánavásikákhyá.[17]
41. pañcaṭṭhanavasu yadi lo citrá.

---

[1] dvikayam, M.
[2] lakkhaṇúpetam, C.
[3] cha kalá siyum same tâṭṭha ra lagá tato 'pari, C.
[4] dakkhiṇantiká, C.
[5] pádesákhilesu, C.
[6] vuccati, C.
[7] pubba*ddh*asamesu, M.
[8] paccavuttit 'uditá 'ti, M. paccavuttir uditeti saṇṭhito, C.
[9] ádínam, C and M.
[10] yá, C.
[11] cárubhásiní, C.
[12] vihatávasulahu, M.
[13] acaladhiti, C; acalathitir iha, M.
[14] la g 'ante, C. l g ante, M
[15] na lá, C.
[16] visiloko náma, M.
[17] tan ca yato vánavásiká 'kkhyá, C.

42. ga lyá 'ṭṭhahi' ce sá-v-upacitrá.
43. yam atítalakkhaṇavisesayutta-[2]
mattásamádi pádábhihitaṃ ;
aniyatavuttaparimáṇasahitaṃ,
paṭhitaṃ[3] janesu pádákulakaṃ.

Mattásamakajátiyo.

44. viná vaṇṇehi mattá gá, viná vaṇṇá garúhi tu,
viná lahúni garavo, dale pathyádino, matá.
iti[4] *mattávuttániddeso dutiyo.*

---

45. tyá ce tanumajjhá.

Gáyatti.

46. kumáralalitá jsgá.

Uṇhi.

47. citrapadá yadi bhá gá.
48. mo mo go go vijjummálá.
49. bhá[5] ta la gá máṇavakaṃ.
50. glá samáṇiká ra já ca.
51. pamáṇiká ja rá la gá.

Anuṭṭhubham.

52. rá[6] na sá yadi halamukhí.
53. bhujagasusu matá[7] ná mo.

Brahati.

54. msá jgá suddhavirájitaṃ[8] mataṃ.
55. mná yo go yadi paṇavo 'khyáto.[9]
56. bhmá-sa-ga-yuttá rummavatí sá.
57. neyyá mattá ma-bha-sa-ga-yuttá.

---

[1] ga ly' aṭṭhahi, C.
[2] yutam, C.
[3] paṭṭhitam M. wanting in C.
[4] iti vuttodaye mattá, M.
[5] bho, M.
[6] ro, M.
[7] bhatá, C and M.
[8] suddhaviraḍitam, C ; matam wanting in M.
[9] 'kkhyáto, C ; panavo 'kkhyáto, M.

58. campakamálá ce bha ma sá go.
59. na-ra-ja-gehi sa manoramá.
60. ubbhásakan taṃ ce to ma rá lca.[1]

Panti.

61. tjá jgá garuná 'yam upaṭṭhitá sá.[2]
62. indádiká tá vajirá ja gá go.
63. upádiká sá 'va ja-tá-ja-gá go.
64. anantarodíritalakkhaṇá ce[3]
pádá vimissá upajátiyo tá
evaṃ kil' aññásu vimissitásu[4]
vadanti játisv idam eva námaṃ.
65. sa ja já la gá gaditá sumukhí[5]
66. dodhakam icchati ce bha bha bhá gá.
67. ved'assehi[6] mtá tga gá sáliní sá.
68. vátummissá[7] yati sá mbhá ta gá go.
69. bhā[8] ta na gá go surasasirí[9] sá.
70. ro na rá iha[10] rathoddhatá la gá.
71. svágateti ra na bhá garuká dve.
72. na ná ra lahu-garúhi bhaddiká.

Tuṭṭhubham.

73. vadanti vaṃsaṭṭham idaṃ ja tá ja rá.
74. sá-y-indavaṃsá[11] khalu yattha tá ja rá.
75. idha toṭakam ambudhi sehi mitaṃ.
76. dutavilambitam áhu[12] na-bhá bha-rá.
77. vasu-yuga-viratí ná myá puṭo 'yaṃ.[13]
78. na-ya-sahitá nyá kusumavicittá.

---

[1] ubbhásakam tan ce to ma ra lva, C; ubbhásakan tam ce to ma rá la, M.
[2] yam upaṭṭhitá, C; sá, wanting in C.
[3] lakkhaṇo ce, M.
[4] kir' annásu pi missitásu, C; kir,' M.
[5] sumukhí gaditá, C.
[6] vedesshí, B.
[7] cátummí sá, C.
[8] bho, M.
[9] surassirí, C.
[10] idha, C.
[11] sá indavamsá, C.
[12] áha, M.
[13] putho 'yam, C.

79. bhujangappayátaṃ[1] bhave veda-yehi.
80. na-bha-ja-rehi bhavati ppiyaṃvadá.
81. vuttá sudhíhi lalitá ta-bhá ja-rá.
82. pamitakkhará sa-ja-sa-seh' uditá.
83. na-na-bha-ra-sahitá 'bhihit' ujjalá.
84. pañc' assa-cchinná[2] vessadeví ma-má yá.
85. bhavati[3] hi támarasaṃ na ja-já yo.
86. kamalá ti ñeyyá sa-ya-sehi yo ce.[4]

Jagati.

87. mná jrá go ti-dasa-yati ppahásiní sá.[5]
88. catuggaheh' iha[6] rucirá ja-bhá sja gá.[7]

Atijagati.

89. na-na-ra-sa-lahu-gá sarehi 'parájitá.
90. na-na-bha-na-la-g' iti ppaharaṇakaliká.
91. vuttá vasantatilaká ta-bha-já[8] ja-gá-go.

Sakkarí.

92. dvihata-haya-lahu-r atha g' iti[9] sasikalá.
93. vasu-haya-yati-r idha maṇiguṇanikaro.[10]
94. na-na-ma-ya-ya-yutá 'yaṃ[11] máliní bhog-isíhi.
95. bhavati na-já bha-já ra-sahitá pabhaddakaṃ.

Atisakkarí.

96. na-ja-bha-ja-rá yadá[12] bhavati vániní ga-yuttá.

Atthi.

97. ya-má no so bha-lgá[13] rasa-hara-virámá sikhariṇí.

---

[1] bhujagappayá tam, C.
[2] pañcâssa, C: chinná, M.
[3] vadati, C.
[4] yo ve, C.
[5] ppabhásiní, C.
[6] catuggahehi bha, C.
[7] sa já g, C; sa-j-gá, M.
[8] na bha já, C.
[9] g'iti, C.
[10] maniganikaro, C.
[11] nam, M.
[12] sadá, C and M.
[13] bha la gá, C: bho l-gá, M.

98. rasa-yug-isito no so mrá slá[1] gyadá hariṇí tadá.
99. mandakkantá[2] ma-bha-na-ta-ta-gá go yug-utv-assakehi.[3]

Atyaṭṭhi.[4]

100. mo to no yo[5] yá kusumitalatávellit'[6] akkh' utv-isíhi.

Dhuti.

101. ras'-utv-assehi ymá' na-sa-ra-ra-garú meghavipphujjitá[8] sa.
102. akk' assehi-yati msa-já[9] sa-ta-ta-gá saddúlavikkílití.[10]

Atidhuti.

103. vuttam ídisan tu námato ra-já ra-já ra-já garullahú ca.[11]

Kati.

104. mrá bhná yo yo 'tra yena tti-muni'[12]-yati-yutá saddhará kittitá 'yaṃ.

Pakati.

105. bhrá na-ra-ná ra-ná c' atha[13] garuddasakka-viramáhi[14] bhaddakam idaṃ.

Ákati.

iti samavutta paricchedo tatiyo.

---

106. visame yadi sá sa-la-gá same bha-ttayato garuká-r-[15]upacittaṃ.
107. bha-ttayato yadi gá rutamajjhá[16] yadi puna-d-eva[17] bhavanti najá jyá.
108. yadi sa-ttitayaṃ garuyuttaṃ vegavatí[18] yadi bha-ttitayá gá.

---

[1] ma ra sa la, C.
[2] mandákkantá, C.
[3] assagehi, M.
[4] accaṭṭhí, C.
[5] mo to yo no, C.
[6] velalitá, C.
[7] ya má, C.
[8] vipphujitá, C; vipphujjiká, M.
[9] yadí ma sa ja, C.
[10] saddúlavikkílitam, C; vikkíliní, M.
[11] guru lahu ca, C; garullahuñ ca, M.
[12] ma ra bha ná yo yo ta yena n timuni, C.
[13] ná 'tha ca, C.
[14] viramam, C.
[15] guruká-v, C; garugá c', M.
[16] dutamajjhá, C.
[17] punareva, C.
[18] vegavati, C.

109. to jo visame rato garu cce[1] msá jgá bhaddavirájam ettha go ce.
110. visame sa já sa garuyuttá ketumatí same bha ra na gá go.
111. ákhyániká[2] ta visame ja gá go ja tá ja gá go tu same 'tha páde.
112. ja tá ja gá go visame same tu tá jo ga gá ce viparítapubbá.
113. sa sato sa la gá visame same na bha bha ra bhavate[3] hariṇaplutá.
114. yadi na na ra la gá na já ja rá yadi ca[4] tadá 'paravuttam icchati.
115. visamam upagatá na ná ra yá ce na ja ja ra gá samake ca pubbitaggá.
dvayam idam vetálíyappabhedo.
116. sá yavádikámatí[5]ra já ra já tvasame same[6] ja rá ja rá garu bhaveyyum.
iti aḍḍhasama-vuttapariccheḍo catuttho.

---

117. n' aṭṭhakkharesu pádesu sn' ádimhá[7] yo 'ṇṇava vattaṃ.
118. samesu sindhuto jena pathyávattaṃ pakittitam.
119. ojesu jena sindhuto tam eva viparítádi.
120. na-káro ce jaladhito capalávattam icc etaṃ.
121. same lo sattamo yassá vipulá Piṅgalassa sá.
122. Setavassákhilesu pi.
123. bhen' aṇṇavá[8] tabbipulá.
124. evam añña[9] ro catuttho.
125. no 'ṇṇavá ce na-vipulá.
126. to 'ṇṇavá tathá 'ññá siyá.
vattappabhhedo.
127. na dissat' ettha yaṃ chandaṃ payoge dissate[10] yadi.
visamakkharapádan taṃ gáthá sámaññanámato.
iti visamavuttapariccheḍo pañcamo.

---

128. pattháre sabba-ge páde pubba-gá 'dho lpare samá.
pubbe garu te ca-m-ime[11] kattabbá yáva sabba-lá.[12]

---

[1] garuñ ce, C.
[2] ákkhyatiká, C; ákhyátiká, M.
[3] bhavati haritapluta, C.
[4] yadi va, C; ca wanting, M.
[5] yuvádikámalí, M.
[6] rajátu 'sa me same, M; rajá tu same 'same, C.
[7] sa nádimhá, C; sn'-á' dimha, M.
[8] aṇṇava, C.
[9] aññá, C. and M.
[10] dissati, C.
[11] tv evam ime, C and M.
[12] lo, C and M.

129. naṭṭhassa yo bhaveyy' aṅko tasmin lo 'ddhikate same
visame tv ekasahite bhaveyy' addhikate garu.
130. ekádinukkamen' aṅke pubbá 'dho dviguṇe likhe
missitehi lahutthehi sekeh' uddiṭṭhakaṃ bhave.
131. vuttakkharasamá saṅkhyá likkhya[1]' s'ekopar' úpari
ekekahínam ekádin' uṭṭháne sabbagádikaṃ.
132. garukriyá 'ṅkasandohe bhave saṅkhyá vimissite[2]
uddiṭṭh' aṅkasamáháro seko vemaṃ[3] samánaye.
133. saṅkhyeva dviguṇekúná vitthárayámasambhavá[4]
vuttass' addhántaránañ ca garu-lánañ ca aṅgulaṃ.

iti Sangharakkhitatherapádaviracite Vuttodaye chandasi chappaccayavibhágo náma chaṭṭho paricchedo.[5]

[eso

134. selantaráyatanavásikaSílatherappádo[6] garugguṇagurujjayataṃ[7] nam
yassappabhavamavalambamay' edisopi[8] sampádito 'bhimatasiddhikaro
135. paratthasampádanato puññenádhigaten' ahaṃ [parattho.
paratthasampádanako bhaveyyaṃ játijátiyaṃ.
136. avalokitamattena yathá chappaccayá mayá
sádhitá sádhiyantevam[9] icchitattham pi páṇino.

Vuttodayapakaraṇam niṭṭhitam.

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[1] likhyá, C.
[2] vimissate, C.
[3] dve 'mam, C.
[4] sambhavo, C; yávasambhave, M.
[5] iti —— paricchedo omitted, C.
[6] therapádo, C; therápádo, M.
[7] garúguṇa garújayatam, M; guruguṇaguru jayatam, C.
[8] mamedisopi, M.
[9] sádhayantvevam, C; sádhayantena m', M.

End of Text.

TRANSLATION.

1. Praise be to the Chief of Sages, beautifully pure, radiant with the glory of virtue, who dispels the universal ignorance of mankind.
2. The formerly written prosodies of Piṅgala and others, are not suited to the Mágadha people.
3. Therefore, distinguishing verses measured by feet from those regulated by time, together with the distinctive peculiarities of each, (made into) an understood series of poetry,
4. This Vuttodaya, a collection of secular prosody, I will now commence in the language of the Mágadha people for their instruction.

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5. (That foot is called) *ma*, (the three syllables of which are) all long; (that is) *na*, (the three syllables of which are) all short; *bha*, has the first long; *ya*, the first short; *ja*, the middle long; *sa*, the last long; *ra*, the middle short; *ta* the last short. These are the eight feet; *go* (stands for) *garu* (heavy); lo (for) lahu (light).
6. Be it known that the five feet, *bha*, *ja*, *sa*, *ma*, *na*, are used in the Ariyá and other metres of that class. In that class a foot consists of four syllabic instants (*kala*).
7. A vowel preceding compound consonants, a long vowel preceding the *niggahíta*, and optionally a vowel at the end of a quarter verse are heavy, and indicated by a bent mark; the other, a short vowel, measuring an instant of time, is light, and indicated by a straight mark.
8. Be it known, that a heavy vowel—preceding compound consonants at the beginning of a quarter verse—is sometimes light, as in the subjoined illustration:

   dassanaraśanubhavane nibaddhagedha jinass' ayaṃ janatá
   vimhayajananí saññata kriyá nu kan nanurañjayate.

9. Be it known, that the terms *samuddo*, *usu*, *rasa* and the like, are used in the popular sense; *páda* is the fourth part of a verse; *yati* is verse division.
10. Metre is threefold, either *sama*, *aḍḍhasama* or *visama*. That is *sama*, the quarters of which are similar in character.
11. That is *aḍḍhasama*, which has its first and third, and second and fourth respectively alike. That is *visama*, which has quarters dissimilar in character.
12. Metres vary in length from one up to twenty-six syllables in a quarter verse.
13. Chants such as the Daṇḍaka, Caṇḍavuṭṭhi and the like, and metres having three or even six *pádas* are called 'Gáthá' in another work.

14. Further, in Páli, other kinds of metre, as well as those just spoken of, are comprehended under the general name of Gáthá.

15. I will now point out the characteristics of the metres generally used, the names of which are noted herein.

(Here ends) the first chapter giving the general definitions and symbols in prosody.

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16. When (in the first half of a stanza) the sixth foot is an amphibrach (J), or a proceleusmatic (NL), and with no amphibrach (J) in the odd feet of the remaining six, together with a final long (G); and when in the second half, the sixth foot is a breve (L) with six other feet, together with a final long quantity (G), the metre is called Ariyá.

17. If the sixth foot of the first half be a proceleusmatic (NL), the pause must be on the first of the four instants; if in the second half, the fifth foot be a proceleusmatic (NL), the pause falls on the last syllable of the fourth foot.

18. A metre possessing the aforesaid characteristics is comprehended under the general name of Ariyá.

12. If the initial *pádas* of each half verse are restricted by the pause to three feet (*i. e.*, twelve instants), the metre is Pathyá.

20. If the initial *pádas* exceed three feet, the metre is Vipulá.

21. That is Capalá, in both halves of which the second and fourth foot is an amphibrach (J).

22. That is Mukhacapalá, the first half of which has the characteristics of a Capalá, and the second half those of a Pathyá.

23. That is Jaghanacapalá, the first half of which has the characteristics of a Pathyá, and the second half those of a Capalá.

(Here ends the section on) the Ariyá class of metres.

24. That is Gíti, in which both halves have the characteristics of the first half of the Ariyá, with the pause appropriately placed.

25. That is Upagíti, both halves of which have the characteristics of the second half of the Ariyá.

26. That is Uggíti, which exhibits the halves of an Ariya stanza in inverted order.

27. That is Ariyágíti, the halves of which correspond respectively with the first half of the Ariyá *plus* one long syllable at the end.

(Here ends the section on) the Giti class of metres.

28. That is Vetáliya, which has six instants in its odd quarters, and eight instants in the even, followed in each quarter by a cretic (B), and iambic (LG); in the even quarters six breves should not follow consecutively.

29. That is Opacchandasaka, which has a cretic (R), and a bacchic (Y), following the six instants in the odd, and the eight instants in the even quarters.

30. That is Apátaliká, which has a dactyl (B), and a spondee (Gá) fol-lollowing the six instants in the odd, and the eight in the even quarters.

31. That is Lakkhaṇantiká, in the quarters of which an amphibrach (J) constitutes the first four instants.

32. That is Udiccavutti, in the odd quarters of which an amphibrach (J) constitutes the first four instants.

33. That is Paccavutti, in the even quarters of which a long syllable and an amphibrach (GJ) form the first six instants.

34. That is Pavattaka, the odd quarters of which correspond with those of Udiccavutti, and the even with those of Paccavutti.

35. That is Aparantiká, the quarters of which correspond with the even quarters of Pavattaka.

36. That is Cáruhásiní, the quarters of which correspond with the odd quarters of Pavattaka.

(Here ends the section on) the Vetáliya class of metres.

37. That is Acaladhiti, the quarters of which consist of sixteen instants.

38. That is Mattásamaka, in the quarters of which the ninth instant is a short syllable, and the two last instants a long syllable.

39. That is Visiloka, which has in each quarter after the fourth instant, either an amphibrach (J) or a proceleusmatic (NL).

40. That is Vánavásiká, which has in each quarter after the eighth instant, either an amphibrach (J) or a proceleusmatic (NL).

41. That is Citrá, the fifth, eighth, and ninth instants of which are breves.

42. That is Upacitrá, which has a dactyl (B), and a spondee (Gá), after the eighth instant.

43. That is Pádákulaka, the quarters of which though consistent with the principle of the Mattásamaka class, contain syllables of mixed quantities.

(Here ends the section on) the Mattásamaka class of metres.

44. Be it known, that in the Pathyá class of metres the difference between the number of the long quantities, and the instants, equals the number of the syllables; the difference between the number of the syllables and the instants, equals the number of the long quantities; half the difference between the number of the short quantities and the instants equals the number of the long quantities.

(Here ends) the second (chapter) describing the metres regulated by time.

In the Gáyatti.

45. That is Tanumajjhá, the quarters of which consist of an antibacchic (T), and a bacchic (Y).

In the Uṇhi.

46. That is Kumáralalitá, the quarters of which consist of an amphibrach (J), an anapæst (S), and a long syllable (G).

In the Anuṭṭhubham.

47. That is Citrapadá, the quarters of which consist of two dactyls (B), and a spondee (Gá).
48. That is Vijjummálá, the quarters of which consist of two molossi (M), and a spondee (Gá).
49. That is Máṇavakaṃ, the quarters of which consist of a dactyl (B), an antibacchic (T), and an iambic (LG).
50. That is Samáṇiká, the quarters of which consist of a cretic (R), an amphibrach (J), and a trochee (GL).
51. That is Pamáṇiká, the quarters of which consist of an amphibrach (J), a cretic (R), and an iambic (LG).

In the Brahati.

52. That is Halamukhí, which has a cretic (R), a tribrach (N), and an anapæst (S).
53. That is Bhujagasusu, which has two tribrachs (N), an in molossus (M).

In the Panti.

54. That is Suddhavirájitaṃ, which has a molossus (M), an anapæst (S), an amphibrach (J), and a long syllable (G).
55. That is Paṇavo, which has a molossus (M), a tribrach (N), a bacchic (Y), and a long syllable (G).
56. That is Rummavatí, which has a dactyl (B), a molossus (M), an anapœst (S), and a long syllable (G).
57. That is Mattá, which has a molossus (M), a dactyl (B), an anapæst (S), and a long syllable (G).
58. That is Campakamálá, which has a dactyl (B), a molossus (M), an anapœst (S), and a long syllable (G).
59. That is Manoramá, which has a tribrach (N), a cretic (R), an amphibrach (J), and a long syllable (G).
60. That is Ubbhásakaṃ, which has an antibacchic (T), a molossus (M), a cretic (R), and a short syllable (L).

In the Tuṭṭhubham.

61. That is Upaṭṭhitá, which has an antibacchic (T), two amphibrachs (J), and a spondee (Gá).
62. That is Indavajirá, which has two antibacchics (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá).
63. That is Upavajirá, which has an amphibrach (J), an antibacchi (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá).
64. That is Upajáti, when the quarters of the two preceding metres are mixed together. Similarly it is said that the name Upajáti is applied to any metre that has mixed quarters.
65. That is Sumukhí, which has an anapæst (S), two amphibrachs (J), and an iambic (LG).
66. That is Dodhakaṃ, which has three dactyls (B), and a spondee (Gá).
67. That is Sáliní, which has a molossus (M), two antibacchics (T), and a spondee (Gá), with the pause on the fourth syllable, and the seventh (following it).
68. That is Vátummissá, which has a molossus (M), a dactyl (B), an antibacchic (T), and a spondee (Gá), with the pause (on the fourth syllable, and the seventh following it).
69. That is Surasasirí, which has a dactyl (B), an antibacchic (T), a tribrach (N), and and a spondee (Gá).
70. That is Rathoddhatá, which has a cretic (R), an amphibrach (N), a cretic (R): and an iambic (LG).
71. That is Svágatá, which has a cretic (R), a tribrach (N), a dactyl (B), and a spondee (Gá).
72. That is Bhaddiká, which has two tribrachs (N), a cretic (R), and an iambic (LG).

In the Jagati.

73. That is Vaṃsaṭṭha, which has an amphibrach (J), an antibacchic (T), an amphibrach (J), and a cretic (R).
74. That is Indavaṃsá, which has two antibacchics (T), an amphibrach (J), and a cretic (R).
75. That is Toṭaka, which has four anapæsts (S).
76. That is Dutavilambita, which has a tribrach (N) two dactyls (B), and a cretic (R).
77. That is Puṭa, which has two tribrachs (N), a molossus (M), and a bacchic (Y), with a pause at the fourth, and eighth syllable (following it).
78. That is Kusumavicittá, which has a tribrach (N), and a bacchic (Y), and again a tribrach (N), and a bacchic (Y).

79. That is Bhujangappayátaṃ, which has four bacchics (Y).
80. That is Piyamvadá, which has a tribrach (N), a dactyl (B), an amphibrach (J), and a cretic (R).
81. That is Lalitá, which has an antibacchic (T), a dactyl (B), an amphibrach (J), and a cretic (R).
82. That is Pamitakkhará, which has an anapæst (S), an amphibrach (J), and two anapæsts (S).
83. That is Ujjalá, which has two tribrachs (N), a dactyl (B), and a cretic (R).
84. That is Vessadeví, which has two molossi (M), and two bacchics (Y), with the pause at the fifth syllable, and the seventh (following it).
85. That is Támarasaṃ, which has a tribrach (N), two amphibrachs (J), and a bacchic (Y).
86. That is Kamalá, which has an anapæst (S), and bacchic (Y), followed by an anapæst (S), and bacchic (Y).

In the Atijagati.

87. That is Pahásiní, which has a molossus (M), a tribrach (N), an amphibrach (J), a cretic (R), and a long syllable (G), with the pause at the third syllable, and at the tenth (following it).
88. That is Rucirá, which has an amphibrach (J), a dactyl (B), an anapæst (S), an amphibrach (J), and a long syllable (G), with the pause at the fourth syllable, and ninth (following it).

In the Sakkarí.

89. That is Aparájitá, which has two tribrachs (N), a cretic (R), an anapæst (S), and an iambic (LG), with the pause at the seventh syllable, and the seventh (following it).
90. That is Paharaṇakaliká, which has two tribrachs (N), a dactyl (B), a tribrach (N), and an iambic (LG), with the pause at the seventh syllable, and the seventh (following it).
91. That is Vasantatilaká, which has an antibacchic (T), a dactyl (B), two amphibrachs (J), and a spondee (Gá).

In the Atisakkarí.

92. That is Sasikalá, which has four tribrachs (N), and an anapæst (S).
93. When the pause falls on the eighth syllable, and the seventh (following it), the metre is called Maṇiguṇanikaro.
94. That is Máliní, which has two tribrachs (N), a molossus (M). and two bacchics (Y) with the pause on the eighth syllable, and the seventh (following it).
95. That is Pabhaddakaṃ, which has a tribrach (N), an amphibrach (J) a dactyl (B), an amphibrach, (J) and a cretic (R).

In the Aṭṭhi.

96. That is Vániní, which has a tribrach (N), an amphibrach (J). a dactyl (B), an amphibrach (J) a cretic (R), and a long syllable (G).

In the Atyaṭṭhi.

97. That is Sikhariṇí, which has a bacchic (Y), a molossus (M), a tribrach (N), an anapæst (S), a dactyl (B), an iambic (LG), with the pause at the sixth syllable, and eleventh (following it).

98. That is Hariṇí, which has a tribrach (N), an anapæst (S), a molossus (M), a cretic (R), an anapæst (S), and an iambic (LG), with the pause at the sixth syllable, the fourth (following it), and at the seventh (following the last).

99. That is Mandakkantá, which has a molossus (M), a dactyl (B), a tribrach (N), two antibacchics (T), and a spondee (Gá), with the pause at the fourth syllable, the sixth (following it), and at the seventh (following the last).

In the Dhuti.

100. That is Kusumitalatávellitá, which has a molossus (M), an antibacchic (T), a tribrach (N), and three bacchics (Y) with the pause at the fifth syllable, the sixth (following it), and the seventh (following the last).

In the Atidhuti.

101. That is Meghavipphujitá, which has a bacchic (Y), a molossus (M), a tribrach (N), an anapæst (S), two cretics (R), and a long syllable (G), with the pause at the sixth syllable, the sixth (following it, and the seventh (following the last).

102. That is Saddúlavikkílití, which has a molossus (M), an anapæst (S), an amphibrach (J), an anapæst (S), two antibacchics (T), and a long syllable (G), with a pause on the twelfth syllable, and the seventh (following it).

In the Kati.

103. That is Vutta, which has ten trochees (GL).

In the Pakati.

104. That is Saddharà which has a molossus (M), a cretic (R), a dactyl (B), a tribrach (N), and three bacchics (Y), with the pause at every seventh syllable.

105. That is Bhaddaka, which has a dactyl (B), a cretic (R), a tribrach (N), a cretic (R), a tribrach (N), and a long syllable (G), with the pause on the tenth syllable, and on the twelfth (following it).

(Here ends) the third chapter (describing the) metres the quarters of which are similar.

106. That is Upacitta, which has in its odd quarters three anapæsts (S), and an iambic (LG); and in its even quarters, three dactyls (B), and a spondee (Gá).

107. That is Rutamajjhá, which has in the odd quarters three dactyls (B) and a spondee (Gá); and in the even quarters a tribrach (N), two amphibrachs (J), and a bacchic (Y).

108. That is Vegavatí, which has in the odd quarters three anapœsts (S) and a long syllable (G); and in the even quarters three dactyls (B), and a spondee (Gá).

109. That is Bhaddavirájaṃ, which has in the odd quarters an antibacchic (T), an amphibrach (J), a cretic (R), and a long syllable (G); and in the even quarters, a molossus (M), an anapœst (S), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá).

110. That is Ketumatí, which has in the odd quarters an anapæst (S), an amphibrach (J), a cretic (R), and a long syllable (G); and in the even quarters a dactyl (B), a cretic (R), a tribrach (N), and a spondee (Gá).

111. That is Ákhyániká, which has in the odd quarters, two antibacchics (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá): and in the even quarters an amphibrach (J), an antibacchic (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá).

112. That is Viparítapubbá, which has in the odd quarters an amphibrach (J), an antibacchic (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá); and in the even quarters two antibacchics (T), an amphibrach (J), and a spondee (Gá).

113. That is Hariṇaplutá, which has in the odd quarters three anapœsts (S), and an iambic (LG), and in the even quarters a tribrach (N), two dactyls (B), and a cretic (R).

114. That is Aparavutta, which has in the odd quarters two tribrachs (N), a cretic (R), and an iambic (LG); and in the even quarters a tribrach (N), two amphibrachs (J), and a cretic (R).

115. That is Pubbitaggá, which has in the odd quarters two tribrachs (N), a cretic (R), and a bacchic (Y); and in the even quarters a tribrach (N), two amphibrachs (J), a cretic (R), and a long syllable (G).

These two metres (respectively correspond with) the Vetálíya (and Opacchandasaka) metres.

116. That is Yavádikámatí, which has in the odd quarters six trochees (GL); and in the even quarters six iambics (LG), with a final long syllable (G).

(Here ends) the fourth chapter (describing) metres, the half lines of which are similar.

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117. In that class of metres having eight syllables in each quarter, that is Vatta, which has no anapœst (S), nor tribrach (N) after the first syllable; and which has a bacchic (Y) after the fourth syllable.

118. That is Pathyávatta, which has in the even quarters, an amphibrach (J) following the fourth syllabla.

119. That is Viparítávatta, which has in the odd quarters, an amphibrach (J) following the fourth syllable.

120. That is Capalávatta, which has in the odd quarters, a tribrach (N) following the fourth syllable.

121. That is the Vipulá of Piṅgala which has the seventh syllable short in the even quarters.

122. That is the Vipulá of Setava, which has the seventh syllable short in all the quarters.

123. That is Bha-Vipulá, which has a dactyl (B) following the fourth syllable.

124. That is Ra-Vipulá, which has a cretic (R) following the fourth syllable.

125. That is Na-Vipulá, which has a tribrach (N) following the fourth syllable.

126. That is Ta-Vipulá, which has an antibacchic (T) following the fourth syllable.

(So much for) the Vatta kind (of metres).

127. Any metre not noticed here, having quarters dissimilar in character, is comprehended under the generic term *Gáthá.*

(Here ends) the fifth chapter describing metres the quarters of which are dissimilar.

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128. In the table (representing the various long and short quantities of a metre), set down a quarter verse with quantities all long, below first long a breve, followed by same (as above), preceded by longs, and this is to be repeated until there are all shorts in the row.

129. If the row number of a variation in the table can be halved set down a breve, if being odd a unit is required set down a long quantity.

130. From the first syllable write below each, numbers in progression from one, the sum of the figures beneath the short quantities, *plus* one, is the indicator.

131. Write units one over another in number equal to the syllables of a quarter verse *plus* one, let each column be one less in number than the one preceding, let there be a rising from one and so on, the result is all longs and the like.

132. The number of the possible variations of a metre may be determined by the preceding method, or by the one preceding that.

133. Twice the number of variations in a given metre, *minus* one, gives the measurement in inches of the long, and the short quantities, and the intervals between them.

(Here ends) the sixth chapter entitled the six problem section of the Vuttodaya composed by Saṅgharakkhita Thera.

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134. To supply a public want, this treatise was prepared under the encouragement of my benevolent preceptor, the venerable Sila Thera, residing at Selantara, to whom I wish every success.

135. In return for this benefit, may I in successive births be a benefactor to others.

136. May mankind attain the fulfilment of their desires as easily as I solved these six problems.

The Vuttodaya is ended.

NOTES.

Notes on Chapter I.

v. 1. *nam' atthu* for namo atthu; odata for avadáta. "Ettha ca paṭhama gatháya parammukhakaraṃ dasseti, sesahi gandhárambhappaládiketáni pákaṭá yeva." *Kav.*

v. 2. *Pingalácariyádihi.* "Setava bharamantavyádinaṃ" *Chando.* "ádisaddena c'ettha Jayadevasuráma Kálidasádayo Saṅgaṇhati" *Vac.* and *Kav.*

chandam yam. "chandaṃ niggahítágamena" *Kav.*

yat' icchitam for yato icchitaṃ. "tesam icchitam abhimataṃ chandosattamapariññataṃ yato yasmá káraṇá na sádheti, nasammadeti, tato tasmá káraṇá Mágadhabhásáya Vuttodayam árabbhisan ti sambandho" *Chando.* "yat' icchitan ti vadati, yad icchitan ti pi vattuṃ vattati, yaṃ ti hi padassa yasmá ti attho pi sambhavato Mágadhabhásáyáti." *Vac.* *Kav.* gives the subtance of the above.

v. 3. *mattávaṇṇavibhedanam.* Páli poetry is divided into poetry measured by the time occupied in the pronunciation *(mattá)*, and poetry regulated by the number of syllables *(vaṇṇa)*. The first of these is also called *Játi.*

lakkhyalakkhanasamyuttam. "lakkhalakkhaṇasamyuttaṃ." *Kav.* "lakkhiyate ti lakkhaṇam udáharaṇaṃ lakkhyate 'neneti lakkhaṇaṃ suttaṃ lakkhañ ca, lakkhaṇañ ca, lakkhalakkhaṇá lakkham eva vá lakkhaṇaṃ lakkhalakkhaṇaṃ tehi tena vá saṃyuttaṃ, lakkhalakkha-

ṇasamyuttaṃ suttam eva udáharaṇan ti vuttaṃ hoti." *Chando.* "lakkhitabban ti lakkhaṇaṃ tad eva lakkhyam udáharaṇaṃ, lakkhiyate anenáti lakkhaṇaṃ suttaṃ lakkhaṇañ ca taṃ lakkhaṇaṃ cáti lakkhyalakkhaṇaṃ" *Vac.*

v. 4. *vuttodayam*, for vutta + udayaṃ.

lokiyacchandanissitam. A collection of prosody not vedic. "na vedikacchandanissitaṃ, duvidhaṃ chandaṃ, lokiya-vedika-chandabhedena, tattha lokiyannámachandaṃ nakkhattapaṭhádikaṃ; vedikannámachandaṃ vijjábalenákáse gamanádikaṃ; tesu pajjabandhesvápajojaniyattádhippetaṃ veditabbaṃ." *Kav. Chando.* nearly the same.

árabbhissám' ahan 'dáni. "árabbhissan ti Mágadhabhásáya upaññápayissámi" *Chando.* árabbhissámi ahaṃ idáni ti padacchedo" *Vac.* "árabbhisámi ahan ti padacchedo Vacanatthajotikáyam pan' árabbhissam ahan ti vuttaṃ, dvisu ca yathákkamaṃ árabbhissám' ahan ti ca páṭho daṭṭhabbo." *Kav.*

v. 5. *aṭṭhagaṇá.* Eight feet. These are subjoined.

Symbols.	*Syllables.*	*Names (from the Greek).*
Ma.	— — —	Molossus.
Ya.	⏑ — —	Bacchius.
Ra.	— ⏑ —	Creticus.
Sa.	⏑ ⏑ —	Anapæstus.
Ta.	— — ⏑	Antibacchic.
Ja.	⏑ — ⏑	Amphibrachys.
Bha.	— ⏑ ⏑	Dactylus.
Na.	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	Tribrachys.

A long syllable is *garu* (Ga), a short or breve *lahu* (La), and the initials GL are thus used.

Ga Ga or Gá.	— —	Spondæus.
La La or Lá.	⏑ ⏑	Pyrrhichius.
Ga La.	— ⏑	Trochœus.
La Ga.	⏑ —	Iambus.

The *Kavisára* has some fanciful remarks in connection with the eight prosodial feet, the substance of which is given in the subjoined tables.

Table 1.

The names of the guardian celestial beings, lunar mansions, &c., connected with the eight prosodial feet.

Feet.	Symbols.	Name of guardian celestial being.		Result.	How regarded.	Numbers and Names of Lunar mansions.	
— — —	ma	bhumi.	earth.	wealth.	coveted.	18	Jeṭṭhá.
ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ	na	sakka.	Indra.	long life.	coveted.	2	Bharaṇí.
— ᴗ ᴗ	bha	canda.	moon.	friends.	coveted.	5	Magasiram.
ᴗ — —	ya	ambha.	cloud.	piety.	coveted.	24	Satabhisayo.
ᴗ — ᴗ	ja	ravi.	sun.	poverty.	not coveted.	7	Punabhasu.
ᴗ ᴗ —	sa	anila.	air.	degradation.	not coveted.	15	Sáti.
— ᴗ —	ra	anala.	fire.	conflagration.	not coveted.	3	Kattiká.
— — ᴗ	ta	ákása.	firmament.	failure.	not coveted.	22	Savaṇo.

Table 2.

Classification of letters into castes.

Brahmaṇa.	a á k ṅ c ñ ṭ ṇ
Khattiya.	i e t n p m y r
Vánijja.	u o l v
Sudda.	s h ḷ

v. 6. *gaṇo idha catukkalo.* The Ariyá class of metres is measured by feet denominated *gana*, which are equivalent to two long syllables or four breves *(kala)*. "catukkalo caturo kalá mattá assáti va * * * ádittayaṃ pana eko garu dve lahu, massa pana dve garu, nassa tu lahu catukkaṃ, tasmá catukkalo ti vutto." *Vac.*

v. 7. *Samyogádi.* Double consonants and the like. "saṃyogo náma dvinnaṃ vyañjanánaṃ ekatra thiti vuccati, saránantariká vyañjanánaṃ yogato pi yathá; "tattha, dinná, hutvá" tyádi: digho ca saro yathá; "gáto, pitá, bhúto, deti, sotthi, ettha, oṭṭho," ti: niggahítaparo yathá; "yaṃ taṃ" tyádi: * * * catunnaṃ pádánaṃ anto

avasánaṃ ti pádanto saro ca yathá; "suriyuggamanaṃ paṭi" tyádi, ime caturo sará garu ti daṭṭhabbaṃ." *Vac.*[1]

The *Rúpasiddhi* has "kvaci saṃyogato pubbá ekárokára rassa iv, uccante yathá; ettha, seyyo, oṭṭho, sotthi." *Bk.* 1. *Chap.* 1. *Sutta* 5., but in the earlier commentary on *Kaccáyana's* Grammar, the *Nyása*, no mention is made of this shortening of heavy vowels.

pádanto. This is the Burmese reading supported by the commentaries. *Kavisára* has "chandánurakkhattaṃ padanto ti vuttaṃ pádanto ti pi páṭho," but so long as a couplet of the *Vatta* class of metres conforms to the principles of that class, it is immaterial what foot follows the fourth foot in the odd quarter.

vanko * * * *uju.* In Burmese, the mark for the short quantity in Páli prosody, is the number for one in that alphabet, and the mark for the long quantity is the number for two.

mattiko. Consisting of a breve (mattá). Equal in time to a snap of the finger, a flash of lightning, or the twinkling of an eye. "mattásaddo c'ettha accharásaṅkhátaṃ vá, vijjutásaṅkhátaṃ vá, akkhinimilasaṅkhátaṃ vá, kálaṃ vadati ti daṭṭhabbaṃ, tathá pi tena mattena ekamattá rassá, dvimattá dighá, aḍḍhamattiká vyañjaná ti" *Nyása Bk.* 1. *Sutta* 4.

v. 8. *pádádi.* This rule refers to poetry measured by the time occupied in the pronunciation *(mattávutti)*, which is divided by pauses into quarters *(pádas)*. The illustration subjoined is in the Pathyá metre of the Ariyá class in which the pause is commonly restricted to the close of third foot.

saññata kriyá. The shortening of the final *a* in *saññata* before two consonants, the last of which is the liquid r, resembles the *muta cum liquida* rule, and the *positio debilis* of Latin prosodians; *e. g.* integri, (comp. Weber, Ind. Stud., Vol. viii). The stanza may be freely translated thus:—

> From the pleasure of seeing and hearing Buddha, springs a passion never sate.
> Who would not derive pleasure from a study so wondrous and sublime?

The *Chando.* points out that this couplet illustrates the figure of Rhetoric called Transition *(atthantaranyása)*, the introduction of another sense into a subject, (such as a moral reflection). The author describes this figure in his Subodhálaṅkára (*Easy Rhetoric*) vv. 241 to 245. It is twofold, *viz.*:—

[1] It is also an established rule in Páli prosody that consonants may be doubled, in order to give prosodial length to a naturally short vowel (*vide* v. 134.)

(*a*). general, (*sabbavyápi*—).
(*b*). partial, (*visesaṭha*—).

each kind being distinguished by the absence and presence of the emphatic particle *hi*. In this instance it is *partial transition* without the particle *hi*, (see *Jour.; As. Soc. Beng.*, Part I, No. 2, 1875, pages 100 and 119.)

v. 9. *Samuddosurasádínam*. *Samuddo, usu, rasa*, and such like symbols represent numerals. Numerical symbols occur only in the second, third, and fifth chapters, and are here subjoined.

Number 4. *veda*. the (four) vedas vv. 67. 79.
yuga. the (four) ages, vv. 77. 98. 99.
samuddo. v. 9.
aṇṇava. vv. 39. 117. 123. 125. 126.
ambudhi. v. 75.
jaladhi. v. 120.
sindhu. vv. 118. 119.
} The (four) oceans.

Number 5. *usu*. the (five) arrows of Cupid, v. 9.
akkhi. the eye, one of the (five) senses, v. 100.

Number 6. *rasa*. the (six) tastes, vv. 9. 97. 98. 101.
utu. the (six) seasons, vv. 99. 100. 108.

Number 7. *assa*. vv. 67. 84. 99. 101. 102.
haya. vv. 92. 93.
} the (seven) horses of the sun.

muni. v. 104.
isi. vv. 94. 98. 100.
} the (seven) sages.

sara. the (seven) musical notes, v. 89.

Number 8. *vasu*. a certain tribe of demigods, vv. 37. 41. 77. 93.
bhoga. wealth, v. 94.

Number 9. *gaha*. a planet, v. 88.

Number 11. *hara*. one of the eleven Ruddas, v. 97.

Number 12. *akka*. The sun, one to each month, v. 102. 105.

padacchedo yati bhave. Verse division is *yati*, the harmonic pause. The subject is treated of in the author's Subodhálaṇkára *(Easy Rhetoric)* vv. 49. to 55.[1] *Pada* here means a portion, not a quarter, of a verse.

v. 12. *ekakkhar' árabbha*. for ekakkharaṃ árabbha.

Quarter verses vary from one up to twenty-six syllables. In this treatise they range from the *Gáyatti* of six syllables, to the *Akati* of twenty-two syllables. The five metres preceding the former, and the four following the latter omitted here are :—

[1] See Jour., As. Soc. Beng., Part I, No. 2, 1875, pp. 96 and 108.

1. utta.	1. vikati.
2. •atyutta.	2. sańkati.
3. majjhá.	3. atikati.
4. patiṭha.	4. ukkati.
5. supatiṭha.	

v. 13. *parattha.* Elsewhere. The work referred to, is the *Chandovicitta.* The metres are Bacchanalian chants, unlimited in length, commencing with two tribrachs (N), followed by cretics (R).

v. 15. t' ettha for te ettha.

Notes on Chapter II.

v. 16. This chapter describes Páli metres regulated by time (*mattá-vutti*), called Játi. They are four in number Ariyá, Gíti, Vetáliya, and Mattásamaka; the second, however, is merely a subdivision of the first. The Ariyá class uses feet containing four instants or breves, or their equivalents; namely:—

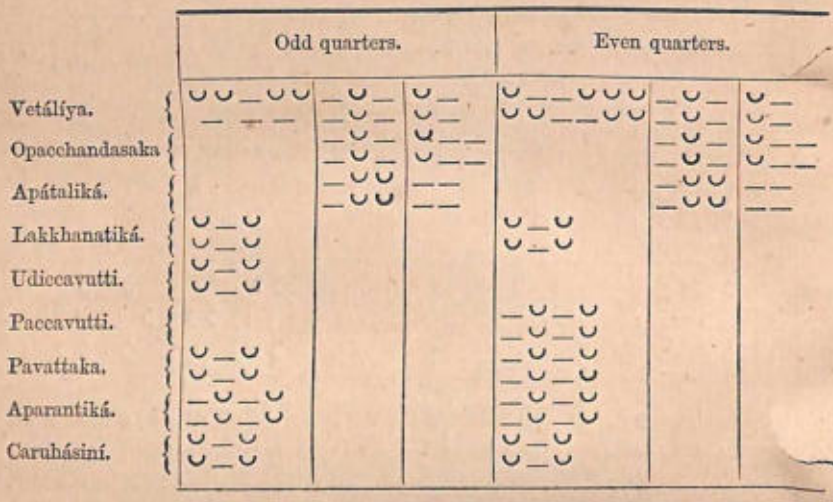
dactyl	— ◡ ◡	B.
amphibrach.....	◡ — ◡	J.
anapæst	◡ ◡ —	S.
spondee	— —	Gá.
proceleusmatic	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	NL.

Any one of these may be used in the even feet, *viz.*, the second, fourth, and sixth. The amphibrach (J) is inadmissible in the odd feet, *viz;* first, third, fifth, and seventh. In each half verse, which consists of seven and a half feet, the sixth foot must be an amphibrach, or proceleusmatic, or a single breve. The metres are musical lyric verses. Mr. C. P. Brown in his treatise on Sanskrit Prosody, has pointed out a metre in Horace similar to the Ariyá, the Ionic *a Minore* "*Miserarum est*" &c., (Od. iii. 12). The choruses in the Bacchæ of Euripides are principally in this metre.[1] Subjoined is the scheme of the four *Játi* from verse 16 to 43, inclusive.

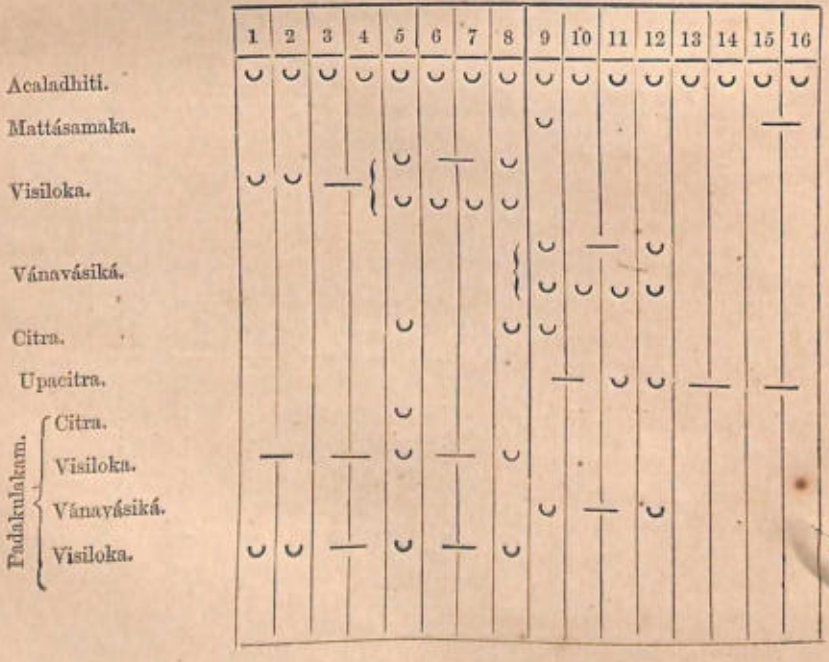
[1] Walford's Handbook of the Greek drama, p. 172.

I and II. *Ariyá* and *Gíti.*

III. *Vetáliya.*



IV. *Mattásamaka.*



V. 44. If the first half of verse 17 be taken, the number of instants, of syllables, of long and short quantities is as follows :—

Instants.....28
Syllables.....20
Longs..... 8
Shorts.....12

Then, 28 — 8 = 20 the number of syllables.
28 — 20 ..... = 8 } the number of longs.
28 — 12 = 16 ÷ 2 = 8 }

Notes on Chapter III.

This chapter describes those metres the quarters of which are similar, giving in each instance the characteristic of one quarter, which answers for the remaining three. The syllables in each quarter vary from six to twenty-two. The names of these metres are :—

VI.	Gáyatti.	XIV.	Sakkarí.
VII.	Uṇhi.	XV.	Atisakkarí.
VIII.	Anuṭṭhubhaṃ.	XVI.	Aṭṭhi.
IX.	Brahati.	XVII.	Atyaṭṭhi.
X.	Panti.	XVIII.	Dhuti.
XI.	Tuṭṭhubhaṃ	XIX.	Atidhuti.
HII.	Jagati.	XX.	Kati.
XIII.	Atijagati.	XXI.	Pakati.

XXII. Akati.

The feet are denoted by the initial letter of their symbols in Roman capitals.

VI. Verses having six syllables in each line.

1. *Tanumajjhá.* — — ∪ ∪ — — TY.
ñánaṃ dasamaddhe
ñeyye tava satthá
vitthárítamásí
saṃgetarabhágá.

VII. 1. *Kumáralalitá.* ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — — JSG.
tayásadisakhettaṃ
nalokataramasmiṃ
padakkamanumatthaṃ
vipaccatiminampi.

VIII. 1. *Citrapadá.* — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — 2BGá.
satyakulapparacandaṃ
tittiyapannakavindaṃ
sañcanapañcadinandaṃ
sádhunamesamanindaṃ.

2. *Vijjummálá.* — — — — — — — — 4Gá.
játe buddhá vijjabbhute
loke dhammaṃ loke niccaṃ
mohaddhittaṃ hitvá sattá
pattásantaṃ yogakkhemaṃ.

3. *Máṇavakam.* — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — BTLG.
ánanaveríkamalaṃ
pañcayaketebhagavá
yánasakháhaṃsavaro
sùcayatevassupadam.

4. *Sámaṇiká.* — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ 4GL.
ánanenatemuninda
tulyaminnasobhadáni
locanenakeraváni
tosatesamakkhatáya.

5. *Pámáṇiká.* ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — 4LG.
saroruhámuninda te
sasámivaṃsajattanaṃ
paṭiccasampatítiyá
itívadepadassitá.

IX. 1. *Halamukhí.* — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — RNS.
vaṇṇayantitavakaruná
vitthatatisugatajane
nevamáravadhuvisaye
sádhanampi viditavati.

2. *Bhujagasusu.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — 2NM.
vivaritamamatadváraṃ
suvihatabhavasañcáraṃ
kavivaranutasaccáraṃ
panamarakharasatthāraṃ.

X. 1. *Suddhavirájitam.* — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — MSJG.
khittirútijinassapatthaṭá
ápátálasuramlayávadhi
sánandhekasuroragádike
ánetvácaraṇáte aká.

2. *Paṇavo.* — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — MNYG.
saṃsárambudhi taraṇe setu
hetuṃ nibbutisukhasantáne

ketuṃ sakyabhijanasaññṇe
bho náthaṃ visayatha viññáṇe.

3. *Rummavatí.* — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ◡ — — BMSG.
sárasayonínaṃ bhavanevá
devaháráhítaṃ nilayevá
nevatayá tulyomadhikóvá
vajjatimaddhá so munirájá.

4. *Mattá.* — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — MBSG.
máyádévísutamarahantaṃ
dhammassámiṃ varasalabhiññaṃ.
niccaṃ saddhá yutamanasáhaṃ
vandesutthaṃ bahuguṇayuttaṃ.

5. *Campakamálá.* — ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ◡ — — BMSG.
ásavapásámocayateyaṃ,
márajilokaṃsokasayává
jálinijálápálayate bho
ñánaguṇaggo, káruṇikaggo.

This metre is the same as No. 3. In *Vṛittaratnákara* it is named *Dípakamálá*, and has J instead of S for the third foot.

6. *Manoramá.* ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — NRJG.
yatipatiṃsataṃ kavissaro
kimitimáhumerusádisaṃ
naccalateva sohi kappase
tuvamanárataṃ dukhaddhite.

7. *Ubbhásakam.* — — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ TMRL.
khíṇe kalaṅko cando jinassa
sampuṇṇasamsuddhácchodakena
tulyoṇavattenásísucíhi
dosákarotiṃ vá tulyameti.

XI. 1. *Upaṭṭhitá.* — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — T2JGá
suddhodaniyaṃ parapátubhútaṃ
sámájikalápi sadá pamodí
dúríkatatitthiyahaṃsayuttaṃ
saddhammapayodavaraṃ namámi.

In the *Vṛittaratnákara* the *Upaṣṭhitá* ending with a single long syllable is a ten-syllabled verse, and is included in the *Pankti*. There is, however, an *Upasthitam* in the *Trishṭubh*, but it has not the characteristics of the Páli *Upaṭṭhitá*.

2. *Indavajirá.* — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — 2TJGá.
satthábhajíketumalaṃ phalaṃ va
satthussa dattaṃ pavaraṃ púraṃ va
rájáva jetá samadantakatthaṃ
netáva satthá nayanocitatthaṃ.

3. *upavajirá.* ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — JTJGá.

balena mettáyacitáya satthu
vihárasámantavanábhiváso
migápiválásahitámramañña ṃ
cariṃsu yogíva samáhitattá.

V. 64. When the quarter verses of Nos. 2 and 3 are mixed together, the metre is called *Upajáti;* of which according to *Chando*, there are fourteen varieties, thus, if *i* stands for *Indavajirá*, and *u* for *Upavajirá*, we have i u u u, u i i i, i i u i, u u i u, i u i u, u i u u, i i i u, u u u i, i i u u, u u i i, u i u i, i u i u, i u u i, u i i u.

4. *Sumukhí.* ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — S2JLG.

ariyehi sílasamádhi ṭhiti
succimattikádiguṇehi jino
vimalehi bhúsayatevisaye
sasamipupágata devanare.

In the *Vṛittaratnákara, Sumukhí* has a N instead of a S for the first foot.

5. *Dodhakam.* — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — — 3BGá.

sajjanamánasakañjuvikásaṃ
dujjanatitthiyasaṃkapatápaṃ
lokanabhuggatamárajisúraṃ
mohatimísahataṃ paṇamámi.

6. *Sáliní.* — — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — M2TGá.

pádambhojaṃ ye bhajante janáte
kárunnantesimavajjaṃ janesu
vindante tenáthatasságatena
vaṇṇaṃ kvá vaṇṇa ye vaṇṇavádi.

7. *Vátummissá.* — — — — || ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — || MBTGá.

laddhámaddhá || tavamaddhekkhaṇaṃpi
sattásattá || bhupadáyanti niccaṃ
kiṃ vá cittaṃ || citasatthopakare
sabbaññusmiṃ || tadanúnappavatti.

The *Vṛittaratnákara* has no cæsura.

8. *Surasasirí.*— ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — BTNGá.

vádivarápissunipunadhíyo.
tádiguṇaṇṭaṃ sugatamupecce.
pañcamukhádhiṭhitavanagantyá.
vañcitadanticchavimadhikañcuṃ.

The *Vṛittaratnákara* has the pause after the fifth syllable, and the sixth following it.

9. *Rathoddhatá.*— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — RNRLG.
yassa pádakiraṇáruṇígataṃ.
dárukhandam api páṭihāriyaṃ.
dassayitvasumanañcaneká.
tassa attham iha ko silághaye.

10. *Svágatá.*— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — RNBGá.
nijjitáni kamaláni mukhena.
lajjitá vacanavásamitáte.
nátathá padarasanti nimittaṃ.
majjittánisarasisv iti maññe.

11. *Bhaddiká.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — 2NRLG.
magadhavisayabhávibhásayá.
vadatitayimahovadanti te.
vividhavisayavásijantavo.
sugatasakasakáyabhásayá.

XII. 1. *Vamsaṭṭha.* ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — JTJR.
visálabhogesumasaṃgataṃ gataṃ.
visudhisantaṃ bhavasaṃvaraṃ varaṃ.
paropakárádhikatapparaṃ paraṃ.
bhajantunátthaṃ vidhitá hitaṃ hitaṃ.

2. *Indavamsá.* — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — 2TJR.
tuyhánasattádhigamá mahámune.
lílávilásekarasá manohara.
kantápi passanti sahásabhásiyo.
sattá yathá jaṅgamaputirañcayaṃ.

3. *Toṭaka.* ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — 4S.
sucirávahitaṃ vahitaṃ sahite.
niratehidhayo sugato padaví.
sigavaṃ ujarájapathaṃ kathavá.
sujaná tamaraṃ madhiro hatavo.

4. *Dutavilambita.* ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — N2BR.
subhagatá bhagatá pavinonadí.
surasabhárasabhávita bharati.
adhigatádhigatátisivappadaṃ.
jinasutánasutábhavasaṃ kaṭaṃ.

5. *Puṭa.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — || 2NMY.
sugatati || vidhakalyáṇehi yuttá.
vacanaja || ladamáláte janánam.
nakumati || malinatthaṃ yevadhotá.
sugatasu || rataruppesapaputṭhá.

6. *Kusumavicittá.* ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — NYNY.
ratipatijammaṃ, jitamunidhammaṃ.
sivapathasálaṃ, munijanamálaṃ.

tibhavanaketuṃ, subhaguṇahetuṃ.
bhajathajanábho, tamihusulábho.

7. *Bhujaṅgappayáta.* ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — — 4Y.
munindo virágáya vindassa kando.
dinandadvayánanda sandosasando.
nabhindampinibbindakatthenanindaṃ.
virájeti rájinda kundogha cando.

8. *Piyamvadá.* ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — NBJR.
vimalacáruciraṇárunappabhá.
valitapádanakharaṃsisantati.
kalilavindumalatámayodadhi.
cchavisamuppahati te tathágataṃ.

9. *Lalitá.* — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — TBJR.
taṇhá kilesamaladhovanárahe.
sattápavaggapurarodhanásahe
dhammepasannamatayohitávaso.
dhammanusattamihasabbalamkathá.

10. *Pamitakkhará.* ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — SJ2S.
lapitaṃ tavámata padaṃ savaná
caraṇaṃ munindanakarotidhayo
nahitena sádisanihina jano
guṇabhájanatthamathavávigato.

11. *Ujjalá.* ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — 2NBR..
sapavaravisayosusamiddhiko
savigatakhilamítisukhemavá
sasujanajanasevaniyojati
dasabalagaditaṃ lapatevate.

12. *Vessadeví.* — — — — — — || — ∪ — — ∪ — — || 2M2Y.
saṃsare saraṃ || mánusattaṃtahimpi
vekallábhávo || sádhu sabbindriyánaṃ
kolaññaṃ tasmiṃ || tassasoceyyabhávo
tasmiṃ sussusá || dhammarájassa dhammaṃ.

13. *Támarasam.* ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — N2JY.
yadi sugatodita sárapadípo
bhuvinasiyániyaráyanasodhaṃ
sugatipathávaraṇápagamaṃ vá
nabhavatiko vadatissivanámaṃ.

14. *Kamalá.* ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — SYSY.
avakárakánampi narádhamánaṃ
hitakárako yaṃ sadayo munindo
upalopasaṃ ghaṭṭitamo sadháni
na haranti kiṃ vá balavaṃ pi vyádhi.

XIII. 1. *Pahásiní.* — — — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — || MNJRG.

satthárá || bhavasalilákarámapárá.
lokoyaṃ || ariyapatattharenasáraṃ.
nibbáná || mataparatírakhemabhúmí.
sannito || dipuladayáyacoditena.

2. *Rucirá.* ⏑ — ⏑ — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — || JBSJG.

manuṇṇitá || yatipatinákharásaná.
yadátute || kusumavitánataṃ gaṇá.
talávadhí || kusumasarábhidháritaṃ.
gatotime || matinamucemahámune.

XIV. 1. *Aparájitá.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — || 2NRSLG.

jananánidhanatá || dyane kavisádhinaṃ.
sugatatavavaco || bahuvasurosadhaṃ.
kamutatavavilá || savásamanoraháṃ.
vitanutanusiri || bbilocanamussavaṃ.

2. *Paharaṇakaliká.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || 2NBNLG.

surapurakamalá || sananilayamatí.
varapatikamalá || karasasisavibhú.
tatharivakamalá || nicasitapasite.
sacaraṇakamalá || vahatiyatipatí.

3. *Vasantatilaká.* — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — TBIJGá.

lávaṇyaváriparipúrivalitharaṅgaṃ
nettambujálakamalissitapeṇamalyá.
kantápakáramadanásanavaṃ kaghatte
sattambuje muni vimocayidosanáya.

XV. 1. *Sasikalá.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — 4NS.

parahitamabhirata dasabalam atulo
piyatamaruciyanijatanujadayatá
amitavaradhanasipitasubhaṇayane
guṇasadanapatidhadivimalamatimá.

2. *Maṇiguṇanikaro.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || 4NS.

vidhuraguṇanilaya || tiracaturamune
tavalapanapasuta || lapitamadurasaṃ
pacuratarabhujaga || manujasurapitá
mahamadhupasamiti || pivatimaviratam.

3. *Maliní.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — || — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — 2NM2Y.

kapilakaṇacaránaṃ || lokikácelakánaṃ
sivajayiminivedan || tádinaṃ vádavedi
tavacaraṇanisedhí || cápimásajjajáta
anadhivarapabháte || tetamosaṃhatíva.

4. *Pabhaddakam.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — NJBJR.

phalamakhilaṃ tayávijitamujjhiyávudhe
disidisibhopaláyinamacissatenataṃ
suravanitánamásihasanáyidánipi
dasabalateparakkamamahosupatthataṃ.

XVI. 1. *Váníní.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — NJBJRG.

bhuvikavinokálákaladipáradassinova
bhujagapatimatisamatináganáyakává
nahitarituṃ bahusugatasaggunamburási
bahupamituṃ tathábisúrapañcusassaková.

XVII. 1. *Sikhariní.* ⏑ — — — — — — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || YMNSBLG.

nataṃ cittaṃ yante || samitasakalaklesaphaliná
vajote jasatte || bhavakasiritomocanamayo
vanekekiṃsitvaṃ || savadhapasutaṃvyádhapadhanaṃ
jinate pacceke || samabhinivisarinádhapavaro.

2. *Hariní.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || — — — — || ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — || NSMRSLG.

virataramano || pyáyaṃ nátho || pavedhatinibbharaṃ
vyasanisudayá || luttániccaṃ || samekkhiyakátare
tam idam ucitaṃ || tesaṃloke || nissákararaṃsiná
bhavatisasikan || taṃ yevambuṃ || nacetaravophalá.

3. *Mandakkantá.* — — — — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — || MBN2TGá.

ullocittam || jaladavisará || yantivátácayassa
niyyánasmiṃ || surabhikusume || santarantepurattá
ubbhijjitvá || vanisarasija || sampaticchantipáde
soyaṃ natho || vipulapatimá || pátunopevadevá.

XVIII 1. *Kusumitalatávellitá.* — — — — — — || ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — || — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — || MTN3Y.

sandhatthemeyaṃ || kisalayadalaṃ || tedhirattábhimukkh
máliñňaṃ cando || tavatanupabha || sammukhedevadeva
gopácutttánaṃ || vipulamatiyá || sammukhetepayodhi
sádisaṃ kiṃ vá || bhavatibhuvane || tena tvaṃ vatulyo.

XIX. 1. *Meghavipphujjitá.* ∪ — — — — — — ‖ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ‖
— ∪ — — ∪ — — ‖ YMNS2RG.

sarojemadísá ‖ sasicakumude ‖ tuñcasabbaṃ tilokaṃ
pabodhetárobho ‖ jinanamadiká ‖ kintubhedopanesaṃ.
punosaṃghpcittam ‖ nalinakumuda ‖ yantisesehibuddha.
tayábuddholoká ‖ napunamakulat ‖ thaṃ kadáci piyáti.

2. *Saddúlavikkílití.* — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ‖
— — ∪ — — ∪ — ‖ MSJS2TG.

máyánekatiluddharakkhasivasaṃ ‖ yátemanásekadá.
yosamyattikaváṇijedasasata ‖ ddhaddhedayitvánabhá.
vahopissalilákaraṃsamabhilaṃ ‖ ghitvánakhemávini.
sammápesikimbhutasamadhuná ‖ sabbaññutatthedayá.

XX. 1. *Vutta.* — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪
— ∪ — ∪ 10GL.

súmidevatápasáritesviváyatesupánisamputesu.
yopadepadesamuggatesuphullamaṃ kajesusobhaṇesu.
sañcaraṃ virájirájahaṃsalilayá pajáhitáyatassa.
várijásanípadevarájasekharikataṃ padaṃ bhajámi.

XXI. 1. *Saddhará.* — — — — ∪ — — ‖ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ‖
— ∪ — — ∪ — — ‖ MRBN3Y.

ávelávelajátá ‖ sitasitamanujo ‖ tarohiccabhedá
kintiniggammadehá ‖ tibhuvanakuharaṃ ‖ tetilokekanáthá
sambhusentovanáná ‖ vidhiratanamayá ‖ nekamáláhisammá
sandhávatyábhavaggaṃ ‖ niravadhikaruṇá ‖ ñaṇataṃ sucayantá

XXII. 1. *Bhaddaka.*
— ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ‖
∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ‖ BRNRNRNG.

sakyamunevacotavasudhá |
gadaṃ harati lobhadosapabhuti ‖
nevajahátidhammapakatí |
nasammutimatovisáradagaṇá ‖
kammaphalañca kammam ihabhú |
navedagajanonakarakamití ‖
súcayatetadacchariyataṃ |
vidanti sanarámarásivapadaṃ. ‖

Notes on Chapter 4.

This chapter describes eleven metres the half lines of which are similar in construction.

The characteristics of each half line are subjoined. Nos. 9 and 10, respectively correspond with the *Vetáliya* (v. 28) and the *Opacchandasaka* (v. 29.)

No.	Names of the metres.	Odd quarters.				Even quarters.			
1	Upacitta, ...	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –
2	Ratamajjhá, ...	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
3	Vegavatí, ...	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –
		– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –
		– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –
		– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –	– – –	⏑ ⏑ –
4	Bhaddavirájam, ...	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –
		– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑
		– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –
		– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –
5	Kotumati, ...	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –
		– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑
		– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –
		– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –
6	Akhyánikí, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
7	Viparítapubbá, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
8	Hariṇaplutá, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
9	Aparavutta, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
10	Pubbitaggá, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
11	Yavádikámatí, ...	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –	– – ⏑	– – –
		– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –	– ⏑ –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –
		⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –	⏑ – –	– – –

Notes on Chapter 5.

This chapter describes the varieties of the Vatta, or heroic, measure, analogous to the Sanskrit *sloka*. The term *sloka* is not used in the treatise, nor, according to Weber, does Piṅgala nor Kedára adopt it. *Ind. Stud.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 114 and 332.

In this class of metres each half line contains sixteen syllables, and two half lines form a couplet. The halves are independent, any one of one metre may be followed by that of another. Each quarter (or páda) has eight syllables, the first and third are called odd quarters, the second and fourth even quarters. In each quarter the first and last syllables are free, the others (which in the subjoined table are formed into seats) are subject to rule, namely :—

(*a.*) In the first seat in either quarter any foot is admissible, except the anapæst (S), and the tribrach (N).

(*b.*) In the second seat in the odd quarters any foot is admissible.

(*c.*) In the second seat in the even quarters, no foot is admissible, except the amphibrach (J) or bacchic (Y).

	Odd quarter.				Even quarter.			
	Free.	1st Seat.	2nd Seat.	Free.	Free.	1st Seat.	2nd Seat.	Free.	Free.
Vatta,			⏑ – –				⏑ – –		
Pathyávatta,			⏑ – –				⏑ – ⏑		
Viparítapathyávatta,			⏑ – ⏑				⏑ – –		
Capalávatta,			⏑ ⏑ ⏑				⏑ – –		
Vipulá of Pingala,			⏑ – –				⏑ – ⏑		
Vipulá of Setava,			⏑ – ⏑						
Bha-vipulá,			– ⏑ ⏑						
Ra-vipulá,			– ⏑ –						
Na-vipulá,			⏑ ⏑ ⏑						
Ta-vipulá,			– – ⏑						

Notes on Chapter 6.

This chapter enters into the solution of the six problems, (*cha-ppaccaya*) which are as follows :—

1. To distribute in the form of a table the different quantities in the possible variations of a metre.

2. To determine the structure of a variation, the row number of which is known.

3. To determine the row number of a variation, the structure of which is known.

4. To determine the number of those variations which respectively contain no long quantities, or one long, or two long, and so on.

5. To determine the number of the possible variations of a metre.

6. To determine the space requisite for writing down the possible variations of a metre.

v. 128. *te ca-m-ime;* And these; (three alternations (*vikappá*) being understood). This is the reading of the Burmese *MSS.* "te ca ime tayo vidhiyo yáva sabbalahu go pádo, táva kattabbo." *Vac.* "puna lahuto pubbe garu te ca ime tayo vidhiyo sabbalá sabbalahupádá katabham; athavá × × tato lahuto, garu pubbe pubbaṭháne yeva pare panakkhará upari sadisá yeváty attho, evam ime akkhará kattabbá, yáva sabbalá sabbalahupádassa avasánanti, imasmim ca vikappe "garutevamime" ti paṭho "garu iti evam ime "ti chedo" *Kav.*

This verse describes the mode of arranging in a table, the distribution of the long and short quantities in the possible variations of a metre.

According to the rule all long quantities are set down in the first row, in each succeeding row, a short quantity must first be placed beneath the first long of the row above; to the *right* of such short quantity, must be written quantities similar to those in the row above; to the *left* of such short quantity, as many long quantities as may be required to fill up the row; and so on until a row of all short quantities is formed. Thus a metre, whose quarter verse consists of one foot, has two variations, a quarter with two, four variations, and a quarter with three feet, eight variations, and so on, the variations increasing in geometrical proportion, as the quarter verse increases in length.

Row number.	The number of variations in a metre having three syllables in a each quarter verse.		
1	—	—	—
2	⏑	—	—
3	—	⏑	—
4	⏑	⏑	—
5	—	—	⏑
6	⏑	—	⏑
7	—	⏑	⏑
8	⏑	⏑	⏑

v. 129. This rule determines the structure of a variation in the table, the row number of which is known. The *Gáyatti* has quarters of six syllables, let the structure of the tenth row be determined.

as 10 can be halved set down a breve ..... ⏑
as 5 without an additional unit cannot be halved set down a long, } ..... —
as 3 an odd number requires a unit set down a long, } ..... —
as 2 can be halved set down a breve. ..... ⏑
as 1 being an odd number requires a unit set down a long, } ..... —
as 1 again requires a unit set down a long,..... —

The structure, then, of the 10th row of the Gáyatti is ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

v. 130. This rule is the converse of the preceding. Given the structure, to determine the row number. Let ⏑ — — ⏑ — — be taken as the structure of a variation in a metre having quarters of six syllables. Commencing at the first syllable place under each syllable, numbers in geometrical progression from one, thus :

⏑ — — ⏑ — —
1 2 4 8 16 32 ; } the sum of the numbers beneath the short syllables *plus* one, gives the row number, *e. g.*: 1 + 8 + 1 = 10 ; and we have just seen that this structure corresponds with the 10th variation of the *Gáyatti*.

v. 131. This rule determines the number of variations containing no long quantity, or one long, or two longs, or all longs. Units are to be placed, vertically one over the other, in succession equal to the number of syllables the metre has in each quarter *plus* one ; thus the *Gáyatti* having six syllables, seven units are set down vertically one over the other ; each succeeding column must be one less in number than the one preceding it ; in each of the columns succeeding the first (which all commonce with a unit) there is a rising, and in this fashion : after writing the first unit of each column, each following number must be the sum of the number immediately to its left in the preceding column *plus* all those below that said number ; *e. g.*, in the third column, 3 follows the unit being the sum of 2 + 1 of the preceding column, then follows 6 being the sum of 3 + 2 + 1, and so on, as in the subjoined table.

1 one row with all long quantities.
1 6 six rows with five longs.
1 5 15 fifteen rows with four longs.
1 4 10 20 twenty rows with three longs.
1 3 6 10 15 fifteen rows with two longs.
1 2 3 4 5 6 six rows with one long.
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 one row with no long quantity.

v. 132. *vemam* for vá imaṃ.

The number of the possible variations of a metre may be determined either, (*a*) by adding together the top numbers of the columns as shewn in the preceding rule, or (*b*) by adding together the numbers placed beneath the short quantities *plus* one, according to the rule in v. 130, *e. g :*

(*a.*) 1 + 6 + 15 + 20 + 15 + 6 + 1.....= 64

(*b.*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 1 + 2 + 4 + 8 + 16 + 32 + 1 = 64

1 2 4 8 16 32

Thus 64 is the number of the possible variations of the Gáyatti metre of six syllables in each quarter.

v. 133. This rule lays down the space in inches, that is required for writing down the quantities in the several variations. The inches required must be double the number of variations *minus* one, thus the Gáyatti having 64 variations would require for each quarter verse 64 + 64 = 128 — 1, or 127 inches.

v. 134. *Síla Thera.* Moggallána. The author of this treatise was a disciple of Sáriputta, otherwise called Síla Thera.

Rhyming metres find no place in this work; reference, however, is made to a kind of word-repetition termed *yamaka* in the author's Subodhálankára (*Easy Rhetoric*), vv. 26 to 52.* This kind of word-rhyming or word-matching is twofold—

(*a*) isolate, (*vyapeta*).

(*b*) corporate (*avyapeta*).

and has many varied combinations, either kind being found separately, or in conjunction, anywhere in the stanza.

Besides the instances given in the *Subodhálankára*, vv. 28—31, the *Ṭíká* of that treatise gives six stanzas wherein the subjoined words in italics, occur in the same place in each line of their respective stanzas. For brevity's sake, one line only of each stanza is here given.

1. *manam manam* satthu dadeyya ceyya.
2. yato *na tena te* pito siyum *na tena te* subhá.
3. veneyyenettha guṇa *sajjanam janam.*
4. *sabháya sabhati* na ce kathaṃ na.
5. nabhá*sura* te pi *surá* vibhúsitá.
6. jinánattiyaṃ ye hi*tásá* si*táeá.*

* J. A. S. B., Part 1, No. 2, 1875, pp. 96.

Contributions to the explanation of the Jyotisha-Vedánga.—By G. Thibaut, Ph. Dr.

The small metrical treatise known by the name of the Jyotisha-vedánga has attracted the attention of scholars since the first time when Sanskrit literature began to be studied by Europeans. Especially it was the celebrated verses containing a statement regarding the place of the winter-solstice at some ancient, although as it finally has turned out, rather indefinite period, which gave rise to a good deal of comment and speculation. They have been discussed in all their bearings by Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Bentley, Davis in the beginning of this century, and were submitted at a more recent period to renewed investigation; it may suffice to refer to Prof. A. Weber's papers on the nakshatras (especially the second one, p. 355), Prof. M. Müller's preface to the fourth volume of his large edition of the Rik-saṃhitá, which moreover contains some calculations by Archbishop Pratt and Prof. W. F. Donkin, and the important paper by Prof. Whitney in the first volume (new series) of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the substance of which is reproduced in the twelfth essay, second series, of his "Oriental and Linguistic Studies." These verses about the places of the winter-solstice, bearing as they do on the question of the chronology of Vedic literature, certainly are the most important of the whole treatise, and may justly claim a much larger amount of interest than we can accord to the remainder of the Jyotisha; nevertheless the Jyotisha being avowedly the oldest Indian work referring to astronomy which has come down to our time, it was highly desirable that we should be enabled, by a publication of the entire work, to judge of its value. This was at last rendered possible by the paper of Prof. A. Weber "Ueber den Vedakalender, Namens Jyotisham" published in the transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, 1862; which contains an edition of the complete text based on the comparison of a great number of manuscripts, the gloss on the text by Somákara, a translation of the text which is founded on Somákara's explanations as far as these owing to the exceptionally bad state of the manuscripts could be made out, and a very instructive commentary by Prof. Weber himself, in which there is collected a large amount of material from divers sources tending to the elucidation of the obscure verses of the Jyotisha. But in spite of the important step in advance made in Prof. Weber's edition, there remains, as he has himself acknowledged, much to be done before we can claim fully to understand the Jyotisha. The first obstacle in our way is of course the style of the treatise itself with its enigmatical shortness of expression, its strange archaic forms and its utter want of connexion between the single verses. The second ob-

stacle is, or I should rather be inclined to say, was the extraordinary corruption of all the manuscripts containing Somákara's commentary, a corruption extending so far that in more than one passage it is hardly possible to make out even the general drift of the argument (I myself have been able to procure three MSS. in addition to those used by Prof. Weber, but they belong to the same families as his and no additional advantage is to be derived from them). The reason for which I prefer to call this second obstacle a past one lies in my conviction of Somákara's commentary being not only of slight value, but, the explanations of a few verses excepted, positively harmful as misleading the student of the Jyotisha and preventing him from having recourse to the only legitimate method of arriving at its true meaning. In fact I consider Somákara to have totally misunderstood by far the greater part of the few rules of which the Jyotisha consists. Professor Weber already, in his edition of the Jyotisha, has complained in many places of the want of connexion by which Somákara's method of interpretation is characterized and of the strangeness of the results at which we frequently arrive when accepting him for our guide ; but I think we may safely go a step farther and, instead of regretting the want of ability on our side to construe Somákara's explanations into a consistent whole, reject his explanations just for the very reason that we are unable to elicit a satisfactory sense from them. It appears to me that Somákara has grasped the meaning of his text only where it either was impossible to misunderstand it (so f. e. in the introductory verses) or where corresponding passages of the Gárgí Samhitá assisted him in making out the right meaning (so f. e. v. 9, 10). In these latter cases his gloss certainly has some value, since those parts of Garga's work from which he quotes appear to be lost, or have at any rate not been recovered up to the present time ; but with regard to the whole remainder of the Jyotisha—and this remainder forms by far the greater part of the work—his commentary must be declared to be worse than useless. The chief objection to Somákara's manner of commenting—an objection which by itself would be sufficient to condemn it—is the complete absence of anything in the way of "upapatti" or proof. While every good commentary on an Indian astronomical work, after having explained one of the rules given in the text proceeds to justify it by showing its agreement with the general principles of the system, Somákara never makes such an attempt ; he simply gives a scanty explanation of the words of the text and then leaves the reader to his own resources. And the explanations which he gives are for the greater part of a very strange nature indeed. Later on, the true explanation of a few passages of the Jyotisha will be given, when Somákara's mistakes with reference to these will clearly appear from a mere comparison ; I now direct the reader's attention to some verses the right sense of which

I am indeed unable to point out, but where nevertheless Somákara's want of understanding is patent. At first however I reprint the text of the Jyotisha, only for convenience's sake, since frequent references to it will be made in the following pages, not with the intention to give it in a purer form than that known up to the present time. A few corrections of the traditional text will be given later on ; the necessary critical apparatus for the restitution of those verses which are manifestly corrupt, and for which I am unable to propose emendations, will be found in Prof. Weber's edition. I consider it superfluous to reprint here the different readings of the MSS. ; the verses of the Jyotisha are for the greater part of such a nature that the restitution of the single words of the original text can only be accomplished after we have found out by some other means the probable sense of the whole verse. I follow the arrangement of Prof. Weber's edition giving at first those verses which are found in the recension connected with the Yajurveda and then adding these which belong to the Ṛik recension only.

पञ्चसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिम् ।
दिनर्क्षयनमासाङ्गं प्रणम्य शिरसा शुचिः ॥ १ ॥
ज्योतिषामयनं पूर्णं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।
ब्राह्मणेन्द्राणां समतं यज्ञकालार्थसिद्धये ॥ २ ॥
वेदा हि यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ताः कालानुपूर्वा विहिताश्च यज्ञाः ।
तस्मादिदं कालविज्ञानशास्त्रं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद यज्ञम् ॥ ३ ॥
यथा शिखा मयूराणां नागानां मणयो यथा ।
तद्वद्वेदाङ्गशास्त्राणां गणितं मूर्धनि स्थितम् ॥ ४ ॥
माघशुक्लप्रपन्नस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिनः ।
युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते ॥ ५ ॥
स्वराक्रमेते सोमार्कौ यदा साकं सवासवौ ।
स्यात्तदादि युगं माघतपः शुक्लोऽयनं क्वुदक् ॥ ६ ॥
प्रपद्येते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक् ।
सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा ॥ ७ ॥
घर्मवृद्धिरपां श्लेषः पुष्पाङ्गास उदग्गतौ ।
दक्षिणेतौ विपर्यासः पुष्पार्द्धर्त्वयनेन तु ॥ ८ ॥
प्रथमं सप्तमं चाऽऽश्लेषार्धं त्र्यादशम् ।
चतुर्थं दशमं चैव द्वियुग्मार्धं चऽऽश्लेष्यतौ ॥ ९ ॥
वसुस्त्वष्टा भवोऽजश्च मित्रः सर्पोऽग्निनौ जलम् ।
धाता कश्यपनाद्याः स्युरर्धपञ्चमभस्तृतुः ॥ १० ॥
एकान्तरेऽह्नि मासे च पूर्वाक्लृप्तादितरत्तरः ।
अर्धयोः पञ्चपर्वाणां सदृक् पञ्चदशाष्टमौ ॥ ११ ॥
दुष्टेयं पर्व चेत्यादे पादस्त्रिंशत्तु मैकिका ।

सावनेन्दुक्षिमासानां षष्टिः सैकद्विसप्तिका ।
द्वि चिंशत्सावनस्यार्धैः सूर्यर्क्षाणां सपर्ययः ॥ २१ ॥
अग्निः प्रजापतिः सोमो रुद्रोऽदितिर्बृहस्पतिः ।
सर्पाश्च पितरश्चैव भगश्चैवार्यमाऽपि च ॥ २२ ॥
सविता त्वष्टाऽथ वायुश्चेन्द्राग्नी मित्र एव च ।
इन्द्रो निर्ऋतिरापो वै विश्वे देवास्तथैव च ॥ २३ ॥
विष्णुर्वसवो वरुणोऽजैकपादथैव च ।
अज एकपात्तथा पूषा अश्विनौ यम एव च ॥ २४ ॥
नक्षत्रदेवता ह्येता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्मणि ।
यजमानस्य शास्त्रज्ञैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ २५ ॥
उत्तराणार्द्रा च चित्रा च विशाखा श्रवणोऽत्र्युक् ।
क्रूराणि तु मघा स्वातिर्ज्येष्ठा मूलं यमस्य यत् ॥ २६ ॥
ह्रासं द्विषष्टिभागेन चेयं सूर्यात्सपार्वणम् ।
यस्मिन्नावुपजायेते मध्येऽन्ते चाऽधिमासकौ ॥ २७ ॥
कला दश सविंशा स्याद् द्वे मुहूर्तस्य नाडिके ।
द्वि चिंशत्कलानां तु षट्शती त्र्यधिका भवेत् ॥ २८ ॥
सप्तघ्नं भयुक्सोमः सूर्यो यूनि त्रयोदश ।
उत्तमानि तु पञ्चाङ्गः काष्ठा पञ्चाचरा भवेत् ॥ २९ ॥
यदुत्तरस्यायनतो गतं स्याच्चेषं तथा दक्षिणतोऽयनस्य ।
तद्वै षष्ठ्या द्विगुणं विभक्तं सदादर्शं स्याद् दिवसप्रमाणम् ॥ ३० ॥
यदर्धं दिनभागानां सदा पर्वणि पर्वणि ।
ऋतुशेषं तु तद्विद्यात्संख्याय सह पर्वणाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
इत्युपायसमुद्देशो भूयोऽप्यङ्गः प्रकल्पयेत् ।
ज्ञेयराशिगतान् व्यस्तान्विभजेज् ज्ञानराशिना ॥ ३२ ॥
सोमसूर्यर्क्षचरितं विद्यान्वेदविदञ्जसा ।
सोमसूर्यर्क्षचरितं लोकं लोके च संततिम् ॥ ३३ ॥

प्रणम्य शिरसा कालमभिवाद्य सरस्वतीम् ।
कालज्ञानं प्रवक्ष्यामि लगधस्य महात्मनः ॥ १ ॥
पञ्चात्पञ्चदशाद्ध्यं तद्वृद्धमिति निर्दिशेत् ।
नवभिस्तूद्गतोऽंशः स्याद्दूनांशस्त्र्यधिकेन तु ॥ २ ॥
नाडिके द्वे मुहूर्तस्तु पञ्चाशत्पलं माषकम् ।
माषकात्कुम्भको द्रोणः कुटश्चैर्वर्धते त्रिभिः ॥ ३ ॥
अविष्ठाभ्यां गुणाभ्यस्तान्प्राग्विलग्नान्विनिर्दिशेत् ।
सूर्यान्मासान्यलभ्यस्तान् विद्याच्चान्द्रसमान्ऋतून ॥ ४ ॥
द्वितीयां नवमीं चैव पौर्णमासीं त्रयोदशीम् ।
षष्ठीं च विषुवान्प्राह्णो द्वादशीं च समं भवेत् ॥ ५ ॥

भागात्मनापष्टयाऽंशान्निर्दिशेदधिको यदि ॥ १२ ॥
निरेके द्वादशाभ्यस्तं द्विगुणं चाऽयसंयुतम् ।
षष्ट्या षष्ट्या धृतं द्राभ्यां पर्वणां राशिरुच्यते ॥ १३ ॥
स्युः पादोऽर्धं त्रिपञ्चाशल्लिप्ताकेऽङ्काः क्षते स्थितिम् ।
साम्येनेन्दोः क्षयेऽन्ये तु पञ्चकाः पर्वसंमिताः ॥ १४ ॥
भांशाः स्युरष्टकाः कार्याः पञ्चा द्वादशकोद्धताः ।
एकादशगुणोनाः शुक्लेऽर्धं चैन्दवा यदि ॥ १५ ॥
नवकैरुद्धृतोऽंशः स्यादूनः सप्तगुणो भवेत् ।
त्र्याद्यास्त्वयुजे द्वौ स्यात्पौलस्त्येऽस्तंगतेऽपरम् ॥ १६ ॥
आद्यार्धांशैः समं विद्यात्पूर्वार्धे पर्वस्फुटराः ।
भादानं स्याच्चतुर्दश्यां द्विभागेभ्योऽधिको यदि ॥ १७ ॥
जौ द्रा गः ख त्रे ह्री रा षा चिन् मू ध ण्डः सु मा धा णः ।
रे स्व घा खा पो जः ह्य च ज्ञे छा इत्युद्या लिङ्गैः ॥ १८ ॥
कार्या भांशाऽष्टकाः स्थाने कला एकाग्निविंशतिः ।
ऊनस्थाने द्विसप्ततिमुद्धरेदृक्षसंभवे ॥ १९ ॥
तिथिमेकादशाभ्यस्तां पर्वभांशसमन्विताम् ।
विभज्य भसमूहेन तिथिनक्षत्रमादिशेत् ॥ २० ॥
यः पर्वभादानकलासाम्ये सप्तगुणां तिथिम् ।
ऊनासासां विजानीयात् तिथिभादानिकाः कलाः ॥ २१ ॥
अतीतपर्वभागेभ्यः शोधयेद् द्विगुणां तिथिम् ।
तेषु मण्डलभागेषु तिथिनिष्ठां गतो रविः ॥ २२ ॥
विषुवन्तं द्विरभ्यस्तं रूपोनं षड्गुणीकृतम् ।
पञ्चा यद्धं पञ्चानां तिथिः स विषुवान् स्मृतः ॥ २३ ॥
पलानि पञ्चाग्रदृपां धृतानि तदाढकं द्रोणसमः प्रकीर्तितः ।
विभिर्विहीनं कुडवैस्तु कार्यं तन्नाडिकायास्तु भवेत्प्रमाणम् ॥ २४ ॥
एकादशभिरभ्यस्य पर्वाणि नवभिस्तिथिम् ।
युगलब्धं सपर्व स्याद्गतसानार्कभक्तसात् ॥ २५ ॥
खार्यंशभागान्नवभिर्विभज्य शेषं द्विरभ्यस्य दिनोपभुक्तिः ।
तिथियुता भुक्तिर्दिनेषु कालो योगं दिनैकादशकेन तद्वम् ॥ २६ ॥
त्र्यंशी भशेषो दिवसांशभागश्चतुर्दशाप्यपनीय भिन्नम् ।
भाधऽधिके चाऽपि गते परोऽंशो द्वावुत्तमे तं नवकै रवेद्यः ॥ २७ ॥
त्रिशत्यक्तां सषट्षष्टिरब्दः षट चर्तवोऽयने ।
मासा द्वादश सूर्यः स्यूरेतत्पञ्चगुणं युगम् ॥ २८ ॥
उदया वासवस्य स्युर्दिनराशिः खपञ्चकः ।
ऋषेर्द्विषष्टिहीनं स्याद्विंशत्या चैकया गुणम् ॥ २९ ॥
पञ्चविंशं शतं पौष्णमेकोनसप्तशान्युषः ।
पर्वणां स्याच्चतुर्थ्यादौ काष्ठानां चैव ताः कलाः ॥ ३० ॥

चतुर्दशीमुपवसथस्तथा भवेद् यथोदितो दिनमुपैति चन्द्रमाः ।
माघशुक्लाक्लिको युक्ते श्रविष्ठायां च वार्षिकीम् ॥ ६ ॥

I now shall point out some of Somákara's manifestly mistaken explanations alluded to above (the full text of S. will be found in Prof. Weber's edition). V. 21 he explains as stating the length of a tithi; but then a tithi would consist of fifty-six náḍikás only, which duration is much too short (it is of course well known that a tithi in consequence of hrása actually may have that duration; but the knowledge of tithi-vṛiddhi and tithi-hrása with the reasons on which they depend, is foreign to the Jyotisha). V. 13. According to Somákara's explanation the words of this verse would imply that the length of the holy time at púrṇamásí which may be employed for sacrifices amounts to 138 náḍikás in case of the parvan taking place in a chaturanśa nakshatra *i. e.*, a nakshatra consisting of four parts. But according to all authorities, and their number is a very great one, that part of the parvan-time which is fit for the offering of the sacrifice, includes only the fifteenth tithi of a paksha and three quarters of the immediately following pratipad, altogether seven quarters of a tithi, while 138 náḍikás exceed even two sávana days by eighteen náḍikás. V. 14 would, according to Somákara, imply that the last quarter of the fifteenth tithi of a paksha may be used for upavása, *i. e.*, the initiatory rites preceding the performance of the sacrifice; but all teachers are unanimous in assigning to upavása only the three first quarters of panchadaśí (noticed already by Prof. Weber, p. 54). Of v. 20 Somákara gives two wholly different explanations, both equally unsatisfactory and one stultifying the other; the same observation is to be made regarding his interpretation of v. 25. And so throughout the whole commentary. Certainly S. has been unable to throw any light on the most obscure point in the Jyotisha, a point which I regret to say has remained obscure to me also, *viz.* the true meaning and purport of the anśas or parts which are said to belong to the nakshatras and according to the participation in which each individual nakshatra is either dvyanśa or tryanśa or chaturanśa. S. understands these parts as meant to fix the length of that period at each parvan which admits of being occupied by the parvan-sacrifice and its preparations, but as we have seen above, the results to which this assumption leads him flatly contradict whatever is known about that point from other sources of undisputable authority. I for my part doubt if the anśas are in any way connected with the time taken up by the new and full moon oblations, all the more as not a single word in the whole text of the Jyotisha directly points to such a conclusion (the only exception occurs in one of the verses, marked above v. 6—which are found in the Ṛik-recension only; there we read the word

"upavasatha"). Being, however, unable to replace Somákara's explanation by a better one, I should not wish to express more than a doubt.

I now proceed to point out the right meaning of some verses which have not been understood up to the present, preparing my way by shortly recapitulating the fundamental doctrines of the Jyotisha.

The author of the Jyotisha intends to propound in his treatise the doctrine of the cycle consisting of five years. V. 5:

"They teach (in this treatise) the knowledge of the time of the cycle consisting of five years which begins with the white half of the month Mágha and terminates with the dark half of the month Pausha."

Compare also v. 1:

"Prajápati, the lord of the cycle, him who consists of five years, &c."

The first question presenting itself, *viz.* the question about the nature of the year which constitutes the fifth part of the yuga, is answered in v. 28:

"Three hundred and sixty-six days, one year, six seasons, two ayanas (the northern and the southern progress of the sun), twelve months are to be considered as solar; this taken five times is a cycle."

The year meant is therefore the tropical solar year (of course I do not wish to intimate thereby that the author of the Jyotisha was able to distinguish between the sidereal solar year and the tropical solar year). I add Garga's description of the same year as quoted by Somákara in his comment on v. 11 of the Jyotisha:

सार्धं सूर्यांशु संभूतं परिसर्पति भास्करे।
यावता ध्रुवतां काष्ठां गत्वा गच्छति दक्षिणाम्॥
कालेन सोऽब्दस्यार्धमयनं तु त्रयोऽर्तवः।
ऋतोरर्धं भवेन्मासस्त्रिंशद्भागदिनोऽर्कजः॥
तस्यार्धमर्कजः पञ्चसप्तात्पञ्चदशं दिनम्।
शत लवानां षड्विंशं लवः पञ्चदशस्तथा॥
— — अष्टादशशतं युगमार्कैर्दिनैः स्मृतम्।

The above translated verse of the Jyotisha and this passage of Garga clearly refer to the same kind of year. There appears at first sight to be a difference in their way of subdividing the year, Garga making it to consist of 360 days, while the Jyotisha attributes to it 366. But this is only apparent. The day of which Garga speaks is the solar day of Indian astronomy, *i. e.*, simply the three hundred and sixtieth part of a solar year, no account being taken of the natural succession of day and night. Garga had, before he defined the solar measure, described the sávana measure and remarked that one yuga consists of 1,830 sávana days; he could therefore afterwards adopt any subdivision of the solar year without the risk of being misunderstood. The Jyotisha on the other hand not having stated before

how many sávana days there are in a yuga, had, when basing its yuga on the solar year, to explain how many natural days there are contained in the latter. We shall see that the yuga is divided besides into years of a different kind, namely, three lunar years consisting of twelve lunations each, and two lunar years consisting of thirteen lunations each. This division is that actually made use of in the course of the work, but it is of course only a secondary division originating from the wish of establishing an equation between solar and lunar revolutions. The knowledge of the solar year of 366 days, or of the sun's tropical revolution being accomplished in about 366 days, forms the necessary presupposition not only for the yuga of the Jyotisha and Garga with its two intercalary lunar months, but also for the ancient vedic quinquennial yuga with its one intercalary (sávana) month. I can therefore not agree with Prof. Weber when he supposes (p. 12) this solar year to be an importation from some foreign country. Both yugas, the vedic as well as that of the Jyotisha, would never have been formed, but for the knowledge of the difference of five years of 360 days and of sixty lunations from the time during which the sun performs five tropical revolutions, and for the resulting wish to make up for the wanting harmony.

To return to the Jyotisha. The length of the solar year being defined and five years being set down as one yuga, the next question presenting itself is for what reason just this number of years is combined into a cycle.

V. 31, first half:

"There are (in one yuga) sixty-one sávana months, sixty-two lunar months, sixty-seven nákshatra months."

I. e. While the sun accomplishes five tropical revolutions, the moon accomplishes sixty-two synodical and sixty-seven periodical revolutions, and the whole period comprises sixty-one sávana months of 30 natural days each.

I again subjoin the fuller statements of Garga; first, regarding the sávana measure:

अहोरात्रात्मकं लौक्यं मानं च सावनं स्मृतम् ।
अतश्चैतानि मानानि प्रकृतानीह सावनात् ॥
ततः सिद्धान्यहोरात्राण्युदयास्तमयार्कजाः ।
त्रिंशच्चाष्टशतं तानां दिनानां च युगे स्मृतम् ॥
मासस्त्रिंशदहोरात्रः पञ्चार्धं सावनं स्मृतम् ।
अहोरात्रं सवानां तु चतुर्विंशच्छतात्मकम् ॥

Regarding the lunar measure:

इंदुसूर्याभ्यां संभूतं चान्द्रं मानं हि चन्द्रतः ।
सवं सवनमथानेन सावनेन निशाकरः ॥

चयं दृद्धिमवाप्नोति स चान्द्रो मास उच्यते ।
तस्यार्धं पार्वणः पक्षस्तस्मात्पञ्चदशी तिथिः ॥
प्रमाणेन लवानां तु द्वाचिंशं शतमुच्यते ।
सोमस्याष्टादशशती युगे षष्ट्यधिका स्मृता ॥

And about the nákshatra-measure :

यावता खेव कालेन भवर्गं विणवात्मकम् ।
भुङ्क्ते इन्दुः स चार्क्षो मासस्यार्धं पच उच्यते ॥
चार्क्षात्पञ्चात्पञ्चदशं नाक्षत्रं दिनमुच्यते ।
प्रमाणेन लवानां तु द्वादशं शतमुच्यते ॥
सप्तसप्तषष्टितमांशेनचास्मात्परो लवः । *
दशोत्तरं हे सहसे युगमार्क्षैर्दिनैः स्मृतम् ॥

The next thing we want is a statement of the manner in which a day is subdivided. v. 38.

(A náḍiká) consists of ten and a twentieth kalás, a muhúrta comprises two náḍikás, a day has thirty (náḍikás) or six hundred and three kalás."

With this we have to combine the statement made in verse 30, that one kalá comprises one hundred and twenty-four káshṭhas and that made in v. 39, that one káshṭha consists of five aksharas.

The measure of the sávana day, expressed in kalás, is given already in v. 38; the length of the tithi expressed in the same measure amounts to 593 $\frac{17}{67}$ (1830, the number of sávana days in a yuga being multiplied by 603, the number of kalás of one day, and the product being divided by 1860, the number of tithis in one yuga). The length of the nákshatra day,

* This verse is restored by conjecture only. The MSS. read : नाक्षासप्तषष्ठ्यत्त-रांजनंचाक्षा॰ or : नाक्षासप्तषष्ठ्यतूंशेजनंवाक्षात्य॰ Likewise they read in the preceding line : तु द्वाचिंशं श॰ The latter has been emendated into द्वादशं by Prof. Weber already who remarks that द्वाचिंशं is proved from calculation to be erroneous. This is quite true, but it does not go far enough, the length of a nákshatra day not being 112 lavas but 112 + $\frac{60}{67}$ lavas. The only thing which we may confidently look for even in the most ancient astronomical and mathematical works of India, is rigorous exactness in calculations of the above kind (a remark which we shall have to keep in eye in our attempts to reconstrue the meaning of the Jyotisha). Prof. Weber seems inclined to refer the सप्तषष्टि of our verse to the number of the sidereal months in one yuga. These are sixty-seven indeed ; but the mentioning of the number of the months, which can easily be deduced from the stated number of the days, is of much smaller importance than the accurate statement of the length of the day. Thus the number of the lunar months also is not expressly stated by Garga. The corruption of the verse in question being very great the above emendation is of course only one of many we might adopt as far as the mere mode of expression is concerned ; the sense would always have to be the same.

the thirtieth part of the nákshatra month = one periodical revolution of the moon, calculated in a corresponding manner, is 549 kalás. Let us now compare with this some of Somákara's statements. The first half of the obscure verse 21 : **याः पर्वभाद्दान०** he explains as stating the measure of the tithi to be fifty-six náḍikás (or 562 $\frac{4}{5}$ kalás) and the same sense he finds in the first páda of v. 39 : **सप्तकं भयुक् सोमः**, both explanations being founded on his supposing the number seven to mean seven certain divisions of time, which had been mentioned under the name of bhánsáh—parts of a constellation—in verse 15 and were said there to consist of eight parts or according to Somákara, eight náḍikás. That Somákara's estimation of the duration of a tithi is much too short is manifest, and has been remarked by the editor of the Jyotisha already (p. 75) ; it is in contradiction not only with Garga's statements, as Prof. Weber notices, but with the elements of the Jyotisha itself. It might perhaps be imagined that this estimation refers not to the average tithi but a tithi which is shortened for some special reason ; but there is no mention made of such a shortening in any of the other verses of the Jyotisha. Leaving however v. 21 aside, we are able positively to show Somákara's mistake regarding v. 39. The words **सप्तकं भयुक् सोमः** he explains by **स सोमः प्रकृतो भयुक् नक्षत्रसहितः सप्तकं सप्तांशसंख्याकं दिनं भङ्क्ते इति वाक्यशेषः**, according to which we should have to translate "the moon together with a nakshatra accomplishes a day consisting of seven parts (at 8 náḍikás each)." Now firstly, the measure of a tithi having been fixed, according to Somákara, in v. 21 already, it would be utterly useless to repeat this statement here ; secondly, it does not appear why the conjunction of the moon with a nakshatra should be mentioned here, the tithi having nothing to do with that matter ; thirdly, **सप्तकं** cannot well mean "consisting of seven parts" but must be explained as "that which is joined with a septad." The right explanation is doubtless as follows : The periodical revolution of the moon is performed in 30 × 549 = 16470 kalás (see above) ; 16470 divided by 27, the number of the nakshatras, gives us 610 kalás as the time during which the moon remains in one nakshatra. Now 610 kalás exceed by 7 kalás the length of a (sávana) day which amounts to 603 kalás. We have therefore simply to supply a word for day (either from verse 38 Y or from the "dyúni" of the second páda of 39 ; (I prefer the latter, a different verse preceding v. 39 in the Ṛik recension) and to translate "the moon remains in a nakshatra for one day plus seven kalás." This translation is moreover demanded by the words immediately following : **खर्यौ यूनि त्रयोदश उत्तमानि** (R. **नवमानि**) **तु पञ्चाङ्काः** which undoubtedly state the length of the time during which the sun remains in one nakshatra. The reading of the Ṛik recension is clearly the right one ; for the sun passing through all 27 nakshatras in 366 days remains in one nakshatra

exactly $13\frac{5}{9}$ days. The reading of Y. does not afford any satisfactory sense; it is interesting only as a proof of the heavy corruptions which the text of the Jyotisha has sustained. Somákara's explanation of "uttamáni" is, owing to the bad state of the MSS., unintelligible; but that it cannot have any value appears from his stating that the sun remains in one nakshatra thirteen days only.

I proceed at once to the verse which follows next in the Yajus recension, not because the matter it treats of is akin to that of verse 39, but because it contains a similar dangerous corruption and again illustrates Somákara's untrustworthiness. The verse runs as follows:

यदुत्तरस्यायनतो गतं स्याच्चेषं तथा दक्षिणतोऽयनस्य।
तदेव षष्ट्या द्विगुणं विभक्तं सद्वादशं स्याद्दिवसप्रमाणम्॥

Somákara's commentary on this verse, as far as it can be made out, is as follows:

उत्तरायणादारभ्य यद्गतं स्यात् यावद्दिवसजातमतीतं भवेत् शेषं तथा दक्षिणतोऽयनस्य। एवमेव दक्षिणायने शेषं विचारयेत्। तदेव संख्याय द्विगुणं कुर्यादिति वाक्यशेषः। ततः षष्ट्या विभक्तं सद्वादशं स्याद् दिवसप्रमाणम्। एतदुक्तं भवति उदगयने चतुर्विंशतिनाडिका एवकाश्च (?) द्वाविंशतिर्दिनं भवति। ततो मासे गते त्रिंशत्सु दिवसेषु त्रिंशद्द्विगुणाः षष्टिर्भवन्ति। ते च वर्षकालेषु (?) षष्टिर्घटिका भवन्ति। पञ्च मासे (?) पञ्चविंशतिनाडिका ते च द्वादश। एवमेव सद्वादशं स्याद्दिवसप्रमाणम्। एवमेतयैव कलनया द्वयोर्मासयोरन्ये ततोऽप्यधिके द्वे नाडिके अतिरिच्येते। त्रिंशन्मुहूर्ताः। एवं विषुवति त्रिंशन्नाडिका दिनं भवति। उत्तरेष्वेतेनैव मासक्रमेण ह्रासं कल्पयेत।

The verse clearly contains a rule for finding the relative length of day and night for any nycthemeron during the year. The elements for this calculation are given to us in the well-known verse of the Jyotisha, which fixes the length of the shortest and the longest day of the year (v. 8):

"The increase of the day and the decrease of the night during the northern progress of the sun is one prastha of water; the reverse is the case during the southern progress; a period of six muhúrtas (is the result) during one progress."

Therefore, the length of a nycthemeron being 30 muhúrtas (see above) the shortest day is twelve muhúrtas, the longest eighteen. Reasoning from these data only and not taking into account that in reality the day does not become longer by an equal portion at all times between the winter solstice and the summer solstice, we have the following simple calculation. The day increasing by six muhúrtas in one ayana = 183 days, it increases in one day by $\frac{6}{183} = \frac{2}{61}$ muhúrtas. Therefore, to find the length of any day between the winter solstice and the summer solstice, take the number of this day reckoning from the winter solstice and multiply it by two, divide the product by sixty-one and add the result to twelve, *i. e.*, to the number of muhúrtas of the shortest day; the same rule applies to the days after the

summer solstice, only the process being presented as additive for all cases the number of the days has not to be reckoned from the past summer solstice, but from the coming winter solstice. From this it appears that we have to read in the second half of the verse तदेकषष्ट्या instead of तदेव षष्ट्या and to translate:

"What is passed of the northern progress and likewise what remains of the southern progress each (*viz.* the number of days in both cases) is to be multiplied by two, divided by sixty-one and added to twelve; this is the measure of the day."

I think it unnecessary to enter, after this, on a discussion of Somákara's explanation; I only remark that here as in other cases he was probably prevented from seeing the right meaning of the rule by its very imperfection.

The estimation of the longest day at eighteen muhúrtas and of the shortest day at twelve muhúrtas, and the simple rule for finding the length of any day during the year appear to have generally prevailed in India, before the influence of Greek science began to make itself felt. We find them preserved in the Puráṇas, at a time when people very likely might have known better; see, for instance, Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa, ed. by F. Hall, Vol. 2, p. 247. Likewise we meet with them in the chief astronomical treatise of the Jainas, the Súrapannatti or Súryaprajnapti, a summary of whose contents has been given by Prof. A. Weber in the tenth volume of the "Indische Studien". There (pp. 264 ff.) the successive increase and decrease of the length of the day by $\frac{2}{61}$ muhúrtas is treated at length and explained according to the fundamental principles of the astronomical system of the Jainas.

I may add here at once, that an identical rule about the increase and decrease of the day is mentioned in Varáha Mihira's Pancha Siddhántiká as given by the Paitámaha Siddhánta. I subjoin in the following the whole passage referring to this Siddhánta as it is found in the only copy of the Pancha Siddhántiká which is known up to the present time—that one discovered by Dr. Bühler—without attempting to emendate the text which is just in that place particularly incorrect.

रविशशिनोः पञ्चयुगं वर्षाणि पितामहोपदिष्टानि ।
अधिमासक्षिंशद्भिर्मसिरवमाक्षिषष्ट्यार्का ॥ १ ॥
द्युनं शकेन्द्रकालं पञ्चविभक्त्यशेषवर्षाणाम् ।
द्युगणं माघसिताद्यं कुर्याद्भाद्युगणं तदर्द्धदयान् ॥ २ ॥
त्र्यंशन्वचेद्युगणे तिथिर्भमार्कनवाष्टसप्तकैः ।
दिग्यष्टभागैः सप्तभिरूनं शशिभं धनिष्ठाद्यम् ॥ ३ ॥
प्रागर्द्धं पर्व यदा तत्सोन्यथा तिथिः पूर्वा ।
अर्कघ्ने व्यापि पाता द्युगणे पञ्चाम्बरं हृतांशैः ॥ ४ ॥

धनिरनयादुत्तरयो स्रूसर्णं गतद्यमपि च याम्यस्य ।
द्विघ्नं श्रश्रिरसभक्तं द्वादशहीनं दिवसमानम् ॥ ५ ॥
इति पितामहसिद्धान्ते द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥०॥

Although the above passage is so utterly corrupt that it hardly contains one sound word, any body familiar with the text of the Jyotisha Vedánga will not fail to observe that the astronomical book quoted by Varáha Mihira as Pitámaha Siddhánta must have been either the Jyotisha itself or a work very much like it. The first of the above verses teaches that five years compose a luni-solar cycle and that to thirty months one intercalary month has to be added. In the second verse it is mentioned that the dyugaṇa of the yuga begins with the light half of the month Mágha. In the third verse Dhaniṣṭhá seems to be named as the first of the nakshatras and the "saptabhir únam" possibly refers to the passage of the Jyotisha which has been treated above "sasaptakam bhayuk somaḥ." The first páda of the fourth verse may have to be read: प्रागर्द्धं पर्व यदा तदोत्तरा and thus we should gain a parallel passage to the second páda of v. 17 of the Jyotisha: पूर्वार्धं पर्वस्रूत्तरा although the sense of both passages is obscure to me. On the other hand there is no doubt that the last verse contains the very same rule for calculating the length of a given day, which we have found in the Jyotisha. The posterior part of the first word we probably have to alter into ॰रयनस्योत्तरतो (or ॰रयनादुत्तरतो), corresponding to the उत्तरस्यायनतो of the Jyotisha and to connect with गत॰ while स्रूसर्णं has to be changed into स्वर्णं; in the second half-verse we have of course to read द्विघ्नं श्रश्रिरसभक्तं. We may then translate—abstracting from an emendation of the second part of गतद्यमपि which seems to contain some word expressing: day — : what has passed of the northern ayana, taken as positive (or additive; स्वम्) and in the same way what has passed of the southern ayana, being taken as negative (or subtractive; क्षणम्) is to be multiplied by two and divided by sixty-one; the result is the measure of the day less twelve (*i. e.*, twelve muhúrtas have to be added to the result in order to get the measure of the given day).

Regarding the disputed point whether the rule fixing the length of the shortest and longest days of the year has been borrowed by the Indians from some foreign source, for instance from Babylon, or sprung up independently on Indian soil, I am entirely of the opinion of Prof. Whitney who sees no sufficient reason for supposing the rule to be an imported one. It is true that the rule agrees with the facts only for the extreme north-west corner of India; but it is approximately true for a much greater part of India, and that an ancient rule—which the rule in question doubtless is—agrees best with the actual circumstances existing in the North West of India is after all just what we should expect.

I proceed now to those verses which contain statements about the position of the moon at the different periods of the year. We have at first to consider v. 10.

वसुस्वष्टा भवेऽजश्च मि॰

This verse contains an enumeration of the nakshatras (or rather of the divinities presiding over the nakshatras) in which the moon stands at the beginning of the ten ayanas of the yuga. The commentator quotes a long passage from Garga which contains the same statements expressed more lucidly and circumstantially, so that no doubt can remain about the real meaning of the verse. The ten nakshatras answering to the divinities enumerated are, according to vs. 32—34 of the Jyotisha: śravishṭhá, chitrá, árdrá, púrva proshṭhapadá, anurádha, áśleshá, aśvayuj, púrváshádhá, uttaraphálguní, rohiṇi. The editor of the Jyotisha had, in his remarks on our verse (p. 33) expressed his desire of a competent person (*viz.* an astronomer) examining the statements made in it and ascertaining whether they agree with the actual state of the case. The wished for examination was, on the request of Prof. M. Müller, made by Prof. W. F. Donkin, and his note on the verse is appended to Prof. M. Müller's preface to the fourth volume of the large edition of the Rik-Samhitá. The question was, as it appears, hardly of such a nature as to require the skill of a professional mathematician and astronomer; at any rate before asking if the statements of the Jyotisha agree with reality, it ought simply to have been asked if they agree with or are deducible from the elements of the Jyotisha; if this is strictly the case, they will of course participate in the imperfections of these elements and cannot possibly be in perfect harmony with reality. Prof. Donkin naturally proceeded in this manner. Sixty-seven sidereal revolutions of the moon being considered equal to five solar years, one ayana is equal to $6\ \frac{7}{10}$ revolutions of the moon, or 6×27 nakshatras plus $\frac{27.7}{10} = \frac{189}{10} = 18\ \frac{9}{10}$ nakshatras. The moon is therefore at the end of each ayana $18\ \frac{9}{10}$ nakshatras in advance of the place she occupied at its beginning, and when examining the list of the twenty-seven nakshatras we find that her places calculated according to this rate of progress agree with the statements made in the Jyotisha and by Garga. As the Jyotisha only speaks of the nakshatras in general without stating in what points of them the moon is supposed to stand, there would seem to remain some space for irregularities in the moon's motion; but against such a supposition may be brought forward at least one of Garga's express statements, *viz.* that at the beginning of the third dakshiṇáyana sun and moon stand together in the middle of áślesha (नभसश्च निवर्तेत शुक्लस्य प्रथमे तिथौ चन्द्रार्कौभ्यां सुयुक्ताभ्यां सार्पार्धे); in the exact middle of that nakshatra the moon can only stand

when the sum of her progress during the five preceding ayanas is equal to $5 \times 18\ \frac{2}{124}$ nakshatras. And the fact of the sum of her progress at the end of each period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years remaining always the same goes of course far to prove the supposed thorough uniformity of her progress; for what should be the inequalities which regularly disappear or destroy each other at the end of the stated period?

We may therefore assume that the author of the Jyotisha was either not acquainted with the irregularities of the course of the moon which are taken into account by the later Indian astronomers, *viz.* the irregularities produced by the position and the revolution of the line of apsides of the sun and moon, or, at least did not make a practical use of them for his calculations. Keeping this in view, let us now consider a point which was undoubtedly of primary importance in the eyes of a vedic Astronomer, *viz.* the question in which points of the circle of the nakshatras full moon and new moon are taking place during the whole quinquennial cycle.

The yuga being assumed to contain 67 periodical lunar (nákshatra) months and 62 synodical lunar (chándra) months, one chándra month is equal to $\frac{67}{62} = 1\ \frac{5}{62}$ nákshatra months. Consequently, the moon passing in one nákshatra month through 27 nakshatras, passes in one chándra month through $27 + \frac{5 \times 27}{62} = 29\ \frac{11}{62}$ nakshatras and in one paksha (lunar half-month) through $14\ \frac{13}{124}$ nakshatras. Full moon is therefore always separated from new moon and again new moon from full moon by the last mentioned quantity. On this ground I have drawn up the following list giving the places where all the hundred and twenty-four parvans (62 full moons and 62 new moons) of the yuga take place. It begins of course with the new moon marking the beginning of the yuga, which takes place at the beginning of śravishṭhá or end of śravana. The first column gives the new moons, the second one the full moons.

1.	$\frac{124}{124}$ śravaṇa $= \frac{0}{124}$ śravishṭhá.	1.	$\frac{73}{124}$ maghá.
2.	$\frac{22}{124}$ púrvabhádrap.	2.	$\frac{95}{124}$ uttaraphálg.
3.	$\frac{44}{124}$ revatí.	3.	$\frac{117}{124}$ chitrá.
4.	$\frac{66}{124}$ bharaṇí.	4.	$\frac{15}{124}$ anurádhá.
5.	$\frac{88}{124}$ rohiṇí.	5.	$\frac{37}{124}$ múla.
6.	$\frac{110}{124}$ árdrá.	6.	$\frac{59}{124}$ uttaráshádhá

7.	$\frac{8}{124}$	áśleshá.	7.	$\frac{81}{124}$	śravishṭhá.
8.	$\frac{30}{124}$	púrvaphálg.	8.	$\frac{103}{124}$	púrvabhádrap.
9.	$\frac{52}{124}$	hasta.	9.	$\frac{1}{124}$	aśviní.
10.	$\frac{74}{124}$	svátí.	10.	$\frac{23}{124}$	kṛittiká.
11.	$\frac{96}{124}$	anurádhá.	11.	$\frac{45}{124}$	mṛigaśiras.
12.	$\frac{118}{124}$	múla.	12.	$\frac{67}{124}$	punarvasu.
13.	$\frac{16}{124}$	śravaṇa.	13.	$\frac{89}{124}$	áśleshá.
14.	$\frac{38}{124}$	śatabhishaj.	14.	$\frac{111}{124}$	púrvaphálg.
15.	$\frac{60}{124}$	uttarabhádrap.	15.	$\frac{9}{124}$	chitrá.
16.	$\frac{82}{124}$	aśviní.	16.	$\frac{31}{124}$	viśákhá.
17.	$\frac{104}{124}$	kṛittiká.	17.	$\frac{53}{124}$	jyeshṭhá
18.	$\frac{2}{124}$	árdrá.	18.	$\frac{75}{124}$	púrváshádhá.
19.	$\frac{24}{124}$	pushya.	19.	$\frac{97}{124}$	śravaṇa.
20.	$\frac{46}{124}$	maghá.	20.	$\frac{119}{124}$	śatabhishaj.
21.	$\frac{68}{124}$	uttaraphálg.	21.	$\frac{17}{124}$	revatí.
22.	$\frac{90}{124}$	chitrá.	22.	$\frac{39}{124}$	bharaṇí.
23.	$\frac{112}{124}$	viśákhá.	23.	$\frac{61}{124}$	rohiṇí.
24.	$\frac{10}{124}$	múla.	24.	$\frac{83}{124}$	árdrá.
25.	$\frac{32}{124}$	uttaráshádhá.	25.	$\frac{105}{124}$	pushya.
26.	$\frac{54}{124}$	śravishṭhá.	26.	$\frac{3}{124}$	púrvaphálg.
27.	$\frac{76}{124}$	púrvabhádr.	27.	$\frac{25}{124}$	hasta.

28. $\frac{98}{124}$ revatí.
29. $\frac{120}{124}$ bharaṇí.
30. $\frac{18}{124}$ mṛigaśiras.
31. $\frac{40}{124}$ punarvasu.
32. $\frac{62}{124}$ áśleshá.
33. $\frac{84}{124}$ púrvaphal.
34. $\frac{106}{124}$ hasta.
35. $\frac{4}{124}$ viśákhá.
36. $\frac{26}{124}$ jyeshṭhá.
37. $\frac{48}{124}$ púrváshádhá.
38. $\frac{70}{124}$ śravaṇa.
39. $\frac{92}{124}$ śatabhishaj.
40. $\frac{114}{124}$ uttarabhdr.
41. $\frac{12}{124}$ bharaṇí.
42. $\frac{34}{124}$ rohiṇí.
43. $\frac{56}{124}$ árdrá.
44. $\frac{78}{124}$ pushya.
45. $\frac{100}{124}$ maghá.
46. $\frac{122}{124}$ uttaraphálg.
47. $\frac{20}{124}$ svátí.
48. $\frac{42}{124}$ anurádhá.

28. $\frac{47}{124}$ svátí.
29. $\frac{69}{124}$ anurádhá.
30. $\frac{91}{124}$ múla.
31. $\frac{113}{124}$ uttaráshádhaś.
32. $\frac{11}{124}$ śatabhishaj.
33. $\frac{33}{124}$ uttarabhádrap.
34. $\frac{55}{124}$ aśviní.
35. $\frac{77}{124}$ kṛittiká.
36. $\frac{99}{124}$ mṛigaśiras.
37. $\frac{121}{124}$ punarvasu.
38. $\frac{19}{124}$ maghá.
39. $\frac{41}{124}$ uttaraphálg.
40. $\frac{63}{124}$ chitrá.
41. $\frac{85}{124}$ viśákhá.
42. $\frac{107}{124}$ jyeshṭhá.
43. $\frac{5}{124}$ uttaráshádhá.
44. $\frac{27}{124}$ śravishṭhá.
45. $\frac{49}{124}$ púrvabhádrap.
46. $\frac{71}{124}$ revatí.
47. $\frac{93}{124}$ bharaṇí.
48. $\frac{115}{124}$ rohiṇí.

49.	$\frac{64}{124}$	múla.	49.	$\frac{13}{124}$	punarvasu.
50.	$\frac{86}{124}$	uttaráshádhá.	50.	$\frac{35}{124}$	púrvaphálg.
51.	$\frac{108}{124}$	śravishṭhá.	51.	$\frac{57}{124}$	púrvaphálg.
52.	$\frac{6}{124}$	uttarabhádrap.	52.	$\frac{79}{124}$	hasta.
53.	$\frac{28}{124}$	aśviní.	53.	$\frac{101}{124}$	svátí.
54.	$\frac{50}{124}$	kṛittiká.	54.	$\frac{123}{124}$	anurádhá.
55.	$\frac{72}{124}$	mṛigaśiras.	55.	$\frac{21}{124}$	púrvashádhá.
56.	$\frac{94}{124}$	punarvasu.	56.	$\frac{43}{124}$	śravaṇa.
57.	$\frac{116}{124}$	áśleshá.	57.	$\frac{65}{124}$	śatabhishaj.
58.	$\frac{14}{124}$	uttaraphálg.	58.	$\frac{87}{124}$	uttarabhádrap.
59.	$\frac{36}{124}$	chitrá.	59.	$\frac{109}{124}$	aśviní.
60.	$\frac{58}{124}$	viśákhá.	60.	$\frac{7}{124}$	rohiṇí.
61.	$\frac{80}{124}$	jyeshṭhá.	61.	$\frac{29}{124}$	árdrá.
62.	$\frac{102}{124}$	púrvashádhá.	62.	$\frac{51}{124}$	pushya.

Adding to the last full moon $14\ \frac{73}{124}$, we get again $\frac{124}{124}$ śravaṇa, the first new moon of the next following yuga.

We must now look about if there can be found in the Jyotisha itself any traces indicating that its author acknowledged a list of the same nature as that given above. Our attention will naturally direct itself to the enigmatical eighteenth verse which according to the commentator contains an enumeration of the nakshatras in which a certain number of full moons take place. The twenty-seven disconnected syllables of which the verse consists are doubtless meant to represent the twenty-seven nakshatras, each syllable being taken either from the name of the nakshatra itself or from the name of the divinity presiding over it. The following is a list of the nakshatras arranged in the order implied in the verse :

1. aśviní.
2. árdrá.
3. púrvaphálg.
4. viśákhá.
5. uttaráshádhá.
6. uttarabhádrap.
7. rohiṇí.
8. áśleshá.
9. chitrá.
10. múla.
11. śatabhishaj.
12. bharaṇí.
13. punarvasu.
14. uttaraphálg.
15. anurádhá.
16. śravaṇa.
17. revatí.
18. mṛigaśiras.
19. maghá.
20. svátí.
21. púrváshádhá.
22. púrvabhádrap.
23. kṛittiká.
24. pushya.
25. hasta.
26. jyeshṭhá.
27. śravishṭhá.

For what purpose now are the twenty-seven nakshatras enumerated in the above order? Somákara's commentary on the verse is in all manuscripts so corrupt that it is impossible to give it in extenso or indeed even to make out its drift in many places; it is however apparent what was his view concerning the order of succession of the nakshatras. He supposes that the author of the Jyotisha intended to indicate in what nakshatras the full moons during the quinquennial cycle take place, but, instead of giving the nakshatras for all, only named those of every second full moon. Thus the six first mentioned nakshatras are said to represent six out of the twelve full moons of the first year, the five following ones five of the full moons of the second year, etc. Several of the difficulties arising from this explanation have already been pointed out by the editor of the Jyotisha; the most important is that the number of the full moons of a yuga is sixty-two or at least, if no account be taken of the two intercalary lunar months, sixty, and that we should therefore expect to see the nakshatras of at least thirty full moons stated. But there are other objections of a graver character. For if we compare the places of the full moons which would result from Somákara's explanation with the places as given in the list printed above, we find that they agree only for a part. The first full moon-nakshatra of Somákara, *viz.* aśviní (aśvayujau), belonging to the month áśvina agrees with that given in the list (the ninth); but the second one does not agree, the full moon of the eleventh month márgáśirsha taking place not, as Somákara says, in árdrá but in mṛigaśiras. In the same way the full moon of Phálguna takes place not in púrvaphálguní (bhaga) but in uttaraphálguní, the full moon of vaiśákha not in viśákhá but in anurádhá, and so on through the whole list. If somebody should object in favour of Somákara, that the fault of this discrepancy lies with my list, I should answer him that the *onus probandi* lies with him; the list is in strict accordance with the recog-

nised elements of the Jyotisha and as long as no other elements can be pointed out as having been overlooked by me, it must be considered valid. But in reality the list is not only not invalidated, but on the contrary corroborated by the very verse we are speaking of at present. The following short list will set the matter into a clear light:

The 9th full moon takes place in $\frac{1}{124}$ aśvinî.

The 18th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{2}{124}$ ârdrâ.

The 26th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{3}{124}$ pûrvaphâlg.

The 35th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{4}{124}$ viśâkhâ.

The 43rd full moon „ „ „ $\frac{5}{124}$ uttaraśâḍhâ.

The 52nd new moon „ „ „ $\frac{6}{124}$ uttarabhâdrap.

The 60th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{7}{124}$ rohiṇî.

The 7th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{8}{124}$ âśleshâ.

The 15th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{9}{124}$ chitrâ.

The 24th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{10}{124}$ mûla.

The 32nd full moon „ „ „ $\frac{11}{124}$ śatabhishaj.

The 41st new moon „ „ „ $\frac{12}{124}$ bharaṇî.

The 49th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{13}{124}$ punarvasu.

The 58th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{14}{124}$ uttaraphâlg.

The 4th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{15}{124}$ anurâdhâ.

The 13th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{16}{124}$ śravaṇa.

The 21st full moon „ „ „ $\frac{17}{124}$ revatî.

The 30th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{18}{124}$ mṛigaśiras.

The 38th full moon takes place in $\frac{19}{124}$ maghá.

The 47th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{20}{124}$ svátí.

The 55th full moon, „ „ „ $\frac{21}{124}$ púrvásháḍhá.

The 2nd new moon „ „ „ $\frac{22}{124}$ púrvabhádr.

The 10th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{23}{124}$ kṛittiká.

The 19th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{24}{124}$ pushya.

The 27th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{25}{124}$ hasta.

The 36th new moon „ „ „ $\frac{26}{124}$ jyeshṭhá.

The 44th full moon „ „ „ $\frac{27}{124}$ śravishṭhá.

From comparing this list with the verse of the Jyotisha, the purport of the latter becomes manifest at once. The list begins with that nakshatra in the first one hundred and twenty-fourth part of which a parvan takes place, proceeds to that in the second $_1\frac{1}{124}$ of which the same takes place, and so on up to $_1\frac{27}{124}$, so that all nakshatras are comprised in the list. If we turn back to the complete list of all hundred and twenty-four parvans given above, we observe that all the numbers form regular progressions; it was therefore not difficult to lay down a simple rule, teaching at what place in a certain nakshatra parvans would take place after the place of the first parvan had been named. If such a rule is really hidden somewhere in the obscure verses of the Jyotisha, I am unable to say; possibly it might have been left to the ingeniousness of the student to find out the required law. Nor am I able to explain by what principle the author of the Jyotisha was guided in selecting the syllables which represent the names of the twenty-seven nakshatras. Doubtless he had his good reasons for taking sometimes a syllable of the nakshatra's name, and sometimes a syllable of the name of the divinity presiding over the nakshatra, and again for taking either the first or the second or the third, etc., syllables of the names. Somákara's explanation is corrupt and obscure, and seems besides not entitled to much regard since, as shown above, he is utterly wrong regarding the order in which the nakshatras are enumerated. I will only remark that after it had been ascertained in what part of a nakshatra the parvan takes place, the next important point would have been to find out at what time of the day the half month is finished, for thereon depends the fixing of the time for the

darśapúrṇamása sacrifices. Possibly the selection of the syllables is connected with this point; I have, however, not succeeded in discovering the exact relation.

Prof. Weber raises the question (p. 69) if the verse explained above may be used for deciding whether the series of the nakshatras acknowledged by the author of the Jyotisha begins with Kṛittiká or with Aśviní; the explanation given by me precludes of course the question entirely.

From the preceding considerations it appears that the author of the Jyotisha must have imagined each nakshatra as divided into one hundred and twenty-four parts. A further argument for this division as well as for a sub-division of the one hundred and twenty parts is to be drawn from the divisions of time which are made use of in the Jyotisha. These latter have been stated above; a nycthemeron is divided into thirty muhúrtas, a muhúrta into two náḍikás, a náḍiká into ten and a twentieth kalás, a kalá into one hundred and twenty-four káshṭhás, a káshṭhá into five aksharas. The great variety of sub-divisions of time employed in Indian astronomical works is well known, the only invariable element appears to have been the division of a day into thirty muhúrtas or sixty náḍikás. Now, the system of sub-division of the náḍiká being left to the choice of the individual astronomers they will naturally have selected those fractions of the náḍiká which were to them of the comparatively greatest use in their calculations. What sub-divisions these are depends of course in each individual case on the celestial objects and motions which enter into the astronomer's calculations and on the view he takes of their relative importance. Thus we have seen above from Garga's exposition of the four measures of time that he divided the sávana day into one hundred and twenty-four lavas, consequently the náḍiká (although the latter is not mentioned in the quoted extracts) into $2\frac{1}{15}$ lavas. This division enabled him to express the measure of the sávana day, of the tithi and of the solar day without using fractions, the first comprising, as stated, 124 lavas, the second 122, the third 126. And the lava being sub-divided into fifteen parts (लवः पञ्चदशधा the name of this sub-division is not given) made it possible to express the measure of the náḍiká without fractions. An analogous example is the division of one angula into thirty-four tilas, which occurs in Baudháyana's Śulvasútra (see this Journal for 1875) and which enables us to express the relative length of the side and the diagonal of a square without making use of fractions. The same applies to the measures of time used in the Jyotisha. That quite a different value could be attached to the terms "kalá", "káshṭhá", etc., appears among other instances from the passage of Parásara quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on Varáhamihira's Bṛihat Samhitá, which is referred to by Prof. Weber (p. 105); according to it Paráśara divided the náḍiká into ten kalás, the kalá into ten káshṭhás, and the

káshṭhá (omitting several intermediate divisions) into eighty nimeshas or aksharas. Other values are given to kalá, káshṭhá, etc., in other places.

Now the Jyotisha begins with the apparently very inconvenient division of the nádiká into $10\frac{1}{2\,0}$ kalás. But this division, besides enabling us to express the duration of at least the sávana and the nákshatra day in whole numbers (603 and 549), allows of our doing the same for the period during which the moon remains in one nakshatra, the length of which period is, as we have seen above, 610 kalás. This is of course of primary importance for a work of the character of the Jyotisha which chiefly treats of the moon's revolution through the circle of the nakshatras. Further we have seen that the nature of the quinquennial yuga necessarily led to the division of each nakshatra into one hundred and twenty-four parts; this division of space suggested in its turn a new division of time, *viz.* that of the kalá into one hundred and twenty-four káshṭhás. The moon passing through one nakshatra in 610 kalás passes through its hundred twenty-fourth part in 610 káshṭhás. At the same time the káshṭhá helps us to a convenient expression for another period which is of first rate importance in the system of the Jyotisha, *viz.* that of the duration of a tithi, $593\frac{17}{62}$ kalás being equal to 593 kalás, 34 káshṭhás.

Considerations of a similar nature lead us to understand the use of the sub-division of the káshṭhá into five aksharas. After having established divisions of space and time convenient for expressing the motion of the moon, others were wanted whereby to express the relation of her motion to that of the sun. The moon making sixty-seven revolutions while the sun makes five, the sun passes through $\frac{5}{6\,7}$ of a nakshatra while the moon passes through a whole one. Now, in order to find an easy expression for this relation, the simplest method would of course have been to divide each nakshatra into sixty-seven parts; but this was no longer possible, the nakshatras being already, for more cogent reasons, divided into one hundred and twenty-four parts each. It was therefore necessary to look out for a sub-division of the one hundred and twenty-four parts of the nakshatra which would make a provision for the above stated want, and the first practicable sub-division which presented itself was that of each one hundred and twenty-fourth part into five parts or of the whole nakshatra into six hundred and twenty parts. For while the moon passes through sixty-seven out of the six hundred and twenty parts, the sun passes exactly through five of them. This sub-division of space again called for a corresponding sub-division of time, and thus the káshṭhá was divided into five aksharas. The moon remains in a whole nakshatra 610 kalás, in $_1\frac{1}{2\,4}$ of a nakshatra 610 káshṭhás, in $_{7\,}\frac{1}{2\,0}$ of a nakshatra 610 aksharas; 8174 kalás or káshṭhás or aksharas would be the corresponding periods for the sun. Another important advantage of the division of a nakshatra in 620 parts was that it allowed of expressing in

whole numbers the space passed over by the moon during one tithi, which amounts to 603 of the 620 parts of a nakshatra. And in the same time, *viz.* in the duration of a tithi, the sun advanced just forty-five such parts. I will just venture on mentioning that a reference to these forty-five parts is perhaps contained in v. 26. There some manuscripts read not "navabhir" but "navatim", and Somákara explains "navatibhir"; if we adopt one of these latter readings, the verse directs us to divide the "súryarkshabhágán" by ninety and then to multiply the result by two, which is the same thing as dividing them by forty-five. This is, however, only a conjecture, and I am unable to give a satisfactory translation of the verse.

Let us now turn to the verses referring to the adhimásas. The yuga containing sixty-two lunar months to sixty solar months two of the lunar months had to be treated as excessive (adhimása). To this arrangement manifestly refers v. 37, although all its words are not quite clear. The editor of the Jyotisha hesitatingly renders the first word by "two less", pointing out at the same time that Somákara seems to explain "dvi" by "dinam" (the words of the latter are: ह्रूनं द्विषष्टिभागेन प्रत्येकं दिनं द्वाषष्ठेन भागेन ह्रलेनेति); the latter explanation really appears to be the right one. That the word "dvi", strange as it may appear, is used in the sense of "day" in several passages of the Jyotisha cannot be doubted (cf. p. 5 of Prof. Weber's edition), and if we take it in that sense, the verse may be translated as follows: "a day diminished by its sixty-second part is to be deducted from the sun (the solar measure), etc." A (sávana) day of 603 kalás diminished by its sixty-second part ($9\frac{45}{62}$) equals $593\frac{17}{62}$ kalás, which is the length of a tithi, and thirty solar days being equal to thirty-one tithis, the verse apparently states in what manner the difference of solar and lunar time sums itself up. The word "sapárvaṇam" or "saparvaṇaḥ" must therefore express in some manner the period during which the mentioned difference amounts to one tithi; it may perhaps be translated "at each parvan", parvan denoting either the new moon parvan or the full moon parvan only. (Prof. Weber is inclined to refer the "dvi" in dvyúnam to the two lavas which constitute the difference between Garga's lunar day and sávana day; but this is impossible for two reasons; firstly, the division of the day into lavas is not made use of in the Jyotisha, and secondly, the difference necessitating the establishment of two adhimásas is not between lunar time and sávana time, but between lunar time and solar time, 1860 tithis being equal to 1800 solar days). The second half of the verse presents no difficulties" produced by which there are formed in addition two excessive months in the middle and at the end (of the yuga)." The thing was therefore managed in this way that the thirty-first and the sixty-second lunation of the yuga were not counted but combined with the following ones into one month. It is well known that the advanced Indian astro-

nomy of a later period effects the agreement between lunar and solar time in a similar way; basing however on more exact datas regarding the revolutions of the sun and the moon it does of course not pass over every thirty-first lunation.

To the question about the adhimása another verse of the Jyotisha also seems to refer, *viz.* verse 12, of which Somákara gives a very peculiar explanation, founded on his view of the meaning of the word páda.

The latter he supposes to signify the fourth part of the time which is required for the performance of the darśapúrṇamása sacrifices and which, according to him, is itself called "parvan" in different places of the Jyotisha; the duration of this fourth part is thirty-one, *viz.* náḍikás. The sense of the verse is therefore, according to him, as follows "if the parvan (the lunar half month) is diminished, (the diminution) is in (*i. e.* does not exceed) a páda, *i. e.* the time of thirty-one náḍikás." By this diminution he seems to understand the difference of sávana and lunar time. But, as Prof. Weber has already pointed out, a statement of this nature would be perfectly useless, since the difference between the two measures during a lunar half month amounts to $\frac{1}{6}\frac{5}{2}$ of a sávana day only and therefore of course does not exceed 31 náḍikás, being in fact less than half that amount. Prof. Weber would therefore prefer to take parvan as meaning the whole lunar month; but even on this supposition the statement of the verse would be of a strange indefiniteness; why say that the difference between lunar and sávana time in the course of one lunar month amounts to less than $\frac{3}{6}\frac{1}{0}$ of a sávana day when it actually amounts to $\frac{3}{6}\frac{0}{2}$ and when it was very easy to calculate the latter exact amount from the fundamental data of the Jyotisha? Besides, it appears to me that we have no right at all to supply the word náḍiká in this verse as well as in many other verses where Somákara makes use of it. It seems to me that the simplest explanation of the verse would be the following "if a parvan is to be deducted (for the sake of establishing harmony between lunar and solar time) it is to be done at a quarter (*viz.* of all parvans); and such a quarter comprises thirty-one (*viz.* parvans, the whole yuga containing one hundred and twenty-four parvans)." So that the verse is only another statement of the fact that each sixty-second lunar month is to be left out *i. e.* not to be counted. I pass at once to v. 30, where the word páda again occurs (in the compound catushpádí). The verse states the number of the sub-divisions of the yuga according to the different measures of time. The first quarter of the verse is obscure in spite of Somákara offering an explanation. He combines the two first pádas and interprets them as follows:

यत्पाद्यं सौरमयनमुदगयनाद्युक्तं तदपेक्ष्यन्द्रस्य यत्रे समस्यायनानि पञ्चत्रिंशं शतमेकोनं चतुस्त्रिंशं वा भवतीति वाक्यशेषः। चन्द्रमासापेक्षया प्रतिमासं द्वे द्वे इत्येतत् यतश्चन्द्रमासाः सप्तषष्टिश्च भवन्ति।

That by "ayanány rishely" we have to understand sidereal (nákshatra) half months (so called from analogy to the ayanas of the sun) cannot be doubted; but it is impossible to state their number as being either one hundred and thirty-five or one hundred and thirty-four, since the yuga always contains sixty-seven nákshatra months only. The admission of an alternative between the two numbers would in fact be subversive of the whole system of the Jyotisha. I am not able myself to give a satisfactory explanation of the first páda, but at any rate the second páda must be separated from it and translated: the ayanas of the moon *i. e.* the sidereal half months are one less (*viz.* than one hundred and thirty-five) *i. e.* one hundred and thirty-four. When we come to read after this something about parvans, we naturally expect a statement of their number too, and I think that the third páda means nothing else than "the parvans are a tetrad of pádas", *i. e.* (a páda having been said above to be equal to thirty-one) are one hundred and twenty-four in number; which agrees of course with the datas of the Jyotisha. Prof. Weber takes parvan in this passage as meaning the holy time at each parvan and páda as meaning the fourth part of that time, equal to thirty-one náḍikás (in accordance with Somákara's explanation of v. 12) and translates: the parvans have four quarters, *i. e.* last 124 náḍikás; but this interpretation is certainly less simple than the one given above and is not even countenanced by the commentator, whose remarks on the passage are: पादस्त्रिंशत्तु सैकिकेत्युक्तम्। तेषां चतुष्पादी चत्वारः पादाश्चतुर्विंशं शतमित्यर्थः। केषां पर्वणाम्। सर्वमासानां। यस्मादधिकमासाभ्यां सह तत्र तत्र द्वाषष्टिर्मासास्तस्मादेतेषां तत्र समत्वम्।

I have to add only two short remarks. In v. 5 (of those verses which are found in the Ṛik-recension only), we must read पौर्णमासीं च षोडशीम् instead of °सीं चषोदशीम्. The verse contains a statement of the dates of the equinoxes during the five years of the yuga, and a calculation of these dates according to the elements of the Jyotisha shows the necessity of the emendation. V. 16 contains the words पौलस्त्येऽस्तंगते which Somákara explains by चन्द्रमस्यस्तं गते. There is, however, no authority for taking the word "Paulastya" to be a name of the moon, while Pulastya is mentioned as father of Agastya in the Vishṇupuráṇa. The star Agastya (Canopus) is, as it is well known, frequently mentioned in the earliest Indian astronomical treatises, and, as it is visible in Northern India only during a part of the year, the verse of the Jyotisha seems to state that something—although it is obscure what—is taking place during that part of the year in which Agastya is not visible.

A great part of the Jyotisha remains unexplained; vv. 11, 13—17, 19—23, 25—27, 29, 41 especially are still quite obscure in spite of Somákara's attempts at elucidation. It may be expected that, should the corresponding parts of the Garga-samhitá be recovered, light would fall from

them on the obscurities which baffle us at present. I do not however think that anything new would be added to our knowledge of the elements of the Jyotisha. The latter seem to contain nothing but the doctrine about the yuga consisting of a certain number of months of the different kinds, the statement regarding the coincidence of the yuga's beginning with the winter solstice and the new moon of Mágha, the new moon taking place in the first point of śravishṭhá, and the rule stating the duration of the longest and shortest days together with the regular increase and decrease of the day during the whole year. All the remainder of the Jyotisha apparently contains nothing but deductions from these elements and is therefore of a secondary interest only.

Translations from the Ḥamâseh and the Aghânî.—By C. J. Lyall, C. S.

I.

Qureyṭ son of Uneyf, of the Bel-'Ambar.

Certain men of the Benû Sheybân had fallen upon his herds and carried off thirty camels; whereon he asked help from his kin of the Bel-'Ambar, but they helped him not. Then he betook himself to the men of Mâzin, and a company of them went forth with him and drove away a hundred camels of the herds of Sheybân and gave them to him, and guarded him until he came again to his tribe. And he said—

لَوْ كُنْتُ مِنْ مَازِنٍ لَمْ تَسْتَبِحْ إِبِلِي ... بَنُو اللَّقِيطَةِ مِنْ ذُهْلِ ابْنِ شَيْبَانَا

إِذًا لَقَامَ بِنَصْرِي مَعْشَرٌ خُشُنٌ ... عِنْدَ الْحَفِيظَةِ إِنْ ذُو لُوثَةٍ لَانَا

قَوْمٌ إِذَا الشَّرُّ أَبْدَى نَاجِذَيْهِ لَهُمْ ... طَارُوا إِلَيْهِ زَرَافَاتٍ وَ وُحْدَانَا

لَا يَسْأَلُونَ أَخَاهُمْ حِينَ يَنْدُبُهُمْ ... فِي النَّائِبَاتِ عَلَى مَا قَالَ بُرْهَانَا

لَكِنَّ قَوْمِي وَ إِنْ كَانُوا ذَوِي عَدَدٍ ... لَيْسُوا مِنَ الشَّرِّ فِي شَيْءٍ وَ إِنْ هَانَا

يَجْزُونَ مِنْ ظُلْمِ أَهْلِ الظُّلْمِ مَغْفِرَةً ... وَ مِنْ إِسَاءَةِ أَهْلِ السُّوءِ إِحْسَانَا

كَأَنَّ رَبَّكَ لَمْ يَخْلُقْ لِخَشْيَتِهِ ... سِوَاهُمْ مِنْ جَمِيعِ النَّاسِ إِنْسَانَا

فَلَيْتَ لِي بِهِمِ قَوْمًا إِذَا رَكِبُوا ... شَدُّوا الْإِغَارَةَ فُرْسَانًا وَ رُكْبَانَا

Had I been a man of Mâzin, there had not plundered my herds
the sons of the Child of the Dust, Ðuhl son of Sheybân!
There had straightway arisen to help me a heavy-handed kin,
good smiters when help is needed, though the feeble bend to the blow:

Men who, when Evil bares before them his hindmost teeth,
fly gaily to meet him, in companies or alone.
They ask not their brother, when he lays before them his wrong
in his trouble, to give them proof of the truth of what he says.
But as for my people, though their number be not small,
they are good for nought against evil, however light it be.
They requite with forgiveness the wrong of those that do them wrong,
and the evil deeds of the evil they meet with kindness and love;
As though thy Lord had created among the tribes of men
themselves alone to fear Him, and never one man more.
Would that I had in their stead a folk who, when they ride forth,
strike swiftly and hard, on horse or on camel borne!

NOTES.

The measure is the second form of the *basît*, and is thus scanned:—

⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ ⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ — | — —

This poem is the first of the Ḥamâseh, and fitly holds that place: no better epitome of the national character of the ancient Arab could be found than its third verse.

v. 1. The Benû Mâzin and the Benu-l-'Ambar (or Bel-'Ambar) were both subtribes of Temîm. Ðuhl son of Sheybân was the family name of a great sub-division of the tribe of Bekr son of Wâ'il.

"The Child of the Dust," *el-laqîṭah*, that is, a foundling: the mother of the tribe of Ðuhl appears to be meant, but the commentators give no very certain information on the point. Another reading is esh-Shaqîqah, the name of the mother of a family in Ðuhl.

v. 8. "Strike swiftly and hard," *sheddu-l-'ighârata*: another reading is *shennu-l-'ighârata*, "pour down on their enemies from every side." This verse is the *locus classicus* for the use of the preposition *bi* in the sense of "instead of": a sense arising out of its use with verbs of paying, buying, &c., for the price; and that again arises out of one of its original senses, that of the instrument.

II, III, IV, and V, four songs of the Benu-l-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b.

The Benu-l-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b dwelt in Nejrân, a fertile valley of el-Yemen; they were the chiefest of the tribes of Maðḥij (although probably themselves of Ma'addic origin*), and in the time of the Prophet were the acknowledged leaders of that stock.

* This would appear from a poem in the Ḥamâseh (pp. 160-1, Freytag's Edn.), where a man of 'Abs claims the Benu-l-Ḥârith as his brothers; but the author of the Aghânî, in the genealogies he gives of Ḥârithîs, knows only their traditional descent from Kahlân.

About half the tribe were Christians, and maintained their faith stoutly against the proselytizing Jew King of el-Yemen, Đû-Nuwâs, who in 523 A. D. led an army against the city of Nejrân and besieged it. The story of the Martyrdom of the Christians of the Benu-l-Ḥârith will be found told by a contemporary writer, Simeon the Syrian bishop of Beth-Arsham, in Vol. I of Assemani's Bibliotheca Orientalis, pp. 359 *sqq*;* their prince is therein called Ḥâreth bar Kâleb, who with his wife Rûma suffered death for the faith, and has become known in the Church as S. Arethas the son of Caleb; it seems probable that "Ḥâreth son of Kâleb" is really the tribal name, el-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b: in Syriac the *'eyn* of Ka'b and the *lâm* of Kâleb differ only in size. The sequel of this deed of Đû-Nuwâs is well known; the rule of the Ḥimyerites in el-Yemen was overthrown by the Abyssinians under Aryât, sent by the king of Æthiopia at the instigation of the Emperor of Constantinople to avenge the slaughter of the Christians of Nejrân. The Christian Church at Nejrân was still flourishing in the time of the Prophet, who in the ninth year of the Hijrah was visited at el-Medîneh by a deputation of forty ecclesiastics (*aḥbâr*), headed by a bishop, and twenty laymen from that place. The conversation which ensued is told in the Aghânî, X, 144; in the end the Christians of Nejrân obtained from Moḥammed a treaty securing to them, on the payment of tribute, the free exercise of their religion, and the portion of the tribe which had remained pagan in the same year gave in its adhesion to el-Islâm. The treaty with the Christians was renewed by Abû-Bekr after the death of Moḥammed, but 'Omar, in pursuance of the Prophet's dying injunction that none but Muslims should be left to dwell in Arabia, removed them to Syria, where they received lands in exchange for those they surrendered in Nejrân. (A. H. 13.)

The most noble family of the Christian Ḥârithîs was the house of ed-Dayyân, to which belonged the author of the fourth of the pieces given below. The son of ed-Dayyân was 'Abd-el-Madân, who had three sons, Yezîd, 'Abd-el-Mesîḥ, and Qeys. Yezîd was one of the most noble and generous Arabs of his day; and 'Abd-el-Mesîḥ and Qeys were two of the leaders of the deputation which visited Moḥammed in A. H. 9. The three brothers built a church (*bî'aḥ*) or, as some say, set up a great tent made of three hundred skins of red leather (one of the chief products of el-Yemen), at Nejrân, which was called "the Ka'beh of Nejrân"; it was a sanctuary where all who were in need found help and refuge. All three were friends and patrons of Meymûn el-A'shâ, who praises them in his poems, and learned from them the many Christian precepts which occur in his verse.

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* The latest contribution to the history of the persecuted Monophysite Christians of Nejrân will be found in the Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., Vol. XXXI, p. 360. A Syriac letter of comfort addressed to them by Jacob of Sarûg, exhorting them to patience and faith under their trials, is there given with a translation and commentary by Dr. R. Schröter, who has added a Syriac version of a Greek hymn by Johannes Psaltes, Abbot of Beth Aphthonius, on the subject of the martyrdom of those slain by Đû-Nuwâs. The latter must have been composed within a year or two of the event; for it was translated from Greek into Syriac by Bishop Paul of Edessa, who died in 527 A. D. From it we learn (1) the name of the Jew-king, who is called *Masrûq*, the same in Syriac as Đû-Nuwâs in Arabic ("Long-locks"): (2) the number of the slain, something over two hundred; and (3) the name of their teacher, Ḥâreth.

Dr. Schröter has not referred to the Æthiopic poems in which the constancy of the martyrs of Nejrân is praised.

'Abd-Yaghûth, as his name shews, was of the pagan Ḥârithîs: the idol Yaghûth ("the Helper") is mentioned with Ya'ûq and Nesr in v. 23 of the 71st Sûrah of the Qur'ân: all three were worshipped by the Arabs of el-Yemen. The author of the second and third pieces, Ja'far son of 'Olbeh, was the great-grandson (Aghânî XI, 146) or great-great-grandson (Agh. XV, 73) of 'Abd-Yaghûth. Much uncertainty prevails regarding the date of his death. The Aghânî calls him "a *mukhaḍrim* of the two Rules," that is, a poet who flourished under both the houses of Umayyeh and el-'Abbâs; according to this work (where several differing versions of his story are given) he was slain at Mekkeh in the reign of el-Mansûr Abû Ja'far (A. H. 136—158). But in the commentary on the Ḥamâseh by et-Tebrîzî he is said to have been put to death in the Khalifate of Hishâm son of 'Abd-el-Melik the Umawî (A. H. 105—125). The "Day of Saḥbal" was the adventure which led to his death: to avenge an insult put upon him by the Benû 'Oqeyl, he made a raid upon them, and was returning with his booty when he was beset by the 'Oqeylîs in the valley of Saḥbal. He fought his way through them and escaped; but having slain one of the 'Oqeylîs, that tribe accused him of murder before the Khalifeh's Governor at Mekkeh, who, after vain attempts to save his life, was obliged to deliver him up to his accusers, who put him to death.

The date of the Day of el-Kulâb is fixed by Caussin de Perceval as A. D. 612.

II.

The death-song of 'Abd-Yaghûth, chief of the Benu-l-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b of Nejrân. (Aghânî XV, 75-76).

After the slaughter of their fighting-men by the Governor of Kisrà at el-Mushaqqar, the Benû Temîm withdrew from el-Baḥrân to the valley of el-Kulâb, near the great waste called ed-Dahnâ, south of el-Yemâmeh. Their helpless state there moved the covetousness of the people of el-Yemen, and all the tribes of Maðḥij gathered together to plunder them. But warning was brought to the people of Temîm, and they arrayed themselves for battle; and the fight lasted the whole day long, until night parted them. And they watched one another through the night, and at dawn went forth again to battle. Then the fury of the men of Temîm prevailed, and those of Maðḥij were driven in headlong rout; and many a chief was slain, and many a footman taken captive. 'Abd-Yaghûth was the leader of Maðḥij on that day: he too was taken captive, and 'Iṣmeh son of Ubeyr of Teym carried him to his house, where they made ready to slay him in requital for the death of en-No'mân son of Jessâs, the leader of Temîm, who had fallen in the first day's fight. And they feared lest he should utter satires against them, and make them a by-word among the Arabs; therefore they were about to gag him, when he promised that he would utter no word of reviling against them: so they left his tongue free. Then said he—"O ye sons of Teym, let me die as befits one noble." "And how wouldst thou die?" asked 'Iṣmeh. "Give me wine to drink, and let me sing my death-song." "So be it," said 'Iṣmeh; and he plied him with wine, and cut one of his veins, and left him until the blood all flowed forth from his body. And as his life ebbed, 'Iṣmeh's two sons who stood by began to upbraid him: "Thou didst gather together against us all el-Yemen," said they: "but now behold how God has dealt with thee." Then said 'Abd-Yaghûth—

أَلَا لَا تَلُومَانِي كَفَى اللَّوْمُ مَا بِيَا فَمَا لَكُمَا فِي اللَّوْمِ نَفْعٌ وَلَا لِيَا

أَلَمْ تَعْلَمَا أَنَّ الْمَلَامَةَ نَفْعُهَا قَلِيلٌ وَمَا لَوْمِي أَخِي مِنْ شِمَالِيَا

فَيَا رَاكِبًا إِمَّا عَرَضْتَ فَبَلِّغَا ... نَدَامَايَ مِنْ نَجْرَانَ أَلَّا تَلَاقِيَا

أَبَا كَرِبٍ وَ الْأَيْهَمَيْنِ كِلَيْهِمَا ... وَ قَيْسًا بِأَعْلَى حَضْرَمَوْتَ الْيَمَانِيَا

جَزَى اللّٰهُ قَوْمِي بِالْكِلَابِ مَلَامَةً ... صَرِيحَهُمُ وَالْآخِرِينَ الْمَوَالِيَا

وَ لَوْ شِئْتُ نَجَّتْنِي مِنَ الْخَيْلِ نَهْدَةٌ ... تَرَى خَلْفَهَا الْكُوَّ الْجِيَادَ تَوَالِيَا

وَ لٰكِنَّنِي أَحْمِي ذِمَارَ أَبِيكُمُ ... وَ كَانَ الرِّمَاحُ يَخْتَطِفْنَ الْمُحَامِيَا

وَ تَضْحَكُ مِنِّي شَيْخَةٌ عَبْشَمِيَّةٌ ... كَأَنْ لَمْ تَرَا قَبْلِي أَسِيرًا يَمَانِيَا

وَ قَدْ عَلِمَتْ عِرْسِي مُلَيْكَةُ أَنَّنِي ... أَنَا اللَّيْثُ مَعْدُوًّا عَلَيْهِ وَ عَادِيَا

أَقُولُ وَ قَدْ شَدُّوا لِسَانِي بِنِسْعَةٍ ... أَمَعْشَرَ تَيْمٍ أَطْلِقُوا لِي لِسَانِيَا

أَمَعْشَرَ تَيْمٍ قَدْ مَلَكْتُمْ فَأَسْجِحُوا ... فَإِنَّ أَخَاكُمْ لَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْ بَوَائِيَا

فَإِنْ تَقْتُلُونِي تَقْتُلُونِي سَيِّدًا ... وَ إِنْ تُطْلِقُونِي تَحْرِبُونِي بِمَالِيَا

أَحَقًّا عِبَادَ اللّٰهِ أَنْ لَسْتُ سَامِعًا ... نَشِيدَ الرُّعَاءِ الْمُعْزِبِينَ الْمَتَالِيَا

وَ قَدْ كُنْتُ نَحَّارَ الْجَزُورِ وَ مُعْمِلَ الْـ ... ـمَطِيِّ وَ أَمْضِي حَيْثُ لَا حَيَّ مَاضِيَا

وَ أَنْحَرُ لِلشَّرْبِ الْكِرَامِ مَطِيَّتِي ... وَ أَصْدَعُ بَيْنَ الْقَيْنَتَيْنِ رِدَائِيَا

وَ عَادِيَةٍ سَوْمَ الْجَرَادِ وَزَعْتُهَا ... بِكَفِّي وَ قَدْ أَنْحَوْا إِلَيَّ الْعَوَالِيَا

كَأَنِّي لَمْ أَرْكَبْ جَوَادًا وَ لَمْ أَقُلْ ... لِخَيْلِي كُرِّي نَفِّسِي عَنْ رِجَالِيَا

وَ لَمْ أَسْبَإِ الزِّقَّ الرَّوِيَّ وَ لَمْ أَقُلْ ... لِأَيْسَارِ صِدْقٍ أَعْظِمُوا ضَوْءَ نَارِيَا

Upbraid me not, ye twain! shame is it enough for me
to be as I am: no gain in upbraiding to you or me.
Know ye not that in reproach there is little that profits men?
It was not my wont to blame my brother when I was free.
O rider, if thou lightest on those men who drank with me
in Nejrân aforetime, say—'Ye shall never see him more!'
—Abû Kerîb and those twin el-Eyhem, the twain of them,
and Qeys of el-Yemen who dwells in the uplands of Ḥaḍramaut.

May God requite with shame my people for el-Kulâb—
those of them of pure race, and the others born of slaves!
Had it been my will, there had borne me far away from their horse
a swift mare, behind whom the black steeds lag in a slackening throng:
But it was my will to shield the men of your father's house,
and the spears all missed the man who stood as his fellows' shield.
The matron of 'Abd-Shems laughed as she saw me led in bonds,
as though she had seen before no captive of el-Yemen:
But one knows—Muleykeh my wife—that time was when I stood forth
a lion in fight, whether men bore against me or I led on.
I said to them when they bound my tongue with a leathern thong
—'O kinsmen of Teym, I pray you, leave me my tongue yet free!
'O kinsmen of Teym, ye hold me fast: treat me gently then;
'the brother ye lost was not the equal in place of me.
'And if ye must slay me, let me die at least as a lord;
'and if ye will let me go, take in ransom all my wealth.'
Is it truth, ye servants of God—I shall hear no more the voice
of herdsmen who shout for their camels in the distant grazing-grounds?
Yea, many a beast did I slay, and many a camel urge
to her swiftest, and journey steadfast where no man dared to go;
And ofttimes I slew for my fellows my camel at the feast,
and ofttimes I rent my robe in twain for two singing-girls,
And ofttimes withstood a host like locusts that swept on me
with my hand alone, when all the lances on me were turned.
Now am I as though I never had mounted a noble steed,
or called to my horsemen—'Charge! give our footmen breathing-space!'
Or bought the full skin of wine for much gold, or shouted loud
to my comrades stout—'Heap high the blaze of our beacon-fire!'

NOTES.

The metre is the *Ṭawîl*, second form.

v. 4. Of the persons mentioned in this verse Ibn-el-Athîr (Kâmil, Vol. I, p. 469) says that Abû-Kerib was Bishr son of 'Alqameh son of el-Ḥârith, while the two el-Eyhem (*Eyhem* means foolish, stupid, and was given as a nickname to many people: two kings of Ghassân bore it) were el-Aswad son of 'Alqameh son of el-Ḥârith, and el-'Âqib *(the chief, lord)*, whose full name was 'Abd-el-Mesîḥ son of el-Abyaḍ; Qeys was Qeys son of Ma'dî-Kerib. Of these the last was chief of the tribe of Kindeh, and was surnamed *el-Ashajj*, "the Scarred"; he was praised by el-A'shà. El-'Âqib and el-Aswad el-Eyhem were two leaders of the deputation from Nejrân to Moḥammed at el-Medîneh in A. H. 9. Of the first I have been able to discover nothing further.

v. 6. This verse is variously given. Ibn-el-Athîr (*l. c.*) reads—

وَلَوْ شِئْتُ نَجَّتْنِي مِنَ الْقَوْمِ شَطْبَةٌ تَرَى خَلْفَهَا الْكُمْتَ الْعِتَاقَ تَوَالِيَا

et-Tebrîzî, in his commentary on the Ḥamâseh (p. 298), quotes it thus :

وَلَوْ شِئْتُ نَجَّتْنِي مِنَ الْخَيْلِ شَطْبَةٌ تَرَى خَلْفَهَا الْجُرْدَ الْعِتَاقَ مَتَالِيَا

Caussin de Perceval (Essai, ii. 589), apparently following the Kitâb-el-'Iqd, reads—

وَلَوْ شِئْتُ نَجَّتْنِي مِنَ الْخَيْلِ مُهْرَةٌ تَرَى خَلْفَهَا الْجُرْدَ الْحِسَانَ مَوَالِيَا

The first and second readings in the first hemistich give *shaṭbeh*, a mare light of flesh and active, instead of our *nahdeh :* the third gives *muhrah*, a young mare ; in the second hemistich, instead of our *el-ḥuww-el-jiyâd*, "the noble black horses," Ibn-el-Athîr reads "the noble (*'itâq*) bays," et-Tebrîzî, "the noble short-haired steeds" (*jurd*), and C. de Perceval "the beautiful short-haired steeds." As the last word of the verse *tawâliyâ* (plural of *tâliyeh*, "following") is decidedly best ; *mawâliyâ*, C. de P.'s reading, seems to be a word-play on the reading *'itâq*, since it means *slaves* in opposition to *free-born* (*'itâq*) *:* such a play is foreign to old Arab verse. *Et-tâlî* is a special word used for the fourth horse in a race where ten run, and thus appropriately describes the place of the pursuers.

v. 7. *Dimâr* has the same meaning as *ḥaqîqah*, *viz.*, the persons whom it is one's duty to defend. I am somewhat doubtful of the rendering of the second hemistich of this verse. I have taken *yekhtaṭifna* as meaning "missed," which is apparently a possible sense ; but it may also mean "carried away, suddenly took possession of," and may refer to his having been taken prisoner while he covered the retreat of his tribe.

v. 8. "Of 'Abd-Shems," that is, descended from 'Abd-Shems, son of Sa'd, son of Zeyd-Menât, son of Temîm.

v. 10. "Teym." This family did not belong to Temîm, but was one of the *Ribâb*, or five confederate tribes, whose fortunes were at this time linked to those of Temîm : the five were Ḍabbeh, Teym, 'Adî ibn 'Abd-Menât, 'Okl, and Thaur ; they were all descended from Udd, son of Ṭâbikhah son of Ilyâs. Teym is probably shortened for Teym-el-Lât, ("servant of el-Lât") a name borne by many of the Arab families, which Mohammed changed into Teym-allâh ("servant of God").

v. 12. The last words of the second hemistich (*taḥrubânî bimâliyâ*) may be more literally rendered "despoil me of all my wealth."

v. 13. "Ye servants of God," *'ibâda-llâhi :* there is reason to suspect that this has been altered from *'ibâda-llâti*, "servants of el-Lât," which would be a paraphrase of the name of the tribe he was addressing, Teym-el-Lât. *El-metâlî*, plural of *el-mutli*, means "she camels having their young ones following them" ; *mo'zibân* is "driving camels to distant pastures."

v. 17. *Rijâl* is here a plural of *râjil*, a foot soldier, not of *rajul*, a man.

v. 18. "Comrades stout," *eysâru ṣidqin : eysâr* are companions gathered together for the arrow-gambling called *el-Meysir ;* this was played in the winter time, and by men sitting over the fire at night ; the call to heighten the blaze was in order that the fire might be more conspicuous to the night-wanderer seeking for a shelter.

III.

Ja'far son of 'Olbeh, of the fight at Qurrà Saḥbal.

أَلَهْفَى بِقُرَى سَحْبَلٍ حِينَ أَحْلَبَتْ ... عَلَيْنَا الْوَلَايَا وَ الْعِدَى الْمُبَاسِلُ

فَقَالُوا لَنَا ثِنْتَانِ لَا بُدَّ مِنْهُمَا ... صُدُورُ رِمَاحٍ أُشْرِعَتْ أَوْ سَلَاسِلُ

فَقُلْنَا لَهُمْ تِلْكُمْ إِذًا بَعْدَ كَرَّةٍ ... تُغَادِرُ صَرْعَى نَوْءُهَا مُتَخَاذِلُ

وَلَمْ نَدْرِ إِنْ جِضْنَا مِنَ الْمَوْتِ جَيْضَةً ... كَمِ الْعُمْرُ بَاقٍ وَ الْمَدَى مُتَطَاوِلُ

إِذَا مَا ابْتَدَرْنَا مَأْزِقًا فَرَجَتْ لَنَا ... بِأَيْمَانِنَا بِيضٌ جَلَتْهَا الصَّيَاقِلُ

لَهُمْ صَدْرُ سَيْفِي يَوْمَ بَطْحَاءِ سَحْبَلٍ ... وَلِي مِنْهُ مَا ضَمَّتْ عَلَيْهِ الْأَنَامِلُ

Alas for Qurrà Saḥbal! the day that upon us drave
the crowd of frightened women, and the foemen pressed us sore.
They said to us—'Two things lie before you: now must ye choose—
'the points of the spears couched at you, or, if ye will not, chains.'
We answered them—'Yea, this thing may fall to you after fight,
'when men shall be left on ground and none shall arise again;
'But we know not, if we quail before Death's oncoming,
'how much may be left of life; the goal is too far to see.'
When we strode to the strait of battle, there cleared us a space around
the white swords in our right hands which the smiths had furbished fair;
To them fell the edge of my blade on that day of Saḥbal dale,
and mine was the share thereof whereover my fingers closed.

Notes.

The measure is the second form of the *Ṭawîl*.

This poem, if we may trust the account of the adventure to which it relates given in the Aghânî, has been manipulated by Abû Temmâm; as given in the Ḥamâseh, it suggests an attack by the enemy on the tribe of the poet, a sudden surprise, with terrified women and few men to withstand a threatening foe; but as the tale is told by el-Isfahânî (Agh. XI, 147), Ja'far with two companions went forth to plunder the herds of 'Oqeyl, and was beset on his way back by detached parties of that tribe in the valley of Saḥbal, whom he overcame and reached home safe. Another version of the poem is given in the Aghânî which contains many more lines than that in the Ḥamâseh, and some notable differences in those which are common to both; it is not necessary to give here the lines by which the Aghânî exceeds the Ḥamâseh: but the differences may be briefly stated. v. 1 is in the Aghânî—

عَشِيَّةَ قَرْنَيْ سَحْبَلٍ اِذْ تَعَطَّفَتْ عَلَيْنَا السَّرَايَا وَالْعِدَى الْمُبَاسِلُ

This reading (which follows an introductory verse) avoids the difficulty caused by the word *alahfà* ("alas") in the Ḥamâseh's version; the poem is one of exultation: why should it open with "Alas!"? It also, instead of *el-welâyà*, "the weak and frightened women," gives *es-sarâyà*, "the troops of horse," and instead of the difficult name Qurrà, reads *qarney*, "the two horns" (that is, probably, the two mountain peaks between which the valley of Saḥbal lay). The verse may be rendered—

"That even when under Saḥbal's twin peaks upon us drave
the horsemen troop after troop, and the foemen pressed us sore."

v. 2 is exactly the same in the Aghânî. So is v. 3, except that in the second hemistich for *nau'uhâ* the Aghânî reads *nahḍuhâ*, a word of the same meaning. v. 4 does not occur at all in the Aghânî's version. v. 5 is the same in both as to the second hemistich, but the first in the Aghânî is—

اِذَا مَا رُصِدْنَا مَرْصَدًا فَرَجَتْ لَذَا

"Their ambush beset our road, but there cleared us a space around
the white swords in our right hands which the smiths had furbished fair."

v. 6 is the same in the Aghânî and the Ḥamâseh.

IV.

The same, in ward at Mekkeh.

هَوَايَ مَعَ الرَّكْبِ الْيَمَانِينَ مُصْعِدٌ جَنِيبٌ وَجُثْمَانِي بِمَكَّةَ مُوثَقُ

عَجِبْتُ لِمَسْرَاهَا وَأَنَّى تَخَلَّصَتْ اِلَيَّ وَبَابُ السِّجْنِ دُونِي مُغْلَقُ

أَلَمَّتْ فَحَيَّتْ ثُمَّ قَامَتْ فَوَدَّعَتْ فَلَمَّا تَوَلَّتْ كَادَتِ النَّفْسُ تَزْهَقُ

فَلَا تَحْسَبِي أَنِّي تَخَشَّعْتُ بَعْدَكُمْ لِشَيْءٍ وَلَا أَنِّي مِنَ الْمَوْتِ أَفْرَقُ

وَلَا أَنَّ نَفْسِي يُزْدَهِيهَا وَعِيدُكُمْ وَلَا أَنَّنِي بِالْمَشْيِ فِي الْقَيْدِ أَخْرَقُ

وَلَكِنْ عَرَتْنِي مِنْ هَوَاكِ صَبَابَةٌ كَمَا كُنْتُ أَلْقَى مِنْكِ اِذْ أَنَا مُطْلَقُ

My longing climbs up the steep with the riders of el-Yemen
by their side, while my body lies in Mekkeh a prisoner.
I marvelled as she came darkling to me and entered free,
while the prison's door before me was bolted and surely barred.
She drew near and greeted me: then she rose and bid farewell;
and when she turned, my life wellnigh went forth with her.
Nay, think not that I am bowed by fear away from you,
or that I tremble before the death that stands so nigh,

Or that my soul quakes at all before your threatenings,
or that my spirit is broken by walking in these chains;
But a longing has smitten my heart born of my love of thee,
as it was in the days aforetime when that I was free.

Notes.

The measure is the same as in Nos. II and III.

This piece is given with almost the same text in the Aghânî, XI, 149; the latter, however, begins it with the second verse of the Ḥamâseh's version, putting the verse which in it answers to the first last; this is

وَ أَمَّا الْهَوَى وَالْوُدُّ مِنِّي فَطَامِحٌ إِلَيْكِ وَ جُثْمَانِي بِمَكَّةَ مُوثَقُ

My longing and my love stand gazing with straining eyes
for thee, while my body lies in Mekkeh a prisoner.

The Aghânî also inserts a verse between vv. 4 and 5 of the Ḥamâseh's version; this is, however, clearly intrusive, and breaks the sequence of the thought: it is therefore not quoted here.

V.

'Abd-el-Melik son of 'Abd-er-Raḥîm, of the Benu-d-Dayyân.

إِذَا الْمَرْءُ لَمْ يَدْنَسْ مِنَ اللُّؤْمِ عِرْضُهُ فَكُلُّ رِدَاءٍ يَرْتَدِيهِ جَمِيلُ

وَ إِنْ هُوَ لَمْ يَحْمِلْ عَلَى النَّفْسِ ضَيْمَهَا فَلَيْسَ إِلَى حُسْنِ الثَّنَاءِ سَبِيلُ

تُعَيِّرُنَا أَنَّا قَلِيلٌ عَدِيدُنَا فَقُلْتُ لَهَا إِنَّ الْكِرَامَ قَلِيلُ

وَ مَا قَلَّ مَنْ كَانَتْ بَقَايَاهُ مِثْلَنَا شَبَابٌ تَسَامَى لِلْعُلَى وَ كُهُولُ

وَ مَا ضَرَّنَا أَنَّا قَلِيلٌ وَ جَارُنَا عَزِيزٌ وَ جَارُ الْأَكْثَرِينَ ذَلِيلُ

لَنَا جَبَلٌ يَحْتَلُّهُ مَنْ نُجِيرُهُ مَنِيعٌ يَرُدُّ الطَّرْفَ وَ هُوَ كَلِيلُ

رَسَا أَصْلُهُ تَحْتَ الثَّرَى وَ سَمَا بِهِ إِلَى النَّجْمِ فَرْعٌ لَا يُنَالُ طَوِيلُ

وَ إِنَّا لَقَوْمٌ مَا نَرَى الْقَتْلَ سُبَّةً إِذَا مَا رَأَتْهُ عَامِرٌ وَ سَلُولُ

يُقَرِّبُ حُبُّ الْمَوْتِ آجَالَنَا لَنَا وَ تَكْرَهُهُ آجَالُهُمْ وَ تَطُولُ

وَ مَا مَاتَ مِنَّا سَيِّدٌ حَتْفَ أَنْفِهِ وَ لَا طَلَّ مِنَّا حَيْثُ كَانَ قَتِيلُ

تَسِيلُ عَلَى حَدِّ الظُّبَاتِ نُفُوسُنَا وَ لَيْسَتْ عَلَى غَيْرِ الظُّبَاتِ تَسِيلُ

صَفَوْنَا وَلَمْ نَكْدُرْ وَأَخْلَصَ سِرُّنَا ... إِنَاثٌ أَطَابَتْ حَمْلَنَا وَ فُحُولُ

عَلَوْنَا إِلَى خَيْرِ الظُّهُورِ وَ حَطَّنَا ... لِوَقْتٍ إِلَى خَيْرِ الْبُطُونِ نُزُولُ

فَنَحْنُ كَمَاءِ الْمُزْنِ مَا فِي نِصَابِنَا ... كَهَامٌ وَلَا فِينَا يُعَدُّ بَخِيلُ

وَ نُنْكِرُ إِنْ شُئْنَا عَلَى النَّاسِ قَوْلَهُمْ ... وَ لَا يُنْكِرُونَ الْقَوْلَ حِينَ نَقُولُ

إِذَا سَيِّدٌ مِنَّا خَلَا قَامَ سَيِّدٌ ... قَؤُولٌ لِمَا قَالَ الْكِرَامُ فَعُولُ

وَ مَا أُخْمِدَتْ نَارٌ لَنَا دُونَ طَارِقٍ ... وَلَا ذُمَّنَا فِي النَّازِلِينَ نَزِيلُ

وَ أَيَّامُنَا مَشْهُورَةٌ فِي عَدُوِّنَا ... لَهَا غُرَرٌ مَعْلُومَةٌ وَ حُجُولُ

وَ أَسْيَافُنَا فِي كُلِّ غَرْبٍ وَ مَشْرِقٍ ... بِهَا مِنْ قِرَاعِ الدَّارِعِينَ فُلُولُ

مُعَوَّدَةٌ أَلَّا تُسَلَّ نِصَالُهَا ... فَتَغْمِدَ حَتَّى يُسْتَبَاحَ قَبِيلُ

سَلِي إِنْ جَهِلْتِ النَّاسَ عَنَّا وَ عَنْهُمُ ... وَ لَيْسَ سَوَاءً عَالِمٌ وَ جَهُولُ

فَإِنَّ بَنِي الدَّيَّانِ قُطْبٌ لِقَوْمِهِمْ ... تَدُورُ رَحَاهُمْ حَوْلَهُمْ وَ تَجُولُ

When a man stains not his honour by doing a deed of shame,
whatso be the raiment he wears, fair is it and comely;
And if he takes not on his soul the burden of loss and tŏil,
there lies not before him any road to praise and glory.
She cast blame on us that our number was little to count and few:
I answered her—'Yea: the count of noble men is little.
'But not few canst thou call those whose remnants are like to us
'—young men who vie with the old in the quest of glory.
'It hurts us nought that we be few, when our friend by us
'is safe, though the friends of most men beside be trampled;
'A mountain we have where dwells he whom we shelter there,
'lofty, before whose height the eye falls back blunted:
'Deep-based is its root below ground, and overhead there soars
'its peak to the stars of heaven whereto no man reaches.
'A folk are we who deem it no shame to be slain in fight,
'though that be the deeming thereof of Salûl and 'Âmir;
'Our love of death brings near to us our days of doom,
'but their dooms shrink from death and stand far distant.

'There dies among us no lord a quiet death in his bed,
'and never is blood of us poured forth without vengeance.
'Our souls stream forth in a flood from the edge of the whetted swords:
'no otherwise than so does our spirit leave its mansion.
'Pure is our stock, unsullied: fair is it kept and bright
'by mothers whose bed bears well, and fathers mighty.
'To the best of the uplands we wend, and when the season comes,
'we travel adown to the best of fruitful valleys.
'Like rain of the heaven are we: there is not in all our line
'one blunt of heart, nor among us is counted a niggard.
'We say nay whenso we will to the words of other men,
'but no man to us says nay when we give sentence.
'When passes a lord of our line, in his stead there rises straight
'a lord to say the say and do the deeds of the noble.
'Our beacon is never quenched to the wanderer of the night,
'nor has ever a guest blamed us where men meet together.
'Our Days are famous among our foemen, of fair report,
'branded and blazed with glory like noble horses.
'Our swords have swept throughout all lands both West and East
'and gathered many a notch from the steel of hauberk-wearers;
'Not used are they when drawn to be laid back in their sheaths
'before that the folk they meet are spoiled and scattered.
'If thou knowest not, ask men what they think of us and them
'—not alike are he that knows and he that knows not.
'The children of ed-Dayyân are the shaft of their people's mill
'—around them it turns and whirls, while they stand midmost.'

NOTES.

The metre is the third form of the *Ṭawîl:* the first hemistich is the same as in Nos. II, III and IV; but the second is catalectic and is scanned thus:—

$$\breve{\cup}\,\breve{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\;|\;\breve{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\;|\;\breve{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\,\breve{\cup}\;|\;\breve{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}\,\bar{\cup}$$

This poem stands in the Ḥamâseh under the name of es-Semau'al son of 'Âdiyâ the Jew, but it is not by him; this is proved by the mention of 'Âmir and Salûl in verse 8, and of the Benu-d-Dayyân in v. 22. The mistake by which it has been attributed to es-Semau'al arose, as pointed out by et-Tebrîzî against the passage, from v. 6, where the mountain spoken of, which is really a metaphor for the glory and renown of the tribe, has been thought to be the burg el-Ablaq in Teymâ, where es-Semau'al dwelt, and where he sheltered the kin of Imra'el-Qeys the poet against el-Ḥârith son of Abû Shemir king of Ghassân.

Of the real author nothing is known except that he belonged to the noble stock of ed-Dayyân: his name recurs in the Ḥamâseh at p. 400 as the author of a *marthiyeh,*

and he is there called a native of Syria (*Shu'âmî*) and a metaphysician *(Kelâmî)*; I have found no mention of him in the Aġhânî, Ibn Khallikân, Ibn Quteybeh, or Ḥâjî Khalîfeh. It seems to me most probable that the piece belongs to the early wars of the Arabs during the spread of el-Islâm over Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia, and I should doubt its being the composition of a mere scholar. The fact that it was attributed to es-Semau'al shows that its authorship is uncertain, and that it cannot be set down to any other with confidence.

v. 5. "Our friend," *jâr*: this word is used for either (but most frequently for the weaker) of the two parties to a covenant of mutual protection *(jiwâr)*; it is etymologically identical with the Hebrew *gêr* (A. V. "stranger"), and the latter word frequently bears the same meaning: *e. g.* in Job xxxi. 32, where the LXX rightly render it by ξένος, which has the same double sense of host and guest, protector and protected.

v. 6. The mountain here referred to is the glory and great name of the tribe; the same metaphor occurs in a noble passage of the mo'allaqah of el-Ḥârith son of Ḥillizeh (vv. 23—26.)

فَبَقِينَا عَلَى الشَّنَآءَةِ تَنْمِينَا حُصُونٌ وَ عِزَّةٌ قَعْسَاءُ

قَبْلَ مَا الْيَوْمَ بُيِّضَتْ بِعُيُونِ النَّاسِ فِيهَا تَغَيُّظٌ وَ إِبَاءُ

فَكَأَنَّ الْمَنُونَ تَرْدِي بِنَا أَرْ عَنَ جَوْنًا يَنْجَابُ عَنْهُ الْعَمَاءُ

مُكْفَهِرًّا عَلَى الْحَوَادِثِ لَا تَنْـ تُوهُ لِلدَّهْرِ مُؤْيِدٌ صَمَّاءُ

And we have stood, spite of their hate, and high towers
and firm-based glory lift us aloft;
Before to-day has it blinded the eyes
of men in which were wrath and denial.
As though the Fates beating against us met
a black mountain cleaving the topmost clouds,
Mighty and strong above the changes of things,
which no shock of the Days can soften or shake.

v. 8. Salûl was a brother tribe of 'Âmir son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah: both were engaged in frequent contests and rivalries with the Benu-l-Ḥârith ibn Ka'b, and especially with the house of ed-Dayyân; see, for instance, Aghânî X, 145, where a story is told of a contest at 'Okâẓ between Yezîd son of 'Abd-el-Madân and 'Âmir son of Ṭufeyl for the hand of the daughter of Umayyeh son of el-Askar el-Kinânî, in which the former was victorious: also another (pp. 146-7) between the same Yezîd and the men of 'Âmir before one of the Ghassanide Kings. One of the battles between the Benu-l-Ḥârith and the Benû 'Âmir was the Day of es-Selef (Agh. X, 150): another was the Day of Feyf-er-Rîḥ (Ibn-el-Athîr, I, 474.)

v. 14. "Rain of the heaven", *mâ'u-l-muzni*: literally, "water of a white rain-cloud": the sense is that they are as liberal as rain. *Mâ-es-Semâ*, "Water of the heaven," was a name given among the Arabs to men for their bounty and women for

their beauty. "One blunt of heart," *kahâm:* the opposite of *mâḍi*, cutting, keen, going straight to his end.

v. 18. "Days," *Ayyâm*, is the word used in Arab legend for battles: one says—"the Day of el-Kulâb," "the Day of Shi'b Jebeleh," &c., although the fight may (as it did at el-Kulâb) have lasted longer than one day. The second hemistich cannot be literally rendered into English. *Lahâ ghurarun ma'lûmatun wa ḥojûlu* means "They (*i. e.* our days) have wellknown *ghurar* and *ḥojûl*." *Ghurar* is the plural of *ghurrah*, a white blaze on the forehead of a horse; and *ḥojûl* is the plural of *ḥijl*, the original meaning of which is an anklet: then, of a horse, a white ring on the leg in the place of an anklet; as horses bearing such marks are conspicuous among a troop, so are the Days of his tribe glorious among days. So says 'Amr son of Kulthûm, using the same metaphor (Mo'all. 25.)——

وَ أَيَّامٍ لَنَا غُرٍّ طِوَالٍ عَصَيْنَا ٱلْمَلْكَ فِيهَا أَنْ نَدِينَا

"Many the Days are ours, long, blazed with glory,
when we withstood the King and would not serve him."

VI.

Beshâmeh son of Hazn of Nahshal.

اِنَّا مُحَيُّوكِ يَا سَلْمَى فَحَيِّينَا وَ اِنْ سَقَيْتِ كِرَامَ النَّاسِ فَاسْقِينَا

وَ اِنْ دَعَوْتِ اِلَى جُلِّي وَ مَكْرُمَةٍ يَوْمًا سَرَاةَ كِرَامِ النَّاسِ فَادْعِينَا

اِنَّا بَنِي نَهْشَلٍ لَا نَدَّعِي لِأَبٍ عَنْهُ وَ لَا هُوَ بِالْأَبْنَاءِ يَشْرِينَا

اِنْ تُبْتَدَرْ غَايَةٌ يَوْمًا لِمَكْرُمَةٍ تَلْقَ السَّوَابِقَ مِنَّا وَ الْمُصَلِّينَا

وَ لَيْسَ يَمْلِكُ مِنَّا سَيِّدٌ أَبَدًا اِلَّا اِفْتَلَيْنَا غُلَامًا سَيِّدًا فِينَا

اِنَّا لَنُرْخِصُ يَوْمَ الرَّوْعِ أَنْفُسَنَا وَ لَوْ نُسَامُ بِهَا فِي الْأَمْنِ اَغْلِينَا

بِيضٌ مَفَارِقُنَا تَغْلِي مَرَاجِلُنَا نَاسُو بِأَمْوَالِنَا آثَارَ أَيْدِينَا

اِنِّي لَمِنْ مَعْشَرٍ أَفْنَى أَوَائِلَهُمْ قِيلُ الْكُمَاةِ أَلَا أَيْنَ الْمُحَامُونَا

لَوْ كَانَ فِي الْأَلْفِ مِنَّا وَاحِدٌ فَدَعَوْا مَنْ فَارِسٌ خَالُهُمْ اِيَّاهُ يَعْنُونَا

اِذَا الْكُمَاةُ تَنَحَّوْا أَنْ يُصِيبَهُمُ حَدُّ الظُّبَاةِ وَصَلْنَاهَا بِأَيْدِينَا

وَلَا تَرَاهُمْ وَاِنْ جَلَّتْ مُصِيبَتُهُمْ مَعَ الْبُكَاةِ عَلَى مَنْ مَاتَ يَبْكُونَا

وَ نَرْكَبُ الْكَرَّةَ أَحْيَانًا فَيَفْرَجُهَا عَنَّا الْحِفَاظُ وَ أَسْيَافٌ تُوَاتِينَا

We give thee greeting, O Selmà: do thou give us greeting back!
and if thou givest the cup to the noblest, reach it to us.
And if thou callest one day to a mighty and valiant deed
the chiefest of noble men, let thy call go forth to us.
Sons of Nahshal are we: no father we claim but him,
nor would he sell us for any other sons.
When a goal of glory is set and the runners rush forth thereto,
of us shalt thou see in the race the foremost and the next.
And never there comes to die a mighty man of our line
but we wean among us a boy to be mighty in his stead.
Cheap do we hold our lives when the day of dread befalls,
but if we should set them for sale in peace, they would cost men [dear.
White are our foreheads and worn: for ever our cauldrons boil:
we heal with our rich store the wounds our hands have made.
I come of a house whose elders have fallen one by one
as they sprang to the cry of the fighters—'Where are the helpers [now?'
If there should be among a thousand but one of us,
and men should call—'Ho! a knight!' he would think that they [meant him.
When the fighters blench and quail before the deadly stroke
of the sword-edge, we leap forth and catch it in our hands.
Never shalt thou see them, though their loss be great and sore,
weeping among the weepers over him that is dead!
Many a time we bestride the steed of peril and death,
but our valour bears us back safe, and the swords that help us well.

NOTES.

The metre of this piece is the same as that of No. I.

The tribe of Nahshal was a sept of Temîm, of the division of Dârim. This poem is also attributed to a poet (some say the elder Muraqqish, but most mention no name) of the Benû Qeys ibn Tha'lebeh, a sub-tribe of Bekr ibn Wâ'il: those who follow this theory read in v. 3, instead of *innâ bent Nahshalin, innâ benî Mâlikin*, Mâlik of Qeys, the head of the family to which Tarafeh the poet belonged, being meant.

v. 4. The usual number of horses run in a race among the pagan Arabs was ten; the one that came in first was called *es-sâbiq*, "the out-stripper," or *el-mujellî*, "he who makes [his owner] conspicuous": the second, *el-muṣallî*, "he whose head is at the tail (*ṣalà*) of the foremost": the third, *el-muselli*, "he who renders [his owner] content": the fourth, *et-tâlî*, "the follower": the fifth, *el-murtâḥ*, "the agile": the sixth, *el-'âṭif*, "he who bends his neck": the seventh, *el-mu'ammal*, "he from whom much had been hoped": the eighth *el-ḥaṭiy* "the fortunate" (apparently by an euphemism): the ninth, *el-laṭîm*, "the cuffed," because he is driven away with blows from the paddock; and the tenth, *es-sukeyt*, "the silent," because he is covered with confusion.

their beauty. "One blunt of heart," *kahâm:* the opposite of *mâḍi*, cutting, keen, going straight to his end.

v. 18. "Days," *Ayyâm*, is the word used in Arab legend for battles: one says—"the Day of el-Kulâb," "the Day of Shi'b Jebeleh," &c., although the fight may (as it did at el-Kulâb) have lasted longer than one day. The second hemistich cannot be literally rendered into English. *Lahâ ghurarun ma'lûmatun wa ḥojûlu* means "They (*i. e.* our days) have wellknown *ghurar* and *ḥojûl*." *Ghurar* is the plural of *ghurrah*, a white blaze on the forehead of a horse; and *ḥojûl* is the plural of *ḥijl*, the original meaning of which is an anklet: then, of a horse, a white ring on the leg in the place of an anklet; as horses bearing such marks are conspicuous among a troop, so are the Days of his tribe glorious among days. So says 'Amr son of Kulthûm, using the same metaphor (Mo'all. 25.)——

وَ أَيَّامٍ لَنَا غُرٍّ طِوَالٍ عَصَيْنَا الْمَلْكَ فِيهَا أَنْ نَدِينَا

"Many the Days are ours, long, blazed with glory,
when we withstood the King and would not serve him."

VI.

Beshâmeh son of Ḥazn of Nahshal.

أَنَا مُحَيِّيكِ يَا سَلْمَى فَحَيِّينَا • وَ إِنْ سَقَيْتِ كِرَامَ النَّاسِ فَاسْقِينَا

وَ إِنْ دَعَوْتِ إِلَى جُلِّي وَ مَكْرُمَةٍ يَوْمًا سَرَاةَ كِرَامِ النَّاسِ فَادْعِينَا

إِنَّا بَنِي نَهْشَلٍ لَا نَدَّعِي لِأَبٍ عَنْهُ وَ لَا هُوَ بِالْأَبْنَاءِ يَشْرِينَا

إِنْ تُبْتَدَرْ غَايَةٌ يَوْمًا لِمَكْرُمَةٍ تَلْقَ السَّوَابِقَ مِنَّا وَ الْمُصَلِّينَا

وَ لَيْسَ يَهْلِكُ مِنَّا سَيِّدٌ أَبَدًا إِلَّا افْتَدَيْنَا غُلَامًا سَيِّدًا فِينَا

إِنَّا لَنَرْخُصُ يَوْمَ الرَّوْعِ أَنْفُسَنَا وَ لَوْ نُسَامُ بِهَا فِي الْأَمْنِ أَغْلَيْنَا

بِيضٌ مَفَارِقُنَا تَغْلِي مَرَاجِلُنَا نَاسُو بِأَمْوَالِنَا آثَارَ أَيْدِينَا

إِنِّي لَمِنْ مَعْشَرٍ أَفْنَى أَوَائِلَهُمْ قِيلُ الْكُمَاةِ أَلَا أَيْنَ الْمُحَامُونَا

لَوْ كَانَ فِي الْأَلْفِ مِنَّا وَاحِدٌ فَدَعَوْا مَنْ فَارِسٌ خَالَهُمْ إِيَّاهُ يَعْنُونَا

إِذَا الْكُمَاةُ تَنَحَّوْا أَنْ يُصِيبَهُمُ حَدُّ الظُّبَاةِ وَصَلْنَاهَا بِأَيْدِينَا

وَلَا تَرَاهُمْ وَإِنْ جَلَّتْ مُصِيبَتُهُمْ مَعَ الْبُكَاةِ عَلَى مَنْ مَاتَ يَبْكُونَا

وَ نَرْكَبُ الْكَرَّةَ أَحْيَانًا فَيُفْرِجُهُ عَنَّا الْحِفَاظُ وَ أَسْيَافٌ تُوَاتِينَا

We give thee greeting, O Selmà: do thou give us greeting back!
and if thou givest the cup to the noblest, reach it to us.
And if thou callest one day to a mighty and valiant deed
the chiefest of noble men, let thy call go forth to us.
Sons of Nahshal are we: no father we claim but him,
nor would he sell us for any other sons.
When a goal of glory is set and the runners rush forth thereto,
of us shalt thou see in the race the foremost and the next.
And never there comes to die a mighty man of our line
but we wean among us a boy to be mighty in his stead.
Cheap do we hold our lives when the day of dread befalls,
but if we should set them for sale in peace, they would cost men [dear.
White are our foreheads and worn: for ever our cauldrons boil:
we heal with our rich store the wounds our hands have made.
I come of a house whose elders have fallen one by one
as they sprang to the cry of the fighters—'Where are the helpers [now?'
If there should be among a thousand but one of us,
and men should call—'Ho! a knight!' he would think that they [meant him.
When the fighters blench and quail before the deadly stroke
of the sword-edge, we leap forth and catch it in our hands.
Never shalt thou see them, though their loss be great and sore,
weeping among the weepers over him that is dead!
Many a time we bestride the steed of peril and death,
but our valour bears us back safe, and the swords that help us well.

NOTES.

The metre of this piece is the same as that of No. I.

The tribe of Nahshal was a sept of Temîm, of the division of Dârim. This poem is also attributed to a poet (some say the elder Muraqqish, but most mention no name) of the Benû Qeys ibn Tha'lebeh, a sub-tribe of Bekr ibn Wâ'il: those who follow this theory read in v. 3, instead of *innâ benî Nahshalin, innâ benî Mâlikin*, Mâlik of Qeys, the head of the family to which Ṭarafeh the poet belonged, being meant.

v. 4. The usual number of horses run in a race among the pagan Arabs was ten; the one that came in first was called *es-sâbiq*, "the out-stripper," or *el-mujellî*, "he who makes [his owner] conspicuous": the second, *el-muṣallî*, "he whose head is at the tail (*ṣalà*) of the foremost": the third, *el-muselli*, "he who renders [his owner] content": the fourth, *et-tâlî*, "the follower": the fifth, *el-murtâḥ*, "the agile": the sixth, *el-'âṭif*, "he who bends his neck": the seventh, *el-mu'ammal*, "he from whom much had been hoped": the eighth *el-ḥaṭîy* "the fortunate" (apparently by an euphemism): the ninth, *el-laṭîm*, "the cuffed," because he is driven away with blows from the paddock; and the tenth, *es-sukeyt*, "the silent," because he is covered with confusion.

"The race for glory" is a metaphor often used by the old poets: thus Zuheyr (Ahlwardt, Dîwâns, p. 80) says—

إِذَا ٱبْتَدَرَتْ قَيْسُ ٱبْنُ عَيْلَانَ غَايَةً مِنَ ٱلْمَجْدِ مَنْ يَسْبِقْ إِلَيْهَا يَسُودِ

"When the men of Qeys son of 'Eylân race together for a goal of glory, he that reaches it first is their chosen Lord."

v. 7. "White are our foreheads," *bîḍun mafâriqunâ:* this is variously interpretted; it is said that it may either mean that their heads are crowned with glory as with light, or that they have become bald by constantly wearing the helmet: the latter explanation seems best. The boiling of the cauldrons is also explained in two ways; it is said that it is a metaphor for the heat and fury of war: but the better and simpler interpretation refers it to their ever open hospitality. "We heal with our rich store": that is, "when any one is slain by us we pay from our herds the price of his blood."

v. 9. This resembles a line of Ṭarafeh's (Mo'all. 42)——

إِذَا ٱلْقَوْمُ قَالُوا مَنْ فَتًى خِلْتُ أَنَّنِي عُنِيتُ فَلَمْ أَكْسَلْ وَلَمْ أَتَبَلَّدِ

"When my kinsmen cried 'Who is the man for the deed?' I deemed that I was he they meant: and I lagged not nor was I infirm of heart."

VII.

إِنَّ بِالشِّعْبِ ٱلَّذِي دُونَ سَلْعٍ لَقَتِيلاً دَمُهُ مَا يُطَلُّ

خَلَّفَ ٱلْعِبْءَ عَلَيَّ وَوَلَّى أَنَا بِٱلْعِبْءِ لَهُ مُسْتَقِلُّ

وَوَرَاءَ ٱلثَّأْرِ مِنِّي ٱبْنُ أُخْتٍ مَصِعٌ عُقْدَتُهُ مَا تُحَلُّ

مُطْرِقٌ يَرْشَحُ سُمًّا كَمَا أَطْـ ـرَقَ أَفْعًى يَنْفُثُ السَّمَّ صِلُّ

خَبَرٌ مَا نَابَنَا مُصْمَئِلٌّ جَلَّ حَتَّى دَقَّ فِيهِ ٱلْأَجَلُّ

بَزَّنِي ٱلدَّهْرُ وَكَانَ غَشُومًا بِأَبِيٍّ جَارُهُ مَا يُذَلُّ

شَامِسٌ فِي ٱلْقُرِّ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا ذَكَتِ ٱلشِّعْرِي فَبَرْدٌ وَظِلُّ

يَابِسُ ٱلْجَنْبَيْنِ مِنْ غَيْرِ بُوسٍ وَنَدَى ٱلْكَفَّيْنِ شَهْمٌ مُدِلُّ

ظَاعِنٌ بِٱلْحَزْمِ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا حَلَّ حَلَّ ٱلْحَزْمُ حَيْثُ يَحُلُّ

غَيْثُ مُزْنٍ غَامِرٌ حَيْثُ يَجْدِي وَإِذَا يَسْطُو فَلَيْثٌ أَبَلُّ

مُسْبِلٌ فِي ٱلْحَيِّ أَحْوَى رَفِلٌّ وَإِذَا يَغْزُو فَسِمْعٌ أَزَلُّ

وَ لَهُ طَعْمَانِ اَرْيٌ وَ شَرْيٌ — وَ كِلَا الطَّعْمَيْنِ قَدْ ذَاقَ كُلُّ

يَرْكَبُ الْهَوْلَ وَحِيدًا وَلَا يَصْـ — ـحَبُهُ اِلَّا الْيَمَانِي الْأَفَلُّ

وَفْدُهُ هَجَّرُوا ثُمَّ اَسْرَوْا — لَيْلَهُمْ حَتَّى اِذَا انْجَابَ حَلُّوا

كُلُّ مَاضٍ قَدْ تَرَدَّى بِمَاضٍ — كَسَنَا الْبَرْقِ اِذَا مَا يُسَلُّ

فَاحْتَسَوْا اَنْفَاسَ نَوْمٍ فَلَمَّا — هَوَمُوا رُعْتُهُمْ فَاشْمَعَلُّوا

فَادَّرَكْنَا الثَّارَ مِنْهُمْ وَ لَمَّا — يَنْجُ مِلْ خَيْبَيْنِ اِلَّا الْأَقَلُّ

فَلَئِنْ فَلَّتْ هُذَيْلٌ شَبَاهُ — لَبِمَا كَانَ هُذَيْلًا يَفُلُّ

وَبِمَا اَبْرَكَهَا فِي مُنَاخٍ — جَعْجَعٍ يَنْقَبُ فِيهِ الْأَظَلُّ

وَبِمَا صَبَّحَهَا فِي ذَرَاهَا — مِنْهُ بَعْدَ الْقَتْلِ نَهْبٌ وَشَلُّ

صَلِيَتْ مِنِّي هُذَيْلٌ بِخِزْيٍ — لَا يَمَلُّ الشَّرَّ حَتَّى يَمَلُّوا

يُنْهِلُ الصَّعْدَةَ حَتَّى اِذَا مَا — نَهِلَتْ كَانَ لَهَا مِنْهُ عَلُّ

حَلَّتِ الْخَمْرُ وَكَانَتْ حَرَامًا — وَ بِلَاءٍ مَا اَلَمَّتْ تَحِلُّ

فَاسْقِنِيهَا يَا سَوَادَ بْنَ عَمْرٍو — اِنَّ جِسْمِي بَعْدَ خَالِي لَخَلُّ

فَسَقَيْنَاهُ كَاَسَ حَتْفٍ هُذَيْلًا — غِبُّهَا خِزْيٌ وَ عَارٌ وَ ذُلُّ

تَضْحَكُ الضَّبُعُ لِقَتْلَى هُذَيْلٍ — وَ تَرَى الذِّئْبَ لَهَا يَسْتَهِلُّ

وَ عِتَاقُ الطَّيْرِ تَهْوِي بِطَانًا — تَتَخَطَّاهُمْ فَمَا تَسْتَقِلُّ

In the cleft of the rocks below Sal‘ is lying
one slain whose blood drips not without vengeance.
He left the burden to me and departed,
and I take up the load lightly and bear it—
A heritage of bloodshed to me the son of
his sister, one dauntless—his knot none looses,
Downcast of eyes, dripping poison, like as
the hooded asp that spits venom, the adder.

Fearful the tidings that reach us, heavy—
the heaviest of burdens thereby is nothing!
Fate has cut off from me, Fate the tyrant,
one mighty whose friend none dared to be little:
A sunshine in wintertide, until when
the Dogstar burned, he was coolness and shadow:
Lean-sided and thin, but not from lacking:
liberal-handed, keen-hearted, haughty;
He journeyed with Wariness, and where he halted,
there Wariness halted herself his comrade:
A rushing rain-flood when he gave guerdons:
when he sprang to the onset, a mighty lion;
In the midst of his kin flowed his long black hair, and
his skirts trailed: in war a wolf's whelp with lean flanks;
Two savours had he, of honey and gall: and
one or the other all men have tasted;
He rode Fear alone without a fellow
but only his deep-notched blade of el-Yemen.
Many the warriors, noon-journeying, who, when
night fell, journeyed on, and halted at dawning—
Keen each one of them, girt with a keen blade
that when one drew it flashed forth like the lightning—
They were tasting of sleep by sips, when as
they nodded, thou didst fright them, and they were scattered!
Vengeance we did on them: there escaped us
of the two houses none but the fewest.
And if Huðeyl broke the edge of his sword-blade—
many the notch that Huðeyl gained from him!
Many the time that he made them kneel down on
jagged rocks where the hoof is worn with running;
Many the morning he fell on their shelter,
and after slaughter came plunder and spoiling.
Huðeyl has been burned by me, one valiant
whom Evil tires not though they be wearied—
Whose spear drinks deep the first draught, and thereon
drinks deep again of the blood of foemen.
Forbidden was wine, but now is it lawful:
hard was the toil that made it lawful!
Reach me the cup, O Sawâd son of 'Amru:
my body is spent with gaining my vengeance.
To Huðeyl we gave to drink Death's goblet,
whose dregs are disgrace and shame and dishonour.

The hyena laughs over the slain of Huðeyl, and
the wolf—see thou—grins by their corpses,
And the vultures flap their wings, full-bellied
treading their dead, too gorged to leave them.

NOTES.

The measure is the *Medîd*, the basis of which is a pair of ionics *a minore* separated by an anapæst:—

⏑ ⏑ – – | ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ – – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ – – | ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ – –
– – – – – –

This poem stands in the Ḥamâseh under the name of Ta'abbaṭa Sherrâ; but it is also attributed to Ta'abbaṭa's sister's son, and held to refer to the vengeance wrought by the nephew on his uncle's slayers. The commentators, however, say that the slain man cannot be Ta'abbaṭa himself, for Sal', the place named in the first verse, is in the neighbourhood of el-Medîneh: but the place where Ta'abbaṭa was slain lay in the country of Huðeyl, eastward of Mekkeh, and was called Rakhmân. His sister said, bewailing him—

نِعْمَ الْفَتَى غَادَرْتُمُ بِرَخْمَانْ بِثَابِتِ ابْنِ جَابِرِ ابْنِ سُفْيَانْ
مَنْ يَقْتُلُ الْقِرْنَ وَ يُرْوِي الدَّمَانْ

"Fair was the warrior whom ye left in Rakhmân
—Thâbit son of Jâbir son of Sufyân,
Who slew his foe and poured wine for his fellow!"

(Thâbit son of Jâbir was the real name of Ta'abbaṭa Sherrâ, which means "He carried evil under his arm.")

But the weight of evidence is against the authenticity of the poem as an utterance of Ta'abbaṭa's; it is more probably attributed to the famous imitator of the songs of the pagan Arabs, Abû Moḥriz ibn Ḥayyân, commonly known as Khalaf el-Aḥmar. This man was a native of Farghâna, and was taken captive with his parents when Khurâsân was conquered by the Muslims; he grew up to be a most eminent man of learning, and among all those of that class, who abounded in the days of the first 'Abbâsî Khalifehs, he was the truest poet. He is best known as a fabricator of poems in the style of the ancients, with which he deceived the learned men of el-Kûfeh, and even Ḥammâd er-Râwiyeh himself; he afterwards acknowledged the poems to be forged, but they refused to believe it. He died about A. H. 180. (Ibn Quteybeh, Ma'ârif, p. 270. Id. in Nöldeke's Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. Poes. d. alt. Arab. p. 15. Ibn Khallikân, I. p. 571, and III. p. 391. Aghânî V. 174.)

The following are some of the marks of a late origin *(âthâr et-taulîd)* which are to be found in the piece:—

The subtlety of the thought conveyed in the words of verse 5, *b*, — *jella ḥattâ daqqa fîhi-l-ajellu:* this struck the ancient commentators as unlike the speech of a Desert Arab:

The play of words in verse 8 between *yâbisu-l-jembeyni* (dry-sided, *i. e.* lean) and *nedi-l-keffeyni*, (moist-handed, *i. e.* liberal):

The alliteration in v. 9, where out of ten words seven contain the letter ح:

The alliteration of *gheythu* and *ghâmirun* in v. 10, and the rhyming antithesis of *gheyth* and *leyth* (besides *ḥeyth* in the same verse):

The very unusual *distributive* sense of *kilâ* in v. 12:

The use of *injâba* in v. 14 for the dawn: it appears to be used in classical Arabic only for the clearing away of clouds;

The play on the word *mâḍin* in v. 15, where it means (1) a warrior who goes straight to his end, and (2) a sword that cuts through all obstacles.

None of these taken by itself would perhaps be conclusive; alliteration is not unknown in the ancient poetry, but it is not approved; and instances of word-play might also be found. But taken together they constitute what is called *tekelluf* (which may be rendered *artificiality*), which is foreign to the age to which the poem would belong if it were really by Ta'abbaṭa Sherrâ.

But whether an imitation or a genuine old poem, there can be no doubt that the piece breathes the true spirit of the pagan Arab. Albert Schultens says of it—"Nobile hoc carmen . . . . . monumentum est illustre laudationum quibus Fortium fortia facta concelebrari solebant. Magnis splendet ornamentis ac luminibus, quæ gentis genium graphice pingunt." Goethe, in the Appendix to his West-Oestlicher Diwan (where he gives a translation of it, rendered from Schultens' Latin, as the only specimen of old Arab poetry which he adduces), writes — "Die Grösse des Characters, der Ernst, die rechtmässige Grausamkeit des Handelns, sind hier eigentlich das Mark der Poesie . . . . Höchst merkwürdig erscheint uns bei diesem Gedicht, dass die reine Prosa der Handlung durch Transposition der einzelnen Ereignisse poetisch wird. Dadurch, und dass das Gedicht fast alles äussern Schmucks ermangelt, wird der Ernst desselben erhöht, und wer sich recht hinein lies't muss das Geschehene, von Anfang bis zu Ende, nach und nach vor der Einbildungskraft aufgebaut erblicken."

vv. 1 to 4 tell of the slaying, and set before us the avenger: vv. 5 to 13 praise the slain man, his mighty deeds and great heart: vv. 14 to 17 describe the onslaught which led in the end to his fall: vv. 18 to 20, the many deeds of daring which Huðeyl had to avenge on him; vv. 21 to 27, the vengeance taken by him into whose mouth the poem is put.

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v. 1. "Drips not without vengeance," *mâ yuṭallu:* literally, "is not poured forth like the dew or fine rain."

v. 3. "A heritage of bloodshed to me the son of his sister", *wa warâ'a-th-tha'ri minni-bnu ukhtin:* literally, "and behind the vengeance" (*i. e.*, to take it up—a continuation of the thought of verse 2) [there is] "a sister's son in me." This verse has been misunderstood by Schultens and Rückert: the former renders it—"Post me talioni imminet sororis filius," and the latter—"Und ein Schwestersohn zur Rache tritt mir nach." Goethe, seeing with a fine discernment that the avenger who speaks is *himself* the sister's son of the dead, (compare verse 24—*inna jismî ba'da* Khâlî *lakhallu*), makes verses 3 and 4 the reported utterance of the dying man—

"Erbe meiner Rache
Ist der Schwestersohn,
Der Streitbare,
Der Unversöhnliche," *u. s. w.*

Minni is here an example of the explicative *min (li-l-bayân).*

"His knot none looses," *'oqdatuhu lâ yoḥallu*, said of a man whose fury in battle is

irresistible: the dictionaries give *taḥallelet 'oqaduhu* as meaning "his anger was appeased."

v. 4. The comparison of the warrior to a deadly serpent in this verse recalls the name of the family in Teghlib to which 'Amr son of Kulthûm belonged—the *Arâqim*—"the spotted serpents."

v. 5. "The heaviest of burdens thereby is nothing": literally—"it is great (*i. e.* terrible) so that the greatest therein becomes little"; the criticism of the earlier commentators on this phrase has been mentioned above.

v. 6. "Whose friend," *jâruhu*: see the note to v. 5 of No. V.

v. 7. "A sunshine," *shâmis*: literally, "a sunny day."

v. 8. "Lean-sided": leanness is a subject of praise in a hero because it denotes the hardships he has undergone, and also his generosity in giving to others to eat while he keeps nought for himself.

v. 11. The first hemistich of this verse can be taken in two ways: either *musbilun* may be rendered absolutely, "letting hang down," *i. e.*, his garments: and *ahwà* may be taken of his complexion, "swarthy"; or, as I have rendered it, *ahwà* may be the accusative after *musbilun*, "letting hang down his long black [hair]." "His skirts trailed": in days of peace and quiet the Arabs allowed their *izâr* or waist-wrapper to trail on the ground: in war they girt it tight about their loins. Zuheyr says, describing a luxurious people (Ahlwardt, Six Poets, p. 77):—

لَهُمْ رَاحٌ وَرَارِقٌ وَ مِسْكٌ تَعُلُّ بِهِ جُلُودَهُمْ وَ مَاءُ

يُجَرِّرْنَ الْبُرُودَ وَ قَدْ تَمَشَّتْ حُمَيَّا الْكَأْسِ فِيهِمْ وَ الْغِنَاءُ

"By them is wine, and a strainer, and musk thereby
wherewith their skins are perfumed, and water:
They trail their skirts of *burd*, and in them glows
the vehemence of the cup and the ecstasy of song."

(Water, to mix with the wine: so wine was commonly drunk by the Arabs: see Ṭarafeh, Mo'all. 59, and 'Amr Kulth. Mo'all. 2).

"A wolf's whelp," *sim'*, a hybrid between the wolf and the hyena, with the fierceness of both.

v. 12. "Gall", *sharyun*, the colocynth or bitter gourd.

v. 14. The mode of journeying in the Desert here described will be familiar to all readers of Palgrave's "Central and Eastern Arabia."

vv. 16, 17. In et-Tebrîzî's edition of the Ḥamâseh these verses stand in the reverse order: the sequence in which I have given them is that in which they are placed by Schultens, and seems the natural one.

"They were tasting of sleep by sips," *iḥtasau anfâsa naumin*: *i. e.*, sleep was overcoming them little by little.

v. 18. "Broke the edge of his sword blade," *fallet shebâhu*: that is, apparently, overthrew him.

v. 21. "Huðeyl has been burned," *ṣaliyet*, *i. e.*, scathed. So el-Ḥârith son of 'Obâd, when he was unwillingly compelled to take part in the contest by the slaying of his son Bujeyr by Muhelhil, said of the War of Basûs——

لَمْ أَكُنْ مِنْ جُنَاتِهَا عَلِمَ اللّٰـــهُ وَإِنِّي بِحَرِّهَا الْيَوْمَ صَالِ

"I was not of those whose wrong wrought it, God knows!
Yet to-day must I be burned in its blaze."

v. 22. "He drank deep at the first draught" (*nehila*) and "he drank deep a second draught" (*'alla*), both words used originally of camels, are in constant use in Arab poetry to describe the thrust and thrust again of spears.

v. 23. Wine was forbidden to him, because he had sworn not to drink it until he attained to his vengeance.

v. 25. This verse is omitted in Freytag's edn. of et-Tebrîzî's Ḥamâseh: I have restored it from Schultens' text, because it appears to arise naturally out of the idea of the preceding verse.

v. 27. "The vultures," *'itâqu-ṭ-ṭeyri:* literally, "the noble of birds," a term reserved for birds of prey. "Flap their wings," *taḥfû:* this is the reading of Schultens, and is also given by et-Tebrîzî in the commentary, though he admits *teghdû* into the text; the former reading seems to me to give much greater vividness to the horrible picture than the latter, which is a mere auxiliary verb.

VIII.

Isḥâq son of Khalaf.

لَوْلَا أُمَيْمَةُ لَمْ أَجْزَعْ مِنَ الْعَدَمِ وَلَمْ أُقَاسِ الدُّجَى فِي حِنْدِسِ الظُّلَمِ
وَزَادَنِي رَغْبَةً فِي الْعَيْشِ مَعْرِفَتِي ذُلَّ الْيَتِيمَةِ يَجْفُوهَا ذَوُو الرَّحِمِ
أَحَاذِرُ الْفَقْرَ يَوْمًا أَنْ يُلِـــمَّ بِهَـــا فَيَهْتِكَ السِّتْرَ عَنْ لَحْمٍ عَلَى وَضَمِ
تَهْوَى حَيَاتِي وَأَهْوَى مَوْتَهَا شَفَقًا وَالْمَوْتُ أَكْرَمُ نَزَّالٍ عَلَى الْحُرَمِ
أَخْشَى فَظَاظَةَ عَمٍّ أَوْ جَفَاءَ أَخٍ وَكُنْتُ أُبْقِي عَلَيْهَا مِنْ أَذَى الْكَلِمِ

If no Umeymeh were there, no Want would trouble my soul—
no labour call me to toil for bread through pitchiest night;
What moves my longing to live is but that well do I know
how low the fatherless lies,—how hard the kindness of kin.
I quake before loss of wealth lest lacking fall upon her,
and leave her shieldless and bare as flesh set forth on a board.
My life she prays for, and I from mere love pray for her death—
yea, death, the gentlest and kindest guest to visit a maid.
I fear an uncle's rebuke, a brother's harshness for her;
my chiefest end was to spare her heart the grief of a word.

NOTES.

The metre is the first form of the *basît*, in which the last foot is the same in the second hemistich as in the first; an attempt has been made to imitate it in the translation. The grammars give ⏑ — ⏑ — as permissible for the third foot, although on an examination of a large number of pieces of this measure in the Ḥamâseh I have found no example of a short first syllable; instances, however, occur elsewhere; see en-Nâbighah, v. 34 and 49, and xi. 3. Zuheyr, ix. 18, 21, 22. In the English, owing to the want of clear distinction between syllables long in themselves (apart from the accent) and short, it has not been found possible always to give a long syllable in this place.

Of the author of these lines I have been able to ascertain nothing. The fragment is, as shewn by the rhyme in the first hemistich, the beginning of a *qaṣîdeh*; four more lines of the same measure and rhyme are given as a continuation of the piece in the Appendix to the Calcutta Edn. of the Ḥamâseh, p. 221: but they are of inferior merit to those selected by Abû Temmâm. By his name (Isḥâq) the author should be an Islâmî; the only authentic instance of a biblical name born by an Arab (not a Jew) before el-Islâm is that of the great-great-grandfather of 'Adî son of Zeyd el-'Ibâdî, who was called Ayyûb (Job). (See Aghânî ii. 18, and Abu-l-'Alâ, quoted in the Ḥamâseh, p. 177). The sentiment of v. 4 is, however, rather pagan than Islamic.

v. 3. "Meat on a butcher's board" is a proverbial expression for that which is utterly defenceless and helpless.

v. 4. The scholiast compares the proverbs (both current in the Ignorance) *ni'ma-l-khatanu-l-qabru*, "An excellent son-in-law is the Grave," and *defnu-l-benât mina-l-mekrumât*, "To bury daughters is an act of mercy"; the reference in the latter is to the practice of burying female children alive immediately after birth, which was still prevalent (though not widely spread) among the pagan Arabs at the time of the Prophet's mission. The lot of women among the Arabs of the Ignorance was a hard one; and it is most probable that the practice in question was perpetuated, if it did not begin, in the desire to save the family the shame of seeing its women ill-used or otherwise disgraced. This is to be inferred from the account given in the Aghânî (xii. 150) of the reason why Qeys son of 'Âṣim, a lord of the tribe of Temîm, adopted it. To this man was due the revival of the custom in the Prophet's time after it had almost died out; a terrible tale is told of his burial alive of the only one of his daughters who was saved at birth and brought up in another family unknown to him.

v. 5. The use of the imperfect (*kuntu ubqî*) in the second hemistich of this verse is worth noticing. The speaker looks forward to the time when his daughter will be left fatherless, and find no love such as that which she found in him.

IX.

Ḥiṭṭân son of el-Mo'allà.

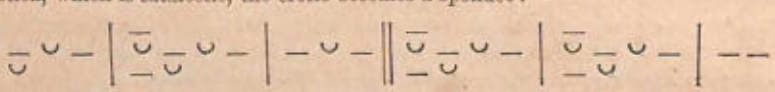
أَنْزَلَنِي الدَّهْرُ عَلَى حُكْمِهِ مِنْ شَامِخٍ عَالٍ إِلَى خَفْضِ
وَغَالَنِي الدَّهْرُ بِوَفْرِ الْغِنَى فَلَيْسَ لِي مَالٌ سِوَى عِرْضِي
أَبْكَانِيَ الدَّهْرُ وَيَا رُبَّمَا أَضْحَكَنِي الدَّهْرُ بِمَا يُرْضِي
لَوْلَا بُنَيَّاتٌ كَزُغْبِ الْقَطَا رُدِدْنَ مِنْ بَعْضٍ إِلَى بَعْضِ

لَكَانَ لِي مُضْطَرَبٌ وَاسِعٌ فِي ٱلْأَرْضِ ذَاتِ ٱلطُّولِ وَٱلْعَرْضِ
وَإِنَّمَا أَوْلَادُنَا بَيْنَنَا أَكْبَادُنَا تَمْشِي عَلَى ٱلْأَرْضِ
لَوْ هَبَّتِ ٱلرِّيحُ عَلَى بَعْضِهِمْ لَامْتَنَعَتْ عَيْنِي مِنَ ٱلْغَمْضِ

Fortune has brought me down (her wonted way)
from station great and high to low estate;
Fortune has rent away my plenteous store:
of all my wealth honour alone is left;
Fortune has turned my joy to tears: how oft
did Fortune make me laugh with what she gave!
But for these girls, the Qaṭa's downy brood,
unkindly thrust from door to door as hard—
Far would I roam and wide to seek my bread
in Earth that has no lack of breadth and length;
Nay, but our children in our midst, what else
but our hearts are they walking on the ground?
If but the wind blow harsh on one of them,
mine eye says no to slumber all night long.

NOTES.

The metre is the third form of the *Sarî'*, and consists of two diiambs (each commutable to — — ⏑ — and — ⏑ ⏑ —) followed by a cretic (— ⏑ —); in the second hemistich, which is catalectic, the cretic becomes a spondee:—



Of the poet I have ascertained nothing.

v. 4. The *Qaṭa* is the sand-grouse; it is most probably identical with the Hebrew *Qâ'ath* (A. V. "pelican").

The second hemistich of this verse has strangely perplexed the commentators. The following is a translation of et-Tebrîzî's note upon it. "*Rudîdna min ba'din ilà ba'di* means—'They were gathered together to me in a brief space of time, one born of a second wife after another born of the first, one by the side of another.' Another reading is *rededna min ba'din ilà ba'di*, with the active form of the verb and the personal pronoun joined to the second *ba'd*; the meaning of this would be 'they have bowed me and bent one part of my back towards another.' Or, if we adopt the first reading, the line may mean that these daughters of his had been wedded, and were turned away together with their little girls; *mardûdeh* is used in the sense of a divorced woman, and *ilà* is sometimes equivalent to *ma'* (together with): you say *hâdâ ilà dâka* ('this with that') meaning *ma'a dâka*; taking it in this way, *min ba'din ilà ba'di* will be in the place of the accusative of condition to *rudîdna*, *i. e.*, they have been divorced together

with their children.' Or you may read *rudidna* as before, and *min ba'ḍî ilà ba'ḍi*, giving both the *ba'ḍ* the affixed pronoun; the sense would then be 'They were in my loins, and when I begot them they entered (were turned) into my heart, which burns by reason of them through excess of affection.' Another reading is *jumi'na min ba'ḍin ilà ba'ḍi* [the sense of which would be the same as the first explanation given by et-Tebrîzî]. Abû Hilâl says: '*rudidna min ba'ḍin ilà ba'ḍi* is a sentence which hides but little meaning: perhaps he intended to say that they were born from different mothers, and were thrust from one to the other: but he did not express himself plainly.' "

So far et-Tebrîzi; it appears to me that the difficulty (which consists in the use of the past, *rudidna*, for the future which the poet contemplates for his daughters, and which has led the commentators to try to explain that verb as referring to something already past) may be solved by supposing that the speaker puts his anticipation in the form of an event already come to pass. Such a construction is the common one for optatives, (*jezâhu-llâh*, &c.,) and is so used in places where there can be no question of the theological explanation which refers it to the foreknowledge of God, to whom future is as past; see *e. g.*, Ḥamâseh, p. 67.—

بَقِيتُ وَفْرِي وَانْحَرَفْتُ عَنِ الْعُلَى وَلَقِيتُ أَضْيَافِي بِوَجْهٍ عَبُوسِ

Then, again, there are many instances in which what is spoken of as a past event is explained as a future one, *e. g.*, in Ḥam., p. 172.—

إِنَّنِي فِي أَرْضِ فَارِسَ مُوثَقٌ أَحْوَالَا

where the commentary (perhaps needlessly) understands that the poet, in his foreknowledge of what awaits him, speaks of it as already come to pass. So also in Ḥam., p. 252, Jaḥdar son of Ḍubey'ah says—

قَدْ يُتِمَتْ بِنْتِي وَآمَتْ كُنَّتِي

plainly referring to a bereavement and widowing which are to be after his death in the fight before engaging in which he utters the verses. These instances seem amply to justify us in understanding the words in their natural sense—"pushed (or thrust) from one to another without help or kindness"; nothing could be more far-fetched than all the explanations given by et-Tebrîzi.

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TO

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FOR

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